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THE LIFE

OF

MR ROBERT BLAIR,

MINISTER OF ST ANDREWS,

CONTAINING

HIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY,

FROM 1593 TO 1636,

WITH

SUPPLEMENT TO HIS LIFE, AND CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE TIMES TO 1680,

BY HIS SON-IN-LAW, MR WILLIAM ROW,

MINISTER OF CERES.

EDITED FOR THE WODROW SOCIETY,

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.

BY THOMAS M'CRIE, D.D.

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ERRATA.

Page 112, line 14, after 1677, Dr Lee's MS. supplies the blank on this page as follows, " has on his coat of arms the Moor's head."

„ 228, line 7, *dele* Unslodyke.

„ 464, line 3, *for* Mr John M'Millan, *read* Mr John M'Michan.

„ 471, last line of foot note, *for* author of " Memoirs of Scotland," *read* author of " Memoirs of the most material Transactions in England, for the last hundred years preceding the Revolution in 1688."

" 517, 4th line from foot, *for* apparently in the hand writing of the transcriber, *read* in a hand different from that of the transcriber. All the notations on the margin of Dr Lee's MS. are in the same hand, but different from that of the copyist.

„ 555, 1st line from foot, *for* son to Mr William Carstairs, *read* son to Mr John Carstairs.

PREFACE BY THE EDITOR.

In presenting the ample Memoirs of Robert Blair, contained in this volume, it may appear very unnecessary to prefix any prefatory sketch of his life. Several reasons, however, render this desirable. The reader, before dipping into the volume, may wish to know something of the character and general career of the man about whom so much has been written. It is of importance, too, to connect together, in a few sentences, the main facts of his life, the thread of the narrative being somewhat broken, in consequence of its having been treated by different hands, each of whom has added some incidents omitted by the rest. And we have thus an opportunity of stating a few additional facts gathered from other sources, which could not, with so much propriety, have been thrown into the shape of scattered notes at the foot of the page.

Robert Blair was the youngest of four sons of John Blair, "a gentleman living in the town of Irvine, and grandson of Alexander Blair of Windyedge, a brother of the Laird of Blair, the ancient and honourable family of that ilk."* (Life, p. 112.) His mother was Bessie Mure, of the equally "ancient and honourable family of Rowallan."† This venerable relative reached the patriarchal age of a hundred years. The precise day of his birth has not been recorded, but he was born in Irvine in the year 1593. He had

* The Blairs of Windyedge were connected with the Blairs of Giffordland, a family which, Robertson says, "is generally understood to be a cadet of the family of that ilk."—*Robertson's Ayrshire Families*, i. 100.

† We have not been able to trace this connection between Blair and the family of Rowallan. It appears, however, that the families had intermarriage at an earlier period. Sir William Mure of Rowallan, who died about 1348, had a daughter married to the Laird of Blair.—(*Historie and Descent of the House of Rowallane*, by Sir William Mure, 41. Glasgow: 1825.) Jean and Hugh, the names of two of Blair's children, were common in the Rowallan family. His grandson, James, who was provost of Irvine, had on his coat of arms the Moor's head, which is the crest of the Mures of Rowallan. (See *Life*, 112, with the blank supplied in the *Errata*.)

three brothers, John, James and William, the two eldest of whom rose to be chief magistrates of Irvine, while William was first a regent in the University of Glasgow, and afterwards became the minister of Dumbarton. The early years of Robert, the subject of the following memoirs, are graphically described by himself in his Autobiography. It appears from the records of the University of Glasgow, that he entered college in the year 1611* that he was laureated, or took his degree of Master of Arts, in 1614; and that, after having taught for two years as assistant in a public school, he succeeded his brother as one of the regents of the college in March 1616.†

During the same year in which he was appointed regent, he received license as a preacher of the gospel. And at this period of his life the following anecdote is recorded of him by Robert Fleming, which it is rather strange should have been omitted both by himself and his biographers:—"Upon his first coming forth to preach," says Fleming, "he, by a remarkable providence, had Mr Bruce [Robert Bruce of Edinburgh] to be his hearer; and as I heard himself declare, it was his desire to have the judgment of so great a man upon his discourse, whose censure, he said he would never forget, it had been so much blessed. It was this: 'I found,' said he, 'your sermon very polished and digested,' (which was indeed easy to one of his parts), 'but there is one thing I miss in it, to wit, the spirit of God;—I found not *that*.' This grave Mr Blair did often speak to others, which then took a deep impression upon himself, and helped him to see it was something else to be a minister of Jesus Christ, than to be a knowing and eloquent preacher."‡

* Stevenson, in his printed Memoirs of Blair, (p. 9,) has, in his blundering way, made Blair say that he "entered to the College of Glasgow about the year 1608." The editor of an Irish edition of Stevenson's Memoirs, (Belfast: 1844,) not aware of this, blames poor Blair for what he never wrote:—"Blair's memory, in respect of dates, had failed him in his old age, when compiling these notices of his early life."

† Row states, that he was "laureated, *anno* 1613."—(*Life*, 112.) This must be a mistake, as we have derived the above facts from the registers, through the kindness of Dr J. Seaton Reid, Professor of Church History in that university.

‡ Fulfilling of the Scripture, 377. Ed. 1681.

It does not appear what particular branches he taught while regent in the University of Glasgow *; he usually signed himself professor of moral philosophy. Of his success in the art of teaching his memoirs afford us little opportunity of judging; but we have fortunately the grateful testimony of one of his pupils, from which it may be inferred that it was at this period he laid the foundation of that high celebrity for learning which he enjoyed among his contemporaries. Robert Baillie, in dedicating to him one of his treatises in 1646, testifies, in the following warm and enthusiastic terms, his obligations to his old tutor and regent: "When I look back, (as frequently I do, with a delightful remembrance) towards those years of my childhood and youth, wherein I did sit under your discipline, my heart blesses the goodness of God, who, in a very rich mercy to me, did put almost the white and razed table† of my spirit under your hand, after my domestic instructions which were from mine infancy, to be engraven by your labours and example, with my first most sensible and remaining impressions, whether of piety or of good letters, or of moral virtue: What little portion in any of these it hath pleased the Lord, of his high and undeserved favour, to bestow upon me, I were ungrateful, if I should not acknowledge you, after my parents, the first and principal instrument thereof. I cannot deny that since the eleventh year of mine age to this day, in my inmost sense, I have always found myself more in your debt than in any other man's upon earth."‡

In 1623, having been involved in a dispute with Dr Cameron, the learned Principal of the university of Glasgow, and "being now wearied of teaching philosophy," he accepted of a call to the ministry at Bangor in Ireland. The particulars connected with this

* Livingstone states, "I was then under the oversight of precious Mr Robert Blair, who, for two years, was my Regent in that college, and having got some ground in logick and metaphysick, and the subtilties of the schoolmen, ane vain desyre to be above my equals set me to great pains."—(*Life of John Livingstone.* Select Biographies, edited for Wodrow Society, i. 132.)

† *Tabula rasa.*

‡ Dedication to Historical Vindication of the Government of the Church of Scotland. London: 1646.

part of his history are detailed at length in his Autobiography. After an unsuccessful attempt to cross the Atlantic, which the reader of his life will find graphically described, we find him again in his native land. He had been invited to become minister of the Scottish Church at Campvere, but "his averseness, after so manie sea-crosses, to accept any charge over sea, made him reject that motion without farder enquiry," * and he was admitted as colleague to Mr William Annand at Ayr, in July 1638. After some scruple as to their commission, he and his Irish brethren were allowed to take their seats in the famous General Assembly, which was held in Glasgow, Nov. 21, of that year; and there we find him vindicating himself in what Baillie calls "a brave extemporall harangue," from insinuations which had been thrown out against his loyalty, connected with the causes that led to his leaving the University. Here too his feelings were subjected to a severe trial, by the proposal which was made to translate him to the more influential town of St Andrews, "Spottiswood, his archdean and doctors having ran away, where there were three colleges very corrupt, and the body of the town-people addicted to Prelacy and the ceremonies" (Life, p. 156.) His biographer, William Row, has said very little about this "act for transportation," but it seems to have cost all the parties concerned in it no little trouble. On the petition being presented by the Commissioner from St Andrews, Blair was called on to express his mind, when he said, "I confess I am in the hands of this Assembly; but I protest heir, in God's presence, that *I had rather lay down my life than be separate from my flock at Air.*"† Baillie has preserved the particulars of the case, which we may give in his own homely but emphatic language:—"There fell in this day a most pitiful contest; the toun of St Andrews supplicat for Mr Robert Blair to be their minister; the toune of Aire, with tears, deprecated that oppression: Mr Robert himself most earnestlie opposed it; for beside the great burden would fall on him in that toun, and the fatall unhappiness of that ministrie,

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, (Bannatyne edition), i. 31.

† Peterkin's Records of the Kirk of Scotland, 187.

he was so farr engaged in affection with Aire, by the success of his ministrie, and the largeness of their charities, as any minister could be: yet St Andrews' earnestness, and the noblemen of Fife their importunities, the public good in provyding that seminarie toun with a good man, militated much against the provest, John Stewart's tears, and Mr Robert's prayers: It was referred to a committee that night in my chamber, Cassillis, Lindsay, the Moderator, (Henderson), and a number of other noblemen and ministers. However much my heart pitied the case, (and, if it went through, it was a most dangerous preparative to rent any man from the flock his soul was bound to and others to him, to be fastened to the unhappie people of our great tounes,) yet I could not bot testifie my old experience of Mr Blair's great dexteritie; yea, greater than any man I know living, to insinuate the fear of God in the hearts of young schollars. Thus my testimonie, out of experience, furthered much, both that night in the committee, and the morne in the Assemblie, the man's transportation." It was carried, however, by a narrow majority of four or five votes, that he should be sent to St Andrews. "It went hardlie," says Baillie, "for the pitifull complaints of John Stewart, craveing at leist a delay till Aire might be acquainted with this motion, and prepared to give in their reasons against it, did move manie, yet not the half; so the same Assemblie pleased and grieved exceedingly that toun by taking from them at once two ministers" (Annan having been deposed): "yet they have keeped still Mr Blair, almost by force; else, how unwilling soever, he had gone away, for he makes conscience to obey the Assemblie in all their commandments."* The people of Ayr succeeded in detaining him among them till the following year, when he was peremptorily ordered by the Assembly to go to St Andrews. Here he exercised his ministry with great success, till ejected in 1662.

During this period Blair took an active share in all the public movements of the day, and contributed largely, by the sagacity of his counsels, and the moderation of his spirit, to promote the welfare,

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, i. 173.

and consolidate the peace of the Church. In 1640 he was sent to London, along with Henderson, Baillie, and others, to attend to the affairs of the Church during the formation of the treaty of peace. After the death of Henderson, in 1646, he was appointed Domestic Chaplain to the King. "None so fit," says Baillie, "for the education of the King's children, both in piety, learning, and good manners. The man is so eminent in piety, wisdom, learning, gravity, and moderation, that I think his employment would bring a blessing to the royall family and all the kingdome.*" An anecdote connected with this portion of his history is recorded on the authority of Mr William Vilant of St Andrews, who, after stating "that scarcely did he [ever] know a more rare conjunction of these things more eminently shining in any one minister, than in Mr Blair, viz., eminent *piety*, *prudence*, and *learning*, and a most peaceable, calm temper of spirit," "tells us that in Oliver Cromwell's time, when he was called before the English Council, they intended to take his place and pension from him as King's Chaplain; but he made such a wise appearance before them, that their preses said to the rest, 'It is well that this man is a minister; for if he were not a minister, he might vex us all with his great wisdom and policy; therefore let us not take his pension from him, but let him keep it.' And so they dismissed him with great respect." †

In the unhappy quarrel between the Resolutioners and Protesters, Blair—though, from the "moderation" of his character, inclining to the general policy of the Resolutioners—adopted a middle course, and attempted to act as a peace-maker. He and the learned James Durham exerted themselves, unsuccessfully, but with the most praiseworthy zeal, to effect a union between the contending parties. As too often happens in such cases, his well-meant efforts at reconciliation only excited jealousy and misconstruction. To use his own homely expression on the subject, he was "cuffed upon both haffets by them." In a letter addressed to Baillie, March 23. 1652, after an earnest exhortation to peace, and recommending that all former

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, ii. 414.

† Wodrow's Analecta, iii. 91.

debates and determinations be quite laid aside, he adds, "If uniting on such terms may be had, they are *accursed* that would hinder the same, by seeking satisfaction for what is passed. For my own part, I think I see evidentlie enough some things amisse *utrinque;* bot I would prefer one act of oblivion herein, lest new debating exulcerate our sores."* Baillie, who was a violent partisan on the side of the Resolutioners, seems to have taken this letter in very ill part. "Worse hardly can be than an accursed man: I groan at such horrible terms for no cause at all, bot sober dutie in the fear of God." And, with all his love and veneration for Blair, amounting almost to idolatry, "being sore grieved with this expression," he says, "I wrote sharp back to him a long bitter letter." Durham was equally severe on poor Baillie, for he said, "that who would be against such a union were not worthie to sitt either in Presbyterie or Synods." "To this terrible reflection," says Baillie, "I said no more, but simplie, Brother, this requires no answer."† It has been justly remarked by a late writer, who has done ample justice to both sides of this sad controversy, that "it is evident that Blair was cordially united with Durham in the honourable work of mediation, and that nothing prevented their success but the obstinate and inveterate animosities of both parties."‡

On the restoration of Charles II., the subject of our memoirs, though he had taken an active part with the friends of the monarchy, and was now in infirm old age, was too honest to his principles as a Presbyterian, to be allowed to retain his charge in peace. He was more especially an eyesore to Sharp, with whose ultimate designs it did not comport to see a leader of the Presbyterian Church occupying the town which he hoped soon to call his archiepiscopal seat. Through the influence of this unhappy man he was subjected to various annoyances, which issued in his being obliged to leave St Andrews in September 1661; and, after having been confined, by the orders of Council, first to Mussel-

* Baillie's Letters, iii. 175. † Ibid. iii. 183.

‡ Beattie's History of the Church of Scotland during the Commonwealth, 251. Edin.: Whyte & Co. 1842.

burgh, and afterwards to Kirkcaldy, where he spent three years and a half in comparative quiet, he removed to the Castle of Couston, in the parish of Aberdour, where he died, August 27, 1666, in the seventy-second year of his age."*

Such is a brief outline of the life of a person who was, by his contemporaries, "reckoned one of the wisest men in the nation."† Unfortunately, few or none of his writings appear to have been committed to the press. It was probably owing to his high reputation for "wisdom," that, "when the General Assembly resolved upon a new explication of the Holy Bible, among others of the godly and learned in the ministry, Mr Blair had the books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes assigned to him for his part." But we are informed, on the same authority, "he neglected that task till he was rendered useless for other purposes, and then set about and finished his Commentary on the Proverbs in 1666."‡ This is confirmed by Row, who informs us under the year 1663, that when lurking in Kirkcaldy, "all this while by-past he was not idle; for he was perfecting his Annotations on the Proverbs." (*Life*, p. 457.) His Commentary, though completed and prepared for the press, has, however, never been published: the manuscript may still be extant, and we would fondly hope that the present publication may lead to its discovery. (See *Life*, p. 403.) Baillie, writing in 1641, speaks of another work undertaken by Blair:— "Think not we live any of us here to be idle: Mr Hendersone has readie now a short treatise, much called for, of our Church Discipline; Mr Gillespie has the grounds of Presbyterial government well asserted; Mr Blair, *a pertinent answer to Hall's Remonstrance;* all these are readie for the presse."§ Henderson's "Government and Order of the Church of Scotland," and Gillespie's "Assertion of the Government of the Church of Scotland in the Points of

* "1666, Augt.—Mr Robert Blair, leate minister of St Androus, (being deposed because he did not acquiesce with Episcopacy), depairted out of this life at Cawston, in the parish of Aberdowre, being living there for the tyme, and was interred Augt. . . . . at Aberdowre, in the day-tyme."—*Lamont's Diary*, 241.

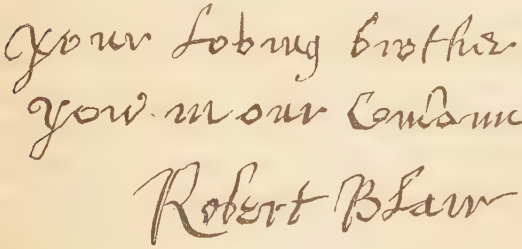
† Wodrow's Analecta, iii. 92.

‡ Howie's Scots Worthies; Art. *Mr Robert Blair.*

§ Baillie's Letters and Journals, i. 303.

Ruling Elders," &c., are well-known treatises; but of Blair's "pertinent Answer," if it was ever published, we have not been able to obtain any information. The famous "Answer to a Book entituled an Humble Remonstrance, by *Smectymnuus*," is known to have been the joint production of five divines, the initial letters of whose names compose the above strange *nom de guerre*;* and it is highly probable that the appearance of that treatise, which was published in 1641, and led to a protracted controversy between the Smectymnuan divines and Bishop Hall, the author of the Remonstrance, may have induced Blair first to postpone, and finally to suppress the Answer which he had prepared. With the exception, therefore, of his Autobiography, now for the first time printed as it was written by himself; a few fugitive pieces of Latin poetry, preserved by Row in his Continuation; and a Preface to the posthumous treatise of Durham on Scandal; the literary remains of Robert Blair, once so famous for his wisdom and learning, may be said to have been lost to posterity.

In personal appearance, Blair is represented as "a man of a notable constitution, both of body and mind—of a majestick, awful, yet amiable countenance."† We are not aware that any portrait of him exists. The curious reader may be gratified by the following specimen of his handwriting, taken from the letter given in the Appendix, p. 598.



In spirit and in manners, as well as by descent, Robert Blair

* Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii., ch. viii.

† Livingstone's Mem. Characteristics. Select Biographies of Wodrow Soc. i. 324.

was, in the true sense of the word, a gentleman. Courteous and polite in his address, calm and moderate in his temper, he took the fancy of Charles I. at the Conference at Newcastle, in 1646, while some of his brethren offended the dignity of the monarch by their rude simplicity. In his later years, he had acquired sufficient wealth to purchase a property of some value in Fife.* A foolish anecdote has been frequently told of him, by writers unfriendly to the Presbyterians, which we notice only to contradict. It is alleged that when Charles II. paid him a visit at St Andrews, during his brief sojourn in Scotland about the year 1650, Mrs Blair being about to hand him a seat, her husband said, "Hold, my dear, the young man can lift a chair for himself." This piece of wanton rudeness is so totally at variance with Mr Blair's character, and his uniform respect for royalty, that the story bears on its front the evidence of spuriousness. The reader who doubts of this may consult the scene described in the Life, pp. 186-188. An imputation much more injurious has been cast on him by the writer of the Memoirs of Sir Robert Spottiswood, the Lord President, who was executed for high treason at St Andrews in 1646. That author charges Blair, "the fanatical minister of the place," with having incited the provost to prevent Sir Robert from speaking on the scaffold, and asserts that the President having taunted him, by saying he would not have his prayers, because "God had sent a lying spirit into the mouth of the prophets," Blair "grew so extremely in passion, that he could not forbear scandalous and contumelious language against Sir Robert's father, [Archbishop Spottiswood], who had been long dead, and against himself, who was now a-dying, which this mild gentleman took no notice of, having his mind fixed upon higher matters."† The unprejudiced reader will find a very different

* "1660.—About Witsonday, Mr Robert Blaire, minister of St Androus, bought Clermont, in Fyfe, from one . . . . . Robertsone, oye to the deceassed Robert Taylour, sometime provest of St Androws: it stood him about eghteine thousande markes Scots."—*Lamont's Diary*, 157.

† See Memoirs, quoted in Notes to Kirkton's History, by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq., p. 26. The same story is repeated, with some variations, in the Spottiswoode Miscellany, vol. i. 204, where, however, we are also informed, that Sir

version of the story in the plain narrative of Row. So far from Sir Robert being prevented from speaking, it appears, that "*in his railing discourse to the people on the scaffold*, among other things he said, that the saddest judgment of God upon people at this time was, that the Lord had sent out a lying spirit in the mouths of the prophets, and that their ministers that should lead them to heaven were *leading them the high way to hell.*" And what was the reply made by Blair to "this mild gentleman?"—"Mr Blair, standing by him (as he was appointed by the Commission of the Kirk), in answer to this only said, 'It's no wonder to hear the son of a false prophet speak so of the faithful and honest servants of Jesus Christ'; which did so enrage the proud and impenitent spirit of Spottiswood, that he *died raging and railing* against Christ's honest and faithful ministers, and his covenanted people." (Life, p. 179, 180.) With all his gravity and dignity Blair could be occasionally facetious; and one curious sally of his, characteristic of the freedom used by ministers in these primitive times, is preserved by Wodrow, who allowed nothing to escape him:—"Mr Blair, after he had been a while at St Andrews, observed many people go out of the church a little before the pronouncing the blessing; and after some pains taken to reform them from this evil, one day after prayer he told them he had but one word to speak to them after the psalms, and desired them to stay. When the psalms were done, he said, 'Now, the prettiest man and woman among you all rin first and fastest from the blessing!' This had, it seems, more influence on them than all his former pains, and they much refrained afterwards."*

Blair was twice married. His first wife, to whom he was warmly attached, was Beatrix Hamilton, who died in July 1632, at the early age of twenty-seven. In 1635, he contracted a second marriage with Katherine Montgomerie, daughter to Hugh Montgomerie of Braidstane, who carried over a colony of Protestants to

Robert "inveighed much against the Parliament of England," which is not very consistent with his being prevented from speaking.

* Wodrow's Analecta, vol. ii. 66.

Ireland, from the neighbourhood of Beith, and was created Viscount of Ardes in 1620.* By his first wife he had three children, James, Jean, and Robert. The two sons died before their father. His daughter Jean survived him, and was married to Mr William Row, minister of Ceres, to whom we are indebted for the Continuation of the Life of his father-in-law, contained in the present volume. By his second wife he left behind him two sons, viz., David and Hugh. David Blair became one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and was father to Mr Robert Blair, minister of Athelstaneford, and author of the well-known poem entitled, "The Grave," who, again, was father to the late Lord President Blair of Avonton. David was also father to Archibald Blair, who became minister of Garvald, and was father to Dr Robert Blair, Professor of Practical Astronomy in the University of Edinburgh. Hugh, the other surviving son of Mr Blair, was grandfather to the celebrated Dr Hugh Blair, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres in the same University.† Thus, the subject of the following memoirs was grandfather of the author of "The Grave," and great-grandfather of Dr Hugh Blair, and Lord President Blair. It may be added, that Blair had a daughter by his second wife, Catharine, who was married to Dr George Campbell, minister of Dumfries at the restoration of Charles II., and Professor of Divinity in Edinburgh University, after the Revolution.

It now remains to say a few words regarding the present work. Many may be familiar with the "Memoirs of the Life of Mr Robert Blair, printed for Andrew Stevenson, Writer, Edinburgh, 1754," 12mo, pp. 128. In his Advertisement to this work, Mr Stevenson, who was the author of the well-known "History of the Church and State of Scotland," observes, "that the first and only part of the following Memoirs, wrote by Mr Blair, having been in-

* Robertson's Ayrshire Families, iii. 233. Row has called him, apparently by mistake, "Laird of Busbie."—(*Life of Blair*, 136.)

† Hill's Life of Dr Hugh Blair, 12, 13.

tended chiefly for his own family, and made out by him at a time of life when the faculties of the mind use to be on the decline, the same must be supposed to want that correctness and accuracy which it might have had, if the worthy author had prepared the same for the press in his younger years. To prevent, as far as possible, all misconstruction on this account," he adds, "I have taken the trouble to compare my copy with several others which I have seen of these Memoirs, and particularly with a copy of both Parts, in the hands of Mr Blair's grandson, which he avouches to be genuine; and, not satisfied with this, I offered mine to be revised by that gentleman and his friends, who, no doubt, have greater liberty to *improve upon the original*, than any other. But this they have not thought fit to take the trouble of; so that,—after patient on-waiting, for this purpose, a considerable time, and repeated solicitations to publish this Life from many to whom I had imparted my design,—I now bring it forth, with these variations only:—*First*, Because what is here written doth not contain a full relation of the author's life, but only some of the most material passages thereof, I chuse to give it the additional appellation of *Memoirs*. *Next*, Whereas Mr Blair divides his Part into chapters, several of which seem only breathing-places, or stops, I follow the writer of the Second Part, who, more naturally, divides the same into Periods. And, *lastly*, I have ventured to make a few alterations in the style, in order, if possible, to adapt the same a little more to the modes of expression used in the present age; but these alterations are inconsiderable. Doubtless the following Memoirs might have admitted of more amendments; but, such as they are, I am persuaded that all lovers of piety and useful history will reckon them highly acceptable, and a monument due to the memory of 'precious Mr Robert Blair,' as an eminent divine,—his intimate cotemporary, (*Livingstone's Life and Characteristics*, pp. 5, 28,)—did fitly call him."

The public were certainly indebted to Mr Stevenson for having furnished them with an edition of these Memoirs at a time when, so far as Blair's family at least were concerned, they might other-

wise have been suppressed or entirely lost. And it must be owned that, whatever liberties this industrious collector may have taken with the original manuscript, he has not materially changed the sentiments of those portions of it which he has given. But when we state that he has not only completely altered the phraseology, but in many instances greatly curtailed and abridged the narrative, while, on other occasions, he has interpolated it with pieces of his own, it will be admitted that he has overstepped the proper province of an editor, and that his book cannot be regarded as a genuine authority. Even in his "alterations in the style, to adapt the same a little more to the modes of expression used in the present age," he has more frequently failed than succeeded in "improving upon the original." Of this the reader may judge from the following sentences which occur in connection, and may be taken as specimens: *—

Stevenson's Edition, p. 8, 9.	*Present Edition*, p. 6, 7.
About this time *the Lord was pleased* to visit me with a deadly-like disease, a bloody flux, of which my father died; and when all prescribed means proved ineffectual, *the gracious God was pleased* to suggest to myself a *cure*, which, when I had used, seemed at first to kill me outright, but *having fallen* into a deep sleep for *above* twenty-four hours, I awaked perfectly recovered, and called for meat, *tho' I had tasted little* for twenty-three days before.	About this same time *thou wast pleased, O Lord*, to visit me with a deadly-like disease of a bloody flux, whereof my father *not long before* had died; and when all prescribed means were to no effect, *thou wast pleased, O gracious God*, to suggest to me a *mean* whereof I made use, *with the privacy only of an old servant*, which at first seemed outright to kill me; but being *afterwards cast* in a deep sleep *full* twenty-four hours, I wakened perfectly recovered, and called for meat, *which I had not before tasted at all* twenty-three days.
Nevertheless the corruption of my nature [*did manifest itself more vigorous than before, and*] did break out in contention and unruliness toward my two sisters. *But* then *the Lord did again cast me suddenly into a bed of affliction*, [*which produced the taming of my spirits,*] and a detestation of all strife and contention.	But *after this*, the corruption of my nature did break out in contention and unruliness towards my two sisters; and then, *O Lord, then didst cast me into a sudden and short sickness*, and *after the recovery from it thou madest me* to detest all strife and contention.
In the twelfth year of my age, the	And so growing up to the twelfth year

* The interpolations of Stevenson, in these specimens, are included in *brackets;* his omissions and alterations are printed in *italics.*

supper of the Lord having been celebrated [*in Irvine,*] I was admirably taken with the sermon; and my spirit having been *likewise* greatly ravished with the first exhortation at the table, I earnestly desired to communicate, &c.	of my age, when the time came of celebrating the supper of the Lord, I was admirably taken with the sermon that day, *the text being in the Song of Solomon; and being appointed to stand by the minister with my psalm-book in my hand,* I was greatly ravished *in my spirit* with the first exhortation at the table, and desired earnestly to communicate, &c.
This was *the Lord's work* to his poor child, to make me his covenanted and sealed servant.	This was *thy work, O Lord,* to thy poor child, to make me thy covenanted and sealed servant.
Having profited well in my *childish* studies, I was *found fit for* the University, [*and entered to the College of Glasgow in* 1608, where *I studied hard,*] and *made as great progress as any* of my fellow students; but, lest I should have been puffed up with my proficiency, *the Lord was pleased* to visit me with a tertian fever for full four months, &c.	In this time, profiting well in my *bairnly* studies, I was *fitted to go* to the College of Glasgow, where I *appeared to be inferior to none* of my fellow-students; and lest I should be puffed up with my proficiency, *thou, O Lord, wast pleased* to visit me with a tertian fever, *which did exercise me* full four months, &c.*

Many other examples might have been selected from Stevenson's edition, still more awkward and corrupt, of this inexcusable mode of dealing with the original; but these may suffice to show the necessity that existed for a pure and genuine transcript. It need only be added, that though Stevenson has given part of Row's Supplement, he has candidly stated in his advertisement to this part, that "it contains no more of that Supplement than what doth properly refer to Mr Blair's after life, with some hints of such of the publick occurrences of that time as Mr Blair had some connection with." In point of fact, the greater part of the Supplement has been entirely omitted, and it breaks off at Blair's death, thus leaving the whole of the subsequent portion of the history unpublished.

In preparing the present edition, it was resolved by the Council of the Wodrow Society to give the whole manuscript of Blair's Autobiography, and of the Supplement and Continuation by William Row, entirely and exactly as they stand in the original. The

* In these apostrophes, as given by Blair, he appears to have been insensibly led into an imitation of the style of Augustine's Confessions, the early perusal of which, as he tells us, (*Life*, p. 6.) brought to his recollection the sins of his youth.

juster taste of modern times forbids all such "intromissions" with the matter or manner of ancient writings, as was practised, without scruple though with the best intentions, by our worthy fathers of the last age. The only alteration, therefore, on which we have ventured relates to the spelling, which, as we found it to vary in different MSS., and frequently in the same MS., we have throughout modernized, faithfully retaining, however, all the words of the original, and giving the Scottish terms, where these occurred, in their native guise.

The Manuscript which we have adopted as the basis of the present edition, is a quarto volume, written in a very minute hand, preserved in the Signet Library, Edinburgh. In the opinion of Mr David Laing, Keeper of the Library, to whom we are indebted for the free use of the MS., and much valuable assistance in our researches, it is the genuine autograph of William Row, Blair's son-in-law. This is, beyond all doubt, the most authentic, as it is the most accurate and complete, manuscript of Blair's life; in all probability, it is the copy which Stevenson found "in the hands of Mr Blair's grandson, which he avouches to be genuine." * Various other manuscripts of Blair's life are still extant, copied from this, and from one another, which are more or less correct and complete. Some of these have been collated with the Signet Library copy. More particularly, we have collated the Autobiography of Blair with a MS. formerly in possession of Robert Wodrow, the historian, and now belonging to the Advocates Library, in Edinburgh. Occasionally, also, this part has been collated with another MS. in the possession of Robert Pitcairn, Esq., from which we have adopted the headings or contents of the chapters. The continuation we have copied from Row's own copy compared with another in the Free Church College Library, and a third be-

* Mr Laing has since informed me that the manuscript formed part of a volume sold by Messrs Ballantyne and Co. in the library of the Rev. Dr Blair, in April 1816. According to the sale catalogue, No. 694, the volume contained a printed copy of the Solemn League and Covenant, "with the original MS. subscriptions from the Parschin of Ceres, in Fife, comprehending the barony of Struther and Craighall, &c.;" but this had been taken out of the volume before it was acquired by the Library.

longing to J. T. Gibson Craig, Esq. These two last mentioned MSS. begin only at the second part of the Supplement, and proceed no further than Blair's death in 1666. But from these sources we have been enabled to supply the want of a leaf in Row's copy, amounting to nearly a sheet of letterpress. (Life, p. 449.) Finally, we have had the advantage of consulting another MS. in the possession of Dr Lee, Principal of the University of Edinburgh, (formerly belonging to Dr Jamieson of Edinburgh, and to Gordon of Earlstoun), a beautiful copy, apparently taken from the Signet Library MS. From this we have been enabled to supply several passages in the latter, particularly at the close, where the writing has been completely worn away. To all these gentlemen, the Wodrow Society stands deeply indebted for the frankness with which they granted the use of their respective manuscripts, in order to carry on and complete the present edition of Blair's Life. And with all these MSS. at our service, we flatter ourselves that we have succeeded in presenting to our readers a perfect transcript of this valuable work.

The first part consists of the Autobiography of Blair. This, though written at a late period of his life, and bearing some evidence of the garrulity natural to old age and the superstition common to the times, must be regarded as a valuable accession to the memoirs of the period. One cannot help regretting, however, that instead of dwelling at such length on some of the minor incidents in his private history, he did not enter more largely into the public events of the period, in which he took such an active share.

The Supplement to the Life, beginning at p. 111, and occupying the greater part of the volume, was written by Mr William Row, minister of Ceres, and son-in-law to Robert Blair. He was grandson of the famous Dr John Row, the reformer and coadjutor of Knox, and son of John Row, minister of Carnock, whose "History of the Kirk of Scotland" forms one of the Wodrow Society's publications. Several facts in his personal history will be found in

this volume. After being employed for two years as assistant to his father, he was admitted minister of Ceres in 1644. Here he continued to labour till 1665, when on a sentence of suspension by Archbishop Sharp being intimated to him, he took leave of his congregation. (Life, p. 474.) Subsequently he took advantage of the indulgence granted after the battle of Bothwell Bridge, and was allowed to preach in his parish, but not within two miles of the parish church.* This liberty he did not long enjoy. The indulgence was recalled, and we find him in June 1680 summoned before the Privy Council, chiefly "in regard that the place of his meeting is within a mile of the parish kirk," and discharged from preaching in that place. To this sentence he "silently submitted," in the hope of being allowed to preach in his "dwelling-house, or other houses of the parish." (Life, p. 573.) Thus he seems to have been employed till the Revolution, when he was restored to his former charge, 19th May 1689. His death appears to have taken place sometime between the years 1697 and 1700, when he was succeeded by Thomas Halyburton.

In his sentiments on public questions, William Row appears to have exactly coincided with his father-in-law, for whom he entertained the highest veneration. While he approved of the Public Resolutions, he was inclined to moderation, being dissatisfied with the violence of both parties. Of this controversy he has given a full account, and it is characterised by singular candour. His opinions of the leading characters of the times will, of course, be variously estimated. A devoted royalist, he seems to have never forgiven Cromwell for his usurpation; he seldom gives him any other appellation than "that old fox;" and, in our day, when a better opinion of the man at least has come to be entertained, a painful feeling is excited by the remark,—"that old fox died." (Life, p. 335.) Of Archbishop Leighton his estimate seems to have been very low; and Archbishop Sharp he can never mention without unqualified aversion. His calling him so emphatically "*that* Sharp," reminds us of Dr Colville's compliment to the future Archbishop,

* See Mr Laing's Notices respecting William Row, prefixed to Row's History, lvi.

when giving him the right hand of fellowship, on his admission as regent to the University of St Andrews, in 1661,—"*Satis est te esse Sharpium.*"* Row's strong Presbyterian leanings appear in his never by any chance giving Sharp or any of his compeers the title of bishop; it is uniformly "prelate," or "archprelate." At the same time, being an indulged minister, he shews little favour towards Cargill and the Cameronian party.

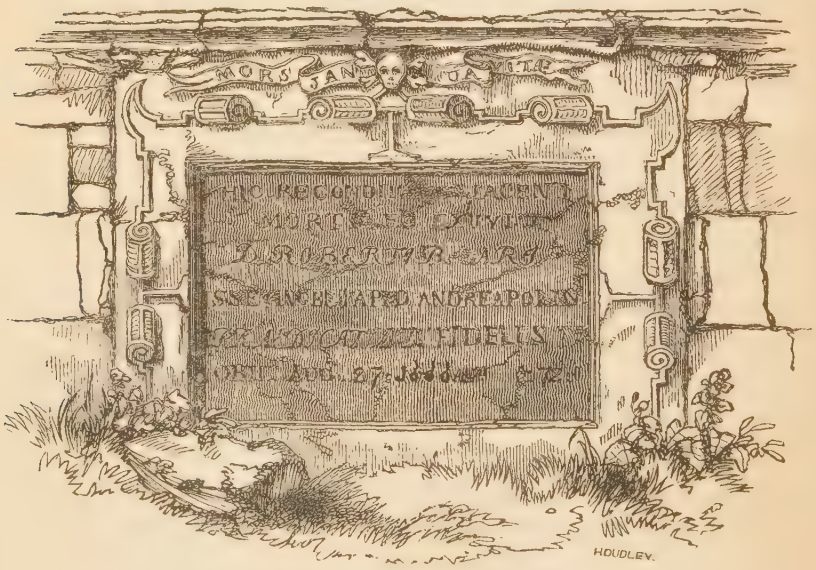
But with all these peculiarities, which may by many be deemed blemishes, the Supplement by Row cannot be denied to be a valuable accession to our historical resources. Rude and unpolished as it is in style, and pretending to be nothing beyond a plain chronicle of events, it furnishes us with much new information while it confirms what is old. This remark applies particularly to a large portion of the Supplement, embracing the general history of the times, which has never before been published. The "Continuation of the History of the Times after Mr Blair's death, 1666, August 27," beginning at p. 500, also written by Row, is entirely new, having never before been printed in any shape. The same may be said of the "Continuation of the Life of Robert Blair, by his son, James Blair," which we have given in the Appendix, p. 585, but which, for the reasons there assigned, we consider to have been written, in part at least, by his son David. We may here observe that this conjecture is confirmed by Stevenson, who states in his advertisement to the second part, that, "his youngest son, Mr David Blair, one of the ministers of Edinburgh after the Revolution, had, with the assistance of his mother, and others of his father's acquaintance, added some other things memorable concerning him."

In short, whether we consider the comparative obscurity of the period embraced by the present volume, particularly that of the Commonwealth; the curious and interesting facts collected, or rather scattered throughout the narrative; or the open-hearted candour that pervades the whole, stamping it with the evidence of genuine authenticity; we have no hesitation in ranking the

* Lamont's Diary, 165.

present as one of the most important of those contributions which the Wodrow Society, now brought to a close, has been honoured to make to the historical literature of our country.

It only remains to make a parting allusion to the present aspect of the monument erected to the memory of Robert Blair in the old churchyard of Aberdour. The editor can attest, from personal observation, the fidelity of the sketch appended, which has been taken by his friend Mr Rowand of the Free Church College Library. He found the stone exactly as described in the Life, p. 496, "erected upon the side wall of the (old) Kirk of Aberdour;" but the wall is mouldering away piecemeal, and the monument with its simple inscription is sadly effaced; so that unless measures are speedily taken for its preservation, even this memorial, which was all that "was judged fit and convenient to be put upon his tomb, by reason of the iniquity of the time," will, in a few short years, be entirely obliterated, and the fragments may soon have to be sought for among the nettles and brambles of the ruined building to which it is attached.



LIFE

OF

ROBERT BLAIR.

LIFE OF ROBERT BLAIR.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

CHAPTER I.

FROM HIS BIRTH TO HIS LAUREATION—1593–1613.

HAVING met with great variety and vicissitudes of conditions in my lifetime, and drawing now near to the close of it (my seventieth year being almost expired),* and having had experience of the constant care and kindness of my unchangeable Lord, I think myself obliged to leave some notes concerning the chief passages that have occurred to me in my pilgrimage, that my wife and children, at least, might have these to be a memorial of the way that I kept in the world, and that they may be the better furnished to answer the calumnies and reproaches that have been, and possibly may be cast upon me; and that so much the more because this hath been often required from me by my near relations, and some others also.

To begin, then, with my younger years, my father (of whose piety, when I came to some years, I got certain information, how much he was addicted to prayer, and how tenderly he walked, refusing to enrich himself by buying commodities from pirates, as his neighbours did, being twice spoiled at sea by pirates) was taken from me the sixth year of my age; and, at his interring, I used my bairnly endeavouring to be in the grave before him. And so being

* Mr Blair was born at Irvine in 1593.

the youngest of six left upon the hands of a widow mother not well furnished, and being then only civil,* till many years thereafter the Lord showed her mercy under the ministry of his worthy and famous servant, Mr David Dickson† (for she lived near fifty years a widow after my father's death); being, I say, so left, the Lord early owned me, and began to catechise me in the seventh year of my age. Upon a Lord's-day, being left alone in the house through indisposition, the Lord caused my conscience to reflect upon me with this query, Wherefore servest thou, unprofitable creature? I not being able to answer, looking out at a window, I saw the sun brightly shining, and a cow with a full udder. I thought with

* *Only civil*, that is, only decently and outwardly virtuous.

† David Dickson, or Dick, was the only son of Mr John Dickson, a pious and wealthy merchant in Glasgow. He is supposed to have been born in 1583. After finishing his studies at the University of Glasgow, he was admitted Professor of Philosophy, a situation which he held for eight years. In 1613, when in the 35th year of his age, he was ordained minister of Irvine, where he laboured with much acceptance and success. Having refused compliance with the Perth Articles, imposing the ceremonies of the English Church, he was, on the 9th of January 1622, summoned by Law, Archbishop of Glasgow, before the High Commission Court. Dickson appeared, but declined the authority of the court in ecclesiastical matters. The result was, that he was deprived of his charge, and banished to Turriff. In that remote locality he was not idle, being employed in preaching every Sabbath by the minister of the parish. Yielding to the solicitations of the Earl of Eglinton and the town of Irvine, the bishop granted him liberty to return to his old charge in 1623. Here he continued to labour with increased ardour, preaching every Monday, the market-day of Irvine, for the benefit of the rural population; and great numbers, particularly from the neighbouring parish of Stewarton, attending on these occasions, the result was the famous Stewarton revival, which lasted from 1625 to 1630. After the renovation of the national covenant in 1638, the people of Aberdeen having proved refractory, Dickson accompanied Alexander Henderson and Andrew Cant on a mission to that city, and engaged with them in disputing with its learned doctors, in behalf of the covenant. In 1642 he was appointed Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, from whence he was afterwards translated to the same office in the University of Edinburgh. In the contest between the Resolutioners and Protesters, he took the side of the former; but he lived to see all his anticipations overturned at the Restoration, when he was ejected from his office by the monarch whom he had laboured to restore, and confessed that his brethren, the Protesters, had been "the truer prophets." He died in December 1662. David Dickson was a man of no ordinary talents and theological acquirements. He is the author of various works, among which his Truth's Victory over Error, and his *Therapeutica Sacra* are best known. His poems, of which he composed a considerable number, are remarkable chiefly for their pious simplicity, such as that well-known piece, beginning "O mother, dear Jerusalem." See Select Biograph., printed by Wod. Society, vol. ii. p. 5.

myself, I know that sun was made to shine and give light to the world, and that cow was made to give milk to nourish me, and the like; but being still ignorant wherefore I was made, I went pensive up and down that gallery wherein I was: then perceiving neither young nor old upon the streets, nor hearing any noise, I did remember that the whole people used often to meet together, in a very large house, called the kirk, where, no doubt, they were about that errand and duty which I had not yet laid to heart. Shortly thereafter, upon a Lord's-day, a stranger (I learned thereafter that he was an English minister, censured there by the bishops, and, going for Ireland, was waiting at Irvine for passage) entering the pulpit, his countenance and his band, the like whereof I had not formerly seen, drew my eyes to gaze upon him; and, while I am thus taken up, he uttered these words: "But as to me, it is good to me to draw near to God."* These words, being the text whereon he was preaching, he very often repeated in his sermon; and every time my heart was much affected therewith. I consented to that truth, and heartily approved it, and thought, verily, the Lord had given me the answer of the query that my conscience had made a little before; and though it be now sixty-three years since that time, the countenance, carriage, and voice of the speaker remain fresh upon my memory, and these words have been most sweet unto me, so that, in the very entry of my public ministry (as I had vowed before), I handled that text.

From that day forth, I durst never play upon the Lord's-day, though the schoolmaster, after his taking an account of the Catechism, dismissed us with that express direction, "Go not to the town, but to the fields and play." I obeyed him in going to the fields, but refused to play with my companions, as against the commandment of God. As I remember these early mercies of the Lord, so I remember my early sins. Not long after the former passages, in a time of rioting (commonly called the holidays of Yule), perceiving what liberty some elder than I took, to the end I might play the fool the more boldly, I feigned myself to be drunk,

* Ps. lxxiii. 28.

being as fresh as at any time. Also, forgetting my duty, I stayed at play till after supper time. Being challenged hereof, and threatened to be corrected, to escape correction I feigned that I was mourning at my father's grave, and so I escaped and set my mother a-mourning. These things I easily then digested, till the twenty-third year of my age, when, reading holy Augustine's Confessions, I observed how he in his old age laid to heart his childish faults—such as breaking into orchards and stealing of apples; not for any want, having abundance thereof in his father's house, but lest he should be inferior to his comrades. Though I was free from that temptation and sin, yet I was thereby set to work to ponder the paths of my youth: for sinful self-love is so strong, that though thy Word, O Lord, gives clear warning of the heart's deceitfulness above all things and desperate wickedness, yet we do not believe the same until we feel and find the same actually breaking out in our lives.

About this same time thou wast pleased, O Lord, to visit me with a deadly-like disease of a bloody flux, whereof my father not long before had died; and when all prescribed means were to no effect, thou wast pleased, O gracious God, to suggest to me a mean whereof I made use with the privacy only of an old servant, which at first seemed outright to kill me; but being 'afterwards cast'* in a deep sleep full twenty-four hours, I wakened perfectly recovered, and called for meat, which I had not before tasted at all twenty-three days. But after this the corruption of my nature did break out in contention and unruliness toward my two sisters; and then, O Lord, thou didst cast me into a sudden and short sickness, and after the recovery from it thou madest me to detest all strife and contention; and so growing up to the twelfth† year of my age, when the time came of celebrating the

* Wodrow MS., and MS. of 1715.

† This age may seem to us to have been somewhat premature for approaching the Lord's table. Instances, however, of admission at this early age were by no means rare in former times. It is curious, too, to notice, in an act of Assembly in 1600, intended "to *correct* divers and great inconveniences arising by the untimeous marriage of young and tender persons," an order, "that no minister presume to join in matrimony any

supper of the Lord, I was admirably taken with the sermon that day, the text being in the Song of Solomon; and being appointed to stand by the minister with my Psalm-book in my hand, I was greatly ravished in my spirit with the first exhortation at the table, and desired earnestly to communicate; but having gotten my breakfast I durst not; for it was then a generally received opinion, that the sacrament behoved to be received fasting. * Also, at the second exhortation being greatly moved,† I secretly lamented that my bodily breakfast did bereave me of a soul breakfast and banquet; but in the third exhortation, observing these words, "After supper," I thus reasoned within myself: Did Christ and his disciples celebrate this sacrament after supper, and can it be a fault in me to celebrate it after breakfast? Sure it can be none, and so at the next table I sat down and communicated. This was thy work, O Lord, to thy poor child, to make me thy covenanted and sealed servant. About this time the minister giving order that Mr Welsh's Catechism should be publicly repeated in the kirk before sermon, both before and after noon, I was made choice of to repeat all the answers. Thus, O Lord, thou wast pleased, who hadst a mind to make me a public orator for thee, to cause me timeously pronounce words whereby thy people were edified.

In this time, profiting well in my bairnly studies, I was fitted to go to the College of Glasgow, where I appeared to be inferior to none of my fellow-students; and lest I should be puffed up with my proficiency, thou, O Lord, wast pleased to visit me with a tertian fever, which did exercise me full four months, to the great detriment of my studies. Thereafter I remember no remarkable thing till the fourth year (which was the twentieth year

persons, in time coming, except the man be *fourteen* yeirs of age, and the woman *twelve* complete."—*Calderwood's History*, vi., 24.

* This was a relic of Popish superstition, which had lingered behind in the practice of the people, but which received no countenance from the discipline of the Reformed Church of Scotland.

† In Wodrow MS. it is: "Also at the second table being greatly moved with the exhortation.

of my life); then I remember that I could not willingly want the exercise of my body by archery and the catchpole, and lest I should be at a loss thereby in my studies, I chose every other day to forbear one meal of meat; but perceiving that not to be a sufficient recompense, I resolved to watch at my studies every other night. And to carry this quietly without being perceived, I could find no other room for the purpose but a chamber wherein none was permitted to lie, by reason of apparitions in the night season; yea, I myself had therein seen a spirit in likeness of one of my condisciples, whom I, having a lighted candle in my hand, and supposing verily it had been that boy, chased to a corner of the chamber, where he seemed to hide himself; but when I offered to pull him out I could find nothing.* Yet in that same chamber I resolved to spend my waking nights, and did so the whole summer, and was never troubled nor terrified a whit. And though I was carried on herein only by an ardent desire of prosecuting my studies diligently, yet thou, O Lord, hadst another design, even to fix my faith on thee; for this thou taughtest me that devils were chained with chains of darkness, reserved to the judgment of the last day, so that they could not, nor durst not, once appear, far less molest, without thy permission; and that if thou permittest any such thing, thou wouldst make it work for good to one devoted to thee, whom thou hast taken into protection. But withal, thou taught me then how necessary it was to pray seriously and fervently, and to live always as under thy onlooking eye; and so during that time I studied the one night without any fear or the least distraction, and the other night I slept very sweetly. Glory to my blessed Protector for ever!

* Very likely there was nothing to find; still it was no small proof of personal courage to make the attempt, in those days when kings were witch-finders, and whole parliaments trembled at a ghost story.

CHAPTER II.

DURING HIS ABODE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW—1613–1623.

HAVING now finished my course of philosophy, under the discipline of my brother, Mr William Blair, I took only some few days to recreate myself with my friends in the country, in hawking and hunting, and speedily entered into a very laborious task; for I was engaged beforehand to be an assistant to the aged and decayed schoolmaster of Glasgow, who had under his discipline above three hundred children, the one-half whereof were committed to my charge, where I remember no remarkable thing, save that, being outwearied with the toil of the day, I oft went to bed without supper, not for want but for weariness, making conscience of my employment. At that time Mr Robert Boyd of Trochrig *

* Robert Boyd of Trochrig was one of the noblest characters of his day—combining the best qualities of the gentleman, the scholar and the Christian. But his lot was cast in an evil time, when none of these virtues were of any avail, without a slavish subjection to the arbitrary will of a despot, incompatible with any one of them. Descended from the Earl of Arran, regent of Scotland, his father, James Boyd of Trochrig, had been archbishop of Glasgow. Having finished his course of philosophy and theology under the celebrated Andrew Melville and Rollock, Robert went to France in 1597, where he became acquainted with the learned Rivet, who used to call him his *alter ego* —his second self. Such was the extent of his learning, that it has been said of him, in the quaint language of those times, "he was more eloquent in French than in his mother's tongue; more eloquent in Latin than in French; more eloquent in Greek than in Latin." He was ordained to the ministry in France, where he married a French lady. The Continental divines soon discovered and highly appreciated the

being sent for by King James, came to be principal of the College of Glasgow. At the hearing of his inaugural oration I was not a little refreshed and upstirred. Therein he moved a doubt and question—that seeing he was a gentleman of a considerable estate, whereupon he might live competently enough, what caused him embrace so painful a calling, as both to profess divinity in the schools, and to teach people also by his ministry? His answer was, that, considering the great wrath under the which he lay naturally, and the great salvation purchased to him by Jesus Christ, he had resolved to spend himself to the utmost, giving all diligence to glorify that Lord who had so loved him. I thought with myself, There is a man of God, there is one of a thousand!—who am I, in the very entry, to weary of painfulness in serving my Lord,

merits of the young Scotsman. In 1599, he was appointed professor of belles lettres in the College of Montauban; but that noble champion of Protestantism, Du Plessis Mornay, did not rest till he had secured his services as professor of divinity in his University of Saumur, with a salary of £600 a-year. This office he continued to hold, with great applause, from 1606 to 1614; when, on the earnest solicitations of James VI.—who, to do him justice, was always anxious to have men of learning about him—he was called over to Scotland, and appointed principal of the College of Glasgow in 1615. At the same time he became minister of Govan. Here he laboured with great success for six or seven years; and during that period many young men, afterwards eminent in the Church, such as Blair, Livingstone, and Baillie, were trained up under his care. "He was," says Row, "a very learned and well-gifted man, and yet one of the most humble, modest, and meek men that was in the ministry, in all this kingdom." But neither the piety of the minister, the eminence of the scholar, nor the amiable dispositions of the man, could atone, in the eyes of James and his courtiers, for his opposition to "Prelacy and the ceremonies." The good man, hearing of the reports which the bishops sent up against him to his Majesty, shrunk with sensitive delicacy from the threatened storm, retired to his estate of Trochrig, and wrote to his friend Dr Rivet, earnestly soliciting some employment abroad. His friends, anxious to retain his valuable services, procured his appointment as principal of the College of Edinburgh, and he was actually admitted in 1622, but only suffered to continue *two months*. His Prelatical opponents, envious of his popularity as a preacher, informed against him as a ringleader of the Nonconformists; whereupon his majesty wrote letters to the magistrates, rating them severely for admitting him, and charging them to remove him, "*unless he conform totally.*" He was afterwards called to the ministry in Paisley; but this being at that time a "nest of Papists," as Row calls it, he was actually driven out of the town "with stones and dirt." Grieved in spirit, he retired home, where he contracted a disease which baffled medical skill, and he died at Edinburgh, July 5, 1627. His chief work is a large commentary on the Ephesians.—*Life of Boyd*, *Wodrow MSS.*, printed by the Maitland Club. It has been said, I know not on what authority, that he died in Carrick, January 1627.—*Bannatyne Miscel.*, i. 285.

though in a meaner employment? From that day my heart was knit to that learned and holy man, in whose hand the Lord had put, as it were, the key of my heart to open it to the Lord, whenever I heard him in public or private. I profited little by others; but he, as sent from God to me, spoke words of eternal life, whose lessons I carried away written in my heart, and thereafter did write them in paper for mine own use.

After two years I was admitted to be a regent in the College of Glasgow, not without opposition from Archbishop Law, who had promised the place to another, having a purpose to detain me in the charge I was in, and having a son under my discipline, (for as yet I had not laid to heart the controversy about Church government;) but herein the principal, Trochrig, and the regents would not give way to his motion. Being entered to this charge, my elder colleagues, perceiving that I had some considerable insight in Humanity, * urged me to peruse all classical authors; and I, hearkening to the motion, began to peruse the most ancient fragments, and read over all Plautus. But the Lord being displeased with this design, diverted me thus: Having the charge of the library, I fell upon the ancients who are called fathers, especially Augustine, who had another relish with me, and who, in his Confessions, inveighs sharply against the education of the youth in heathen writings. I therefore betook me to the reading of the Holy Scriptures and the ancient fathers, who breathed out much piety; yet even then I perceived our reformed divines much purer according to the Scriptures; yet I resolved to peruse these ancient monuments, beginning at the eldest, wherein I made considerable progress in the hours I could spare from my charge.

In the midst of that year (1616) I was called by the presbytery to the public exercise; and having made the exercise upon the Wednesday, the burden was laid upon me to preach the very next Sabbath in the College Kirk. Some of the hearers, better acquainted with God than I, after some years, told me, that in that my first sermon the Lord spoke to their hearts; whereat I greatly

* *Humanity*, the Latin language.

wondered, and was stirred up to follow after the Lord. That year, upon an evening, having made a dangerous visit to ensnaring company, when I returned to my chamber, and went to my ordinary devotion, the Lord did let out so much displeasure and wrath, that I was driven from prayer, and heavily threatened to be discountenanced and deserted of God. Hereupon I had a restless night, and resolved to spend the next day in extraordinary humiliation, fasting, and mourning before the Lord; and towards the evening of that day, I found access to God with sweet peace, through Jesus Christ, and learned to beware of such visits and company. But then I did run into another extremity, towards such as were profane and irreligious—of rudeness and incivility. Holy Lord! how hard a thing is it to short-sighted sinners to hold the right and the straight way!

Some days after this, being in conference after dinner with worthy Mr Dickson, my elder colleague—once my master when I was a novice—I perceived that the very same day wherein I was so retired, he also was that same way employed; whereof did arise betwixt us most entire friendship, and a covenant of mutual remembrance one of another frequently before the Lord. About that time I learned that it was my duty, not only to teach my scholars according to the laws and customs of the college, but also, according to the law of God, and to teach them piety; and from that time forth my reproof had more weight with them than the rod had formerly.

At this time I observed little controversy in religion in the Kirk of Scotland; for though there were bishops, yet they took little upon them, and so were very little opposed until Perth Assembly.*

* This Assembly was held at Perth, 25th August 1618. "It was not made up," says Row "of commissioners sent from presbyteries, but of bishops, doctors, deans, and such ministers as were the bishops' followers. Then the king had his commissioners, and there were sundry noblemen and gentlemen, who were written for by the king and bishops to keep the said Assembly; and sundry commissioners sent from presbyteries were not called upon, neither got they any vote there, *the moderator not knowing what they would say.* The Bishop of St Andrews (Spottiswood), usurped the place of moderator; and when some modestly spoke that leets should be made, and out of them a moderator chosen by votes, he answered, 'This tonne wherein we are

I, hearing that some innovations were to be introduced* at that meeting, which was attempted before at a meeting at Aberdeen, and at another at St Andrews, but nothing could there be concluded; but great preparation being made to carry a conclusion of enacting kneeling at the communion, with some holidays, &c., that meeting being appointed in August, the college vacation being then, I resolved to wait upon it to see how matters were carried. In the entry of that meeting, there was some contest about presiding and moderating the Assembly. The Archbishop of St Andrews, † who opened the Assembly with a crafty sermon, pretended that presiding belonged to him of right; but ancient worthy men opposed it, affirming that it was against the liberty and freedom of a General Assembly in Scotland that any should intrude into that place, and that still, in all Assemblies since the beginning of the Reformation, the moderator was elected by the suffrages of the members of the Assembly; as also, that no pretended Assembly

is in my diocie; let us see who will take my place over my head.'"—*Row's Hist.*, p. 315.

* These innovations were actually introduced, and are commonly called the Five Articles of Perth. They were: kneeling at the sacrament; private communion; private baptism; confirmation of children; observance of festivals or holidays in commemoration of the birth, passion, resurrection and ascension of Christ, and the effusion of the Spirit. The king very plainly told the Assembly in his letter, that, though he had asked their consent to these Articles, they were not to suppose that he considered this necessary. "This were a misknowing of your places, and withal a disclaiming of that *innate power* which we have by our calling from God; by the which we have place to dispose of things external in the Church as we shall think them to be convenient and profitable for advancing true religion among our subjects. We will content ourselves with nothing but a simple and direct acceptation of these Articles in the form by us sent unto you." —*Booke of the Univ. Kirk*, iii., 1146.

† John Spottiswood, who was first minister of Calder, and then archbishop of Glasgow, but made archbishop of St Andrews in 1615, in the room of Archbishop Gladstanes, who died that year, and chancellor of Scotland. He fled from Scotland, after the covenant had been sworn in 1638, exclaiming: "Now all that we have been doing these thirty years bypast is at once thrown down!" He died at London, November 26. 1639, just in time to escape witnessing the total overthrow of his favourite Church polity in Scotland. Spottiswood, though haughty and imperious, and frequently giving way to unseemly bursts of passion against those who thwarted him in his projects, cannot be said to have been of a sanguinary or cruel disposition. His history has been admired for its moderation, but is chargeable with gross misrepresentation, and, being a posthumous work, is suspected of interpolations.—*See Index to M'Crie's Life of Melville*, ii., 548.

had fixed the privilege of presiding upon bishops, that had crept in contrary to the ancient constitution of the Kirk of Scotland. Notwithstanding all this, the archbishop usurped the place, against which some of the brethren gave in a protestation in writing. Some days there was a disputation; Mr William Scot of Cupar, Mr John Carmichael of Kilconquhar, and Mr Alexander Henderson of Leuchars,* reasoning against the innovations; Drs Lindsay,† Gladstanes,‡ and Philip,§ making answers, such as they were. They never offered any reason for the change but the king's will, (his letter being read several times), except one argument offered

* Mr William Scot and Mr John Carmichael were the intimate friends of Andrew Melville, and must now have been old men. The former wrote an "Apologetical Narration of the State of the Church of Scotland," lately printed by the Wodrow Society. Alexander Henderson afterwards distinguished himself as the hero of the second Reformation.

† Dr David Lindsay, who was at this time minister of Dundee. He was made bishop of Brechin in 1619, and afterwards bishop of Edinburgh in 1634.—*Row's History*, pp. 242, 325. He was the intimate friend of Mr James Nicolson, who, after accepting the bishopric of Dunkeld, fell into a state of remorse, which brought on his death. Lindsay set down in Latin verse the last words of his friend, which were expressive of pungent remorse for having accepted the bishopric, and, among the rest, Nicolson's exhortation to him not to haunt the court, and to eschew all the king's employments. "But neither his grief nor his admonition," says Calderwood, "have wrought any good effect upon Mr David; for he hath made no scruple to accept upon him the bishopric of Brechin, and to defend all the corruptions and innovations it pleased King James to obtrude upon our Kirk."—*History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vi., 672. Dr Lindsay wrote several works on the subject, as, "Resolutions for Kneeling at the Communion," 8vo, London, 1619; and, "An Account of Perth Assembly, with a Defence thereof," 4to, London, 1621.—*Charteris' Short Account of Scots Divines, Wodrow MSS.*, vol. lii. 4to, no. 2, p. 8.

‡ Dr Alexander Gladstanes was the son of George Gladstanes, archbishop of St Andrews. He studied at the University of Oxford, and in 1612 was appointed archdeacon and first minister of St Andrews, although he had entered on the study of theology only three years before. So late as 1612 his father had continued to act as first minister; but in that year the archdeanery was separated from the archbishoprick, (Acts Parl. Scot. iv. 493.) While in this situation, the conduct of young Gladstanes was far from being irreproachable. In December 1615, the year in which his father died, Archbishop Spottiswood found it necessary to advise him to "follow his calling, and behave himself with greater gravity," and not to be "a company-bearer with common folks in drinking." He continued, however, archdeacon of St Andrews till the overthrow of Prelacy in 1638, when he was deposed by the Presbytery of St Andrews; and the case coming before the General Assembly, that Court confirmed the sentence of the Presbytery; upon which he declined the authority of the Assembly, and protested.—*Life of Archbishop Gladstanes, in Wodrow's Biographical Collections*, i. 293, 315, 546.

§ Dr Henry Philip, minister at Arbroath.—*Row's History*, p. 269.

by Dr Lindsay, which was easily blown away. The reasoners against kneeling once asked whether their opponents urged the gesture of kneeling in reverence to the elements of the sacraments, yea or nay? It was answered by Dr Gladstanes, "Not as to the elements, but as to holy signs;" at which answer a great number of the Assembly murmured as a most dangerous and superstitious conceit, yea, his very partners that stood with him showed their displeasure; and yet the very act concluding for kneeling carries the same notion in the bosom of it not obscurely. In the midst of the disputation, the archbishop burst out in these words: "This matter shall not be carried either by arguments or votes; if it were but we bishops, with his Majesty's commissioners, we will conclude and enact the matter, and see who dare withstand this."

Matters being thus carried, I had then no doubt, nor ever doubted since, on what side truth stood. Yea, then I perceived that Prelacy itself was the worst of all corrupt ceremonies, and was then fixed in my judgment never to approve their way, it being destructive to the purity of the Gospel. This change introduced persecution, yet nothing so hot and violent as that which now is incumbent on the Kirk of Christ.* From that time I

* This was written in 1663, when the persecution under Charles II. was "incumbent," or lying heavily on the Church of Scotland.—Both ministers and private Christians were exposed to trouble for not conforming to the Perth Articles. On June the 8th, 1620, an act of the Privy Council was passed for "a proclamation for keeping the acts of the last Assemblies of the Kirk," in which every minister who violates the said acts, it is stated, does so under the pain of being "called and convened before the Lords and others of the High Commission, and other ordinary judges of the Kirk, and to be punished by deprivation, suspension, confining, and warding, at the discretion of the said judges of the Kirk: And every other person that shall refuse to come into the kirk and to hear preaching, the days [holidays] particularly above written, under the pain of payment of the sum of thirteen shillings and fourpence, as a penalty modified to be taken of them and every one of them that shall so transgress *(toties quoties)*: And siklike for every person that shall refuse to communicate in the reverent manner that is prescribed by the acts of the said Assembly, under pain of payment of the sums of money after specified, according to their ranks, qualities and degrees; that is to say, every earl under the pain of an hundred pounds, every lord under the pain of an hundred merks, every baron or laird under the penalty of fifty pounds, and every other person, of whatsoever rank or degree, under the pain of twenty pounds or less, at the discretion of the judges before whom they shall be called, convened, and punished in manner foresaid, without favour: And the said

studied the controversies about lord bishops and their ceremonies, and was still more and more confirmed against them as weighty corruptions. About that time, looking for a book in my press, I lighted upon another which I was not seeking, called "Petronius Arbiter." This book I heard some commend for an excellent Latin diction, both in prose and metre, and upon this account I bought it, but until that day I had never read any part of it; but then where it opened to me I fell a reading, and did find, under the veil of most elegant words, the most base matter; and, still upon my feet standing, I turned over and looked one or two other places, and still I found filthy poisons sugared and gilded with very ornate words. I thought with myself, if anything in the world be the devil's bait to defile and entangle souls, this is one eminently; and wishing that there had been no more copies of it in the world, I went to the fire, and with my tongs I lifted out the best burning coal, and laid in this book in the place of it, laying on the burning coal above it. I learned thereafter that this Petronius Arbiter, the writer of the book, was called Arbiter because he was *Arbiter deliciarum Neronis*; that is, the inventor and master of wicked pleasures to that monster of cruelty and filthiness, the Emperor Nero *. O with how great circumspection ought we and others, especially young ones, to consider what books they have or read, lest unawares they swallow down soul-poison, which, as poison to the body, though it be vomited up again, yet leaves always a hurtful dreg!

Not long after that, I met with a most rare and admirable

pains shall be taken up and applied to *pious uses*."—*Wodrow MSS.*, vol. xliii., folio, no. 95.

* Caius Petronius united talents of a high order with softness of manners and the love of sensuality. Having fallen under the displeasure of the tyrant to whose vices he had pandered, he was condemned to death. Petronius became his own executioner. He opened a vein, then closed it up again, losing, at intervals, a small quantity of blood, "as if not in a hurry to leave a world which he loved;" his friends, during this operation, all the while endeavouring to entertain him with grave discourses on the immortality of the soul, interspersed with recitations of gay and lively pieces of poetry. Such was the writer whose talents recommended him to the favour of Nero, and to the praise of Pope in his Essay on Criticism:—

"Fancy and art in gay Petronius please;
The scholar's learning with the courtier's ease."

mercy, wherein I tasted abundantly of the Lord's loving-kindness that's better than life, and somewhat of that joy that is unspeakable and glorious; and thus it was: One of my colleagues, through indisposition, not coming to the table, I made him a visit after supper, and finding him distempered by a crudity in his stomach, I entreated the favour to send for wine and milk to be a posset. He knowing that then I could scarce taste wine, yielded to my motion, providing I would drink thereof myself; but the college servants, not being well skilled in posset-making, put in too little milk for allaying the strength of the wine. Hereby it came to pass, that having taken a draught thereof, and finding no harm for the present, two hours thereafter, being in bed, I was cast into a burning fever, and having never felt the like of that in all my life, I presently apprehended death to approach. I was the more capable of this apprehension, because from the twelfth year of mine age I had very frequent meditations of death, whereupon it was settled in my breast that I would never see thirty years, and then I was about five or six and twenty. The burning heat still increasing (as it uses to be in a diary fever, for meeting with the like thereafter by reading Fernelius,* I learned that the access of the day-fever is most violent, inflaming the vital spirits), I concluded that I would not see the sun again rising, though the night then was very short, it being in the month of July. At this time I was not at all dismayed; but, on the contrary, I began to rejoice greatly upon the consideration that shortly I might be rid of sin and sorrow, and was fair before the wind to arrive where holiness and glory dwell, to enjoy God eternally. And though that scorching fever was burning my body, yet the love of God burning more fervently in my soul made me to feel no pain at all. It was not possible to my tongue then, nor my pen now, to express the great gladness and exulting of my spirit. I extolled my Lord and Saviour, yea, I sang to him, especially the 16th Psalm,

* John Fernelius was a medical writer of great ability in his time; there are many editions of his Universa Medicina, sive Opera Medicinalia, printed at Paris, Lyons, and Geneva, between 1567 and 1645.

for I felt within me that which is written in the end of that psalm: "Thou wilt show me the path of life; in thy presence is fulness of joy; at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore." And thus I reasoned: If I be so full now of joy and pleasure in God, even in this vale of tears, how infinitely greater shall those joys and pleasures be when the soul shall be elevated and enlarged to enjoy God eternally, without any interruption, world without end! When I had been some hours entertained in this banqueting house, the banner of his love being over me, there burst out a great sweat, which did wet not only my body and shirt, but the whole clothes about me; the vehemence of the fever was abated; and I perceived by the abating that the time of my perfecting was not yet come, which caused me to sigh many love sighs, and the vehemence of my rejoicing also abated. About the sun rising I fell asleep for about an hour or two; and about six o'clock, when I began to stir, not being fully awakened, I thought at first, O what a pleasant dream have I dreamed! but when I was fully wakened, I considered all the passages, and how I had shifted myself, having a clean shirt lying at my head, and that yet all was wet about me, and so that it was no dream, but a real manifestation of the loving-kindness of the Lord. When I arose I found my body much shaken, and that the fever was not quite gone; yet I resolved to ride about two miles to the Kirk of Govan, where the blessed man of God, Mr Robert Boyd, did preach; and, in time of the first sermon, I had another access of that fever, which ended in a sweat; and, in the time thereof, I had a renewed rejoicing in God, though not so high as the former. After both sermons, in our returning to the town, I opened to the man of God how it had been with me in the night. He told me that that was not the daily fare of the people of God, but a delicate reached to me from the hand of my heavenly Father, to strengthen my faith, to make my hope lively, and to prepare me to endure temptation and affliction for his sake cheerfully and courageously: as also, that I should not frequently expect the like, but lay it up as an earnest of the glory that is to be revealed at the appearance of Jesus Christ.

About that time I was now and then invited and employed to preach publicly, which I did willingly, and thereby became acceptable to the godly people of that place; as also to the people of Stewarton, a parish in Cunningham, where the Lord had a great work in converting many. Numbers of them were at first under great terrors and deep exercise of conscience, and thereafter attained to sweet peace and strong consolation. I preached often to them in time of the college vacation, residing at the house of that famous saint the Lady Robertland,* and had much conference with them, and profited more by them than I think they did by me; though ignorant people, and proud secure livers, called them "The daft people of Stewarton." Mr Robert Boyd, of whom I have formerly made mention, came from his house in Carrick to meet with them; and having conferred with them, both men and women, he heartily blessed God for the grace of God in them. The Countess of Eglinton did much countenance them, and persuaded her noble lord to spare his hunting and hawking some days, to confer with some of them whom she had sent for to that effect. His lordship, after conference with them, protested he never spoke with the like of them; he wondered at the wisdom they manifested in their speech. As many of them as were able to travel went to the Monday market of Irvine with some little commodities such as they had; but their chief intention was to hear the lecture that ended before the market began, and by their example many of that parish (their minister encouraging them to it) and out of other parishes went thither, whereby the power of religion was spread over that part of the country. I bless the Lord that ever I was acquainted with that people, and for the help I had by interchanging letters with blessed Mr Dickson after

* Lady Robertland's name was Fleming. Livingstone describes her as "one deeply exercised in her mind, and who often got as rare outgates; a great help to the poor people of Stewarton when they were awakened;" and he adds: "After she had attained, for many years, to as much assurance and stability as any in her time, yet I found her in Edinburgh, about winter 1649, in as great doubts and darkness as ever before; but many battles brought many victories."—*Livingstone's Characteristics, in Select Biographies*, Wod. Soc. Pub. i. 347.

he left the college. I was helped hereby to relieve, according to my power, them that were in need, and to sympathize tenderly with such as I knew to be tempted, and lying under heavy pressures of conscience, whereby I still learned more of the wicked wiles of Satan and of the blessed ways of God.

In the sixth year of my profession in the college, many faithful ministers being put to suffering for Perth Articles, formerly mentioned, I conceived that suffering might also be my lot, whereof I got special warning by a grave and gracious French minister, whose name was M. Basnage.* He was sent from the General Assembly of the French Protestants to receive contributions in Scotland, as another was sent for the same purpose to England, both which was approven by King James, to be employed for the use of the distressed and besieged Rochelle. † This gracious man, coming to Glasgow to receive the contributions gathered there, took me aside and told me he had carried himself indifferently towards the parties that were in our Kirk, lest he should have marred the errand he had come for; but now, having done his work, he might, and did more freely declare what and whom he liked and misliked. He told me he had heard well of me, and did

* Benjamin Basnage was pastor of the French Protestant church at Carentan or Quarentin, and distinguished himself by his zeal for the civil and religious liberties of his country, which were inseparably conjoined. In 1622, Basnage was employed by the General Assembly of Rochelle, which was a civil, not an ecclesiastical body, to make collections in Scotland to aid the town of Rochelle, the strongest bulwark of the Reformed party in France, which was then besieged by sea and land, and suffering great privations. For his activity in this service he was ejected by the king from his church, and forbidden to sit in the National Synod till 1631, when he was graciously re-admitted by his majesty, who, "having a particular respect unto the most humble petitions of this Assembly, gave him leave to take his place and vote in it."—*Quick's Syn.*, 274. If our Scottish General Assemblies, as some allege, provoked persecution by their refractory disobedience to royal mandates, the French Protestant Synods may be said to have invited it by their tame submission.

† The author is mistaken in saying that King James approved of the succours sent to the Protestants of Rochelle. On the contrary, he would not allow anybody to speak about them to him, prohibited his subjects from assisting the Reformed, and called them rebels.—*Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, tom. ii., p. 404. His subjects, however, thought otherwise, and sent very large supplies to their suffering brethren. Edinburgh and Glasgow were very liberal on this occasion. In August 1622, M. Basnage granted receipts, for £80.424, 6s. 8d. Scots; and in June 1632, for the further sum of £23,237 18s. 6d. Scots, all from the Church of Scotland.—*Life of Boyd.*

believe it to be so; but withal assured me that the bishops and their faction were sore displeased with me, and that, in his judgment, ere a year were turned about, I would see the effects thereof (as it came to pass indeed); but, withal, he encouraged me not to fear what they could do; exhorting me that, when I was troubled by them, I would come to France, where I would be very welcome, yea, and the more welcome for my suffering under their hands; assuring me that I should no sooner come but I should have a place in a college to teach philosophy till I learned the French language, that so I might serve in the holy ministry there.

But before I enter upon that trouble I underwent at Glasgow, it is expedient to declare how the Lord prepared me for the same, what lets and rubs I met with in the service of the Lord, and what encouragements and furtherances I had from himself in several steps and degrees. And, first, I declare that I did find great sweetness and easiness in worshipping the Lord for some considerable space; so that I did not apprehend nor forecast any great difficulty. Satan was bound up from tempting, and my corruptions from outbreaking; and much sweetness, as it were, milked in from the Lord, his tender love heartening me in his ways before I did find difficulties. But when I began to set closer on duties, as, in special, to the sanctifying of the Lord's day, I did meet with such opposition by the wandering of my own mind and injections from Satan, that the more I aimed at watchfulness and circumspection the less speed I came, and was further from gaining my point than when I endeavoured it less. I was put to a nonplus, and knew not what to do. To slack my endeavours I durst not, and to bend them more I could not; and when I endeavoured it, I was beaten back with loss, and so for some space I walked in heaviness. At my first awaking I knew the Lord's day from another by the opposition I met with before my eyes were opened. A Christian friend, even my german brother, who had been my regent and teacher in philosophy, finding me in this case by my frequent sighs, inquired what ailed me—was I in doubt or fear about my soul's salvation? I said, "I am not. I have Christ to be my righteousness, and by

his merits I hope to be saved." "What can trouble you, then?" said he. I answered: "This troubleth me, that I cannot get the Lord my God served cheerfully and constantly, especially on his own day, as sometimes I have done, or at least seemed to myself to do." He laboured to encourage me, and to chide me out of that heaviness. But that took not effect; I did lie under it till on a Lord's-day wherein I had been not a little perplexed in private, as I was entering the place of public worship, the Lord spoke to my soul by his Spirit out of the 71st Psalm: "I will walk in the strength of the Lord, and will make mention of thy righteousness, even thine only." Hereby great light shined within my soul, discovering the ignorance and darkness wherein I was walking; as, first, that when the Lord took me by the arms and taught me to go rejoicing therein, I observed not that it was the Lord's secret upholding and furnishing from step to step; but I thought I had gotten a habit and stock of grace in my keeping that would suffice to carry me through all difficulties. And then, secondly, I looked upon this as mine own, which no doubt highly provoked the Lord to blast my endeavours, and to withdraw his gracious assistance, that so I might learn better what I was and what was mine own, to wit, weakness, folly, wandering, deadness, backsliding, &c. Then did I see that the stock and store of my strength, whereby to walk with God, was not committed to my keeping, nor at my command, but in thy hand, O Lord! who didst withdraw that thou might embrace. Then compared I with the Scripture now cited that which often occurs in Holy Scriptures: "The Lord is my strength and my song; he also is become my salvation."—Exod. xv.; Ps. cxviii.; Isa. xii. By these and the like passages of Holy Scripture, the Lord did teach me then, that the stock and strength of sin was within myself; yea, that I carried about with me a body of sin and death, a bitter root of sinning, sin abounding and breaking forth; and that when the Lord quickened the soul, putting in the life of God therein, and putting down sin from reigning, yet it remained and sought to reign, and frequently prevailed; so that the new creature was assaulted, hurled, and haled as a captive—

hindered in doing good and hurried away to evil; and that strength to resist was to be looked after from a Preserver and Deliverer. Yea, I perceived then that sin, that seemed to be dead, had too much of vigorous life; which appeared most evidently when the spiritual law accurately urged obedience according to what is written, Rom. vii. 8, where the apostle, bearing the person of a combatant in this warfare, saith: "Sin, taking occasion by the commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiscence. For without the law sin was dead. For I was alive without the law once; but when the commandment came, sin revived, and I died." Then, O Lord! thou was pleased to humble thy servant, and to drive me out of myself, to teach me not to trust in myself, but in God, who raiseth the dead.—2 Cor. i. 9. Then began I to learn the truth of that Christian paradox, and better to understand the meaning of it (see 2 Cor. xii. 10): "When I am weak, then am I strong." The Lord gives a proof of his strength and power where he makes a discovery of weakness, according to verse 9th: "My strength is made perfect in weakness;" and so way is made that the power of Christ may rest upon such.

If any think this was no great manifestation of an important truth—for who that knows any thing of God can be ignorant of this, that every good duty must be performed by strength and furniture from the Lord himself?—I answer, It is one thing to know a truth naturally, ("what they know naturally, as brute beasts, in those things they corrupt themselves"—Jude 10), or by a gift of common illumination; to know it, I say, notionally, so as to discourse thereof both accurately as to the matter, and elegantly as to the words. This many graceless students and gifted persons attain, and yet the Lord's Word will pronounce of such a one: "He is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions."—1 Tim. vi. 4. Yea, he may be a great disputant, as the following verse doth intimate. A great deal of this brain, frothy, foamy knowledge cometh to little, yea, to nothing; it puffeth up, and is but a witness against him that hath it, though, through God's blessing, it may be very useful to edify others. This differeth essen-

tially in kind or species, as I may say, from the right, true, and saving knowledge of God.—See 1 John ii. 4, iii. 6, iv. 8. The Scripture aboundeth herein. This true and spiritual knowledge is affectionate and practical; as it floweth from the Spirit of grace, so it carries with it a stream and current of holy affections, and stirreth up to endeavours and earnestness in holy practice. A little of this reacheth very far. Now, according to this distinction, no doubt I knew formerly this truth naturally and notionally, but as to the affectionate and practical knowing of it, upon good grounds, it appeared to me then a new lesson and a great light to order my conversation aright, out of a stock and store of the strength of God, influencing the soul from time to time, as felt necessity earnestly sought the same. Hereby I understood to purpose what is written in Isa. xl. 29–31: "He giveth power to the faint; and to them that have no might he increaseth strength. The youth shall be faint and be weary, and the young men shall utterly fail; but they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not weary; and they shall walk, and not faint;" viz. (that is to say), when quick witted and well gifted persons shall sit up from duties, and fall away possibly both from profession and practice, the weaker witted and meanlier gifted, resting upon the strength and furniture of the Lord, shall persevere in profession, and abound in the practice of holy duties. This, through God's blessing, proved to me a great, long, and strong stroke of the oars, to set me forward in holy duties for a considerable time, walking in the strength of the Lord, in self-denying, and magnifying the grace of God and his gifted righteousness. But my gracious Lord, who intended to lead me on in holy practice, according to Gospel principles, by process of time suffered the great help and assistance gotten by what hath been even now mentioned to drink in and to decay. Then was I put hard to it what to do next. I found no stock in my own hand to trade with, and that strength and furniture from the Lord did not flow in as of late. When I was put to this restless pause, and was, as it were, out of all ways, then

the words of our Saviour: "I am the way, and the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father but by me," (John, xiv. 6), 'were suggested to me.'* Then was I thus rebuked and upbraided: What meanest thou, dark-minded man, to live as if the Desire of all nations were not come—as if the Light of the Gentiles were not shining?—to live as if He were not published and proclaimed, in whom it pleased the Father that all fulness should dwell, and out of whose fulness we are to receive even grace for grace? for though thou be oft thinking, oft speaking of Christ and to Christ, yet thou art not directly making him the way—that is, the guide or leader—the new and living way unto the Father. What marvel that the strength and power of the Lord influence not thy soul, seeing thou makest so little application and address to God by his Son. Though thou seemest to know, yet thou considerest not that all power in heaven and in earth is given into his hand. And as it was of old with his shadow, Joseph in Egypt, all garners were shut or opened, all sacks were filled or emptied, all comers and seekers were roughly or gently dealt with at his direction and pleasure; so now in the kingdom of heaven all petitioners, all traders, are to come directly and expressly to the man in whom the fulness of the Godhead dwelleth bodily, and all the disbursements and outgivings to traders and handlers in this kingdom, come through his hands. Thus was I rebuked and chided into Jesus Christ. This was to me as the discovery of a new world. I began to lament that so many like myself, who had fled from the pursuing wrath of God to Christ, his satisfaction for them to the justice of God, had fled, I say, to his atonement, in order to their reconciliation and absolution from sin, and were therein exalting, extolling, and setting him on high, yet, in order to their sanctification, knew little or nothing what use to make of him.

Then began I in a serious way to study his person, his nature, his offices, and the several parts thereof; how he is made to us of God not only wisdom as the great promised prophet, righteousness

* Wodrow says on the margin of his copy: "These four words are not in the original; but the sense not being complete without them, they stand."

as our justifier and absolver, but also sanctification as our king to reign in us, and working that which is well-pleasing in his sight. Then looked I upon his human nature, wherein he was sib * to us; and so "unto us a child is born, unto us a Son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder."—Isa. ix. 6. "And this man shall be the peace, when the Assyrian shall come into our land, and when he shall tread in our palaces."—Micah v. 5. And so being made like one of us, partaking of flesh and blood with the children, "both he that sanctifieth and they who are sanctified are all of one: for which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren."—Heb. ii. 11. Comfortable, then, was the consideration of his human nature, wherein he is touched with the feeling of our infirmities; for upon this ground we are exhorted to come boldly to the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need. And so our Saviour was made fit to be a sacrifice to satisfy for sin, and our familiar, † to whom we might have recourse for sanctification to help us against all temptations as our need requireth; seeing "for this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil."—1 John iii. 8. Now, as the consideration of his human nature proves thus comfortable in order to our sanctification, so also his divine nature; for the child that's born to us, the Son that's given to us, his name is "The mighty God, The everlasting Father."

When our spiritual enemies are terribly mustered up before us, and impudent Satan, as god of this world, claimeth an independent supremacy (for this is one of his stratagems against heartless sinners, to bear in temptations with such importunity, as having uncontrollable power both to command and compel), then he is to be knocked on the head with that divine word as a sword: "The God of peace shall bruise Satan under our feet shortly."—Rom. xvi. 20. But especially the kingly office of Christ, in order to our sanctification, is most considerable, and that both in order to our

* *Sib*—near of kin.

† *Our familiar;* that is, our friend. In some copies it is erroneously written "more familiar."

enemies, Satan, sin, the world, and death; and in order to ourselves, as a victorious King to reign in us, through the abundance of his grace, to make us kings and priests to the Father.—Rev. i. 6. When sin offers to reign, and really does much prevail, he not only exhorts: "Let not sin reign in your mortal bodies," (Rom. vi. 12), but also (verse 14), upon his royal word, and out of his princely power, determines the case—saith to all that have fled for refuge to him: "Sin shall not reign nor have dominion over you: for ye are not under the law as a covenant that curses the sinner, but under grace that supplies and supports."

And so, now, when the fulness of Christ and the riches of Christ were made patent as a well-furnished magazine and an inexhaustible storehouse, O gracious God! how sweetly and satisfyingly did this refresh the soul of thy poor servant! I saw then that the sacrifice once offered for sinners remained still to be a strengthening feast, whereupon we are exhorted while we live: "Let us keep the feast."—1 Cor. v. 8. While thus I was feasting on and with Christ—looking on him as King and Lord, and drawing virtue from him—I perceived that as Christ had an inward kingdom, consisting of righteousness, peace, and joy of the Holy Ghost, (Rom. xiv. 17), and this kingdom is within us (Luke xvii. 21); so also that he did administrate his spiritual kingdom externally in governing his house, which is his Church, by his appointed servants and officers, the government being on his shoulders.

This put me to a new examination of the point of Church government, considering first the Scriptures, and then authors who debated these questions. In searching the Scriptures I did find that our Saviour, upon several occasions, did forbid and discharge lordship and domination, even to his extraordinary commissioners (Luke xxii. 24-26; Matt. xx. 25, &c.); and, consequently, to all that shall bear office at any time in his Kirk. And in these prohibitions these things are remarkable: *First*, The prohibition in the Gospel of Luke was given out at the celebration of the sacrament of his supper, Christ our Lord giving to his disciples their sacrament upon it; *secondly*, It is observable that in both the Evan-

gelists, where our Saviour discharges domination and lordship in Kirk officers, he asserts and allows civil and kingly government, and the titles of honour due thereunto, and thereby refutes that conceit that goes too current—"No bishop, no king;" and, *thirdly*, It is remarkable, that with the discharging of domination in Kirk office-bearers, he discharges also titles of honour, to be assumed by them, or to be given to them, saying expressly in Luke, "It shall not be so with you." Also, the Apostle Peter (on whom especially the hierarchy is builded) discharges this domination, saying: "Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock."—1 Peter v. 3. And wherever bishops are named in the New Testament, no other thing is meant than pastors, presbyters, or ministers; so that bishop and presbyter, in the language of the Holy Spirit, is nothing else but two names of one and the same office, which is confessed even by the learnedest of the Prelatic party, and is so manifest from the 1st of Philippians, and the 20th of the Acts, that it cannot be denied but with great impudence; and therefore it is that the wiser sort of the Prelatic party, not vexing the Scriptures to find their original there, betake themselves either to the authority of the civil magistrate, or to the ancient custom of the Kirk, or to the good end for which this superiority of bishops was ordained. But none of these can be a ground sufficient to found their superiority upon, much less their sole power. As to the *first* of these, it may justly be counted a profane conceit to imagine that Christ hath not ordained and instituted the substantials of a government (whereof the office-bearers therein are a principal one) how to govern his house and kingdom; and it contradicts the perfection and sufficiency of Holy Scripture. And who will think the man a wise governor of his house that leaves it to the servants to choose rulers over them without his direction and appointment? As to the *second*, of pretended antiquity, first, it is no absurdity to call every substantial change, after the closing of the canon of Scripture, a corrupt novelty; and, secondly, it is well known to all conversant in the writings of the ancients, that the change at first was very small, yea, that for near-

ly four hundred years the person to whom the name of a bishop began to be appropriated had nothing above the presbyter but ordination, as Jerome witnesses in his time. Thereafter, as purity decayed and corruption increased, more was added from time to time, till it came to the height it is now at. As to the *third*, to wit, the end for which this superiority was by men ordained, viz., to keep unity, it is the truest plea of all the rest, but very weak and insufficient. For, as learned Whitaker observes, disputing the question, the remedy proved worse than the disease; and in very deed, granting once the expedience and lawfulness of a lord bishop over a diocese to keep unity therein, and of a primate's grace to keep unity in a kingdom, it cannot be denied that, upon the same ground, it is fit and necessary that there be a universal bishop and pope over all the churches and kingdoms of the world, as the learned author now cited acknowledges. The truth is, that the denomination of bishops has been the greatest ground of division and contentions that ever was in the Christian world. And here it is very considerable, that when the chosen vessel, the blessed Apostle Paul, in the 4th of the Ephesians, is exhorting to unity, and gathering arguments to promote the same, if it had been the mind of the Lord to appoint the superiority of bishops, and to bless that as a means to preserve unity in the Kirk of Christ, it had been an opportunity there to suggest the same; but, on the contrary, he showeth, that after apostles and evangelists, who were extraordinary commissioners, and in that wherein they were extraordinary none were to succeed them, he nameth only "pastors and teachers for the perfecting of saints, till we all come to the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ;" where it is plain that, according to the wisdom of God, it is not the lording superiority of a prelate over a province, or primate over a kingdom, or a pope over all the churches of the world, that is the mean to keep unity; but that it is the blessing of Christ upon the labours of his sent pastors and teachers, jointly acting and carrying on the work of the ministry, that doth perfect the saints,

bringing them to unity, and making them to grow up to the strength and stature of the grace of God.

This discourse may seem a digression, and going out of the way to meet with a friend, or rather an adversary; but in very deed is no digression. For studying sanctification and the progress of holiness, as belonging to the kingly office of Jesus Christ, whereby he reigneth in his people, destroys in them what is opposite to his kingdom, bringing up their hearts to a growing conformity with him, they being his apprentices in this work, and he still to them master of work; while, I say, I am about the study of the inward part of his kingdom, I saw it incumbent on me not to slight his kingly government of his Kirk, and to search it from the register of his own will; not neglecting the learned writings of the most able disputants on the controversies arising thereon, whereby I attained what here I have set down. And here I profess and protest, as I attained anything of progress in piety from the influence of the grace of Christ, I also attained to further confirmation of the truth of the government of his Kirk by his appointed officers, and not by other intruders and usurpers, to whom I durst not give the accustomed titles of honour, being undue, and prohibited of the Lord, as well as the usurpation itself, as has been formerly said. And though I saw many who were clear enough against that usurpation, yet made no scruple of giving 'titles of honour'* to the usurpers, following that maxim, *Loquendum cum vulgo, sentiendum cum sapientibus*—"We ought to speak as the common people do, but think as wise men do"—I durst not follow that loose principle, albeit I knew that was the way to hasten on trouble; and I was herein confirmed by what is written Job xxxii., at the end, where that grave though young moderator of the controversy betwixt Job and his friends, reproving them both as injurious to God, and mutually one to another, (and this his reproof is not censured by the Lord, though he censures both Job and his friends), this Elihu saith: "Let me not, I pray you, accept any man's person, neither let me give flattering titles unto man; for I

* Wodrow MS.

know not to give flattering titles; in so doing my Maker would soon take me away." In his eyes the giving of undue and flattering titles was no trifling thing, that needed not to be stuck upon; in doing so he feared destruction from God, and so did I also. Honourable titles are indeed due to them that are honoured with civil honour by a king or state, which is the fountain of honour; but persons interdicted hereof by the sovereign Lord, King of kings and Lord of lords, who authoritatively gives out indispensable laws, both of giving and receiving of honours and the titles thereof, and hath said of Church officers, "It shall not be so with you," (having, in the words immediately before, allowed both power and honour, with the titles thereof, to be called "Benefactors," Gracious Lords, or your Grace), may neither require nor admit the same, nor may others, by so flattering them, harden them in their usurpation.

But now, to proceed in opening up the steps of practical light wherein the Lord did lead me in these times, I thought with myself thus: Having found opened to me the mystery of Christ in order to a full satisfaction for sin, as also his kingly office, in order to carry on sanctification, and so made to me "all, and in all," I concluded that there was no more ado but, in humble sincerity, to follow on that way; and then, that I might better know how it was with my soul from day to day, having heard of the practice of some diligent Christians, who daily took brief notes of the condition of their souls, marking both what failings and escapes they were overtaken with, as also what speed they came and progress they made in the ways of God, I followed the same course, in some passages using a dark way of writing, and kept it up about sixteen years; so that every Lord's-day the notes of the preceding week were considered and laid to heart, and at the end of every month the notes thereof were perused, and at the end of the year a view taken of the whole. By this strict course I perceived some new obstruction to arise, whereat I was not a little afflicted, having before thought that the discovery made to me of the riches and fulness of grace in Christ should have reached further without any stop or let. Thus

was I again put to a stand with great sorrow, wondering what would be the outgate. Sometimes I thought deeper humiliation for not improving a discovered Christ would clear the way to me; another time I thought that more diligence, and, when ordinary diligence carried not the matter, extraordinary would do it. But still the obstruction remained, to my great astonishment. While I am thus perplexed, that great oracle of God so often set down in Holy Scriptures, "The just shall live by his faith," sounded loud in my ears. This put me to a search through the Scriptures, where I did find great weight laid on that grace both in order to our justification, as also to our sanctification. But I was not satisfied with what I did read commonly in our divines, who described rather the high degree and effects thereof attainable in this life, but gave not a description of it that agreed to the nature of that grace, and all the degrees thereof; but when that Treatise of Faith came forth penned by Ezekiel Culverwell,* a London minister, (his notion of faith is that same that is now published by the Westminster Catechism, penned by the divines of both kingdoms); I was thereby much satisfied and confirmed by his uptaking of the nature and notion of faith.

By this study of the nature of precious faith, especially that oracle formerly mentioned, I learned first that nominal Christians, or common professors, were much deluded in their way of believing; and that not only Papists, who place faith in an implicit assent to the truth which they know not, and that it's better defined by ignorance than by knowledge, (a way of believing very suitable to Antichrist's slaves, who are led by the noses they know not which way), 'were hugely herein mistaken,'† but also secure Protestants, abusing

* "Ezekiel Culverwell, educated in Emmanuel College, Cambridge, was some time rector of Stambridge, in Essex, and afterwards vicar of Felsted, in the same county. When in the latter situation he was prosecuted for nonconformity. In the year 1583 he was suspended by Bishop Aylmer, for not wearing the surplice. He was a man of great piety and excellent ministerial abilities, and instrumental in the conversion of the celebrated Dr William Gouge, when a boy at school. His sister was the Doctor's mother. He is classed among the learned writers of Emmanuel College, and was author of 'A Treatise of Faith,' 1633; also 'A Ready Way to Remember the Scriptures,' 1637."—*Brook's Lives of the Puritans*, iii., 512.

† Wodrow MS.

the description of old given of faith, that it is an assurance or assured knowledge of the love of God in Christ. This assurance, indeed, no doubt is attainable, and many believers do attain and comfortably enjoy it, as our divines from the Holy Scriptures prove unanswerably against the Popish doctors, who maintain the necessity of perpetual doubting, and miscall that Christian comfortable assurance of the Protestants' presumption. But notwithstanding it is true of a high degree of faith, yet it agrees not to all the degrees of saving faith; so that hereby many gracious sound believers, who have received Jesus Christ, and rested on him as he is offered to them in the Word, have been much puzzled, as if they were not believers at all. But, upon the other hand, many secure, unhumbled misbelievers, who have not believed in the Lord's holiness and hating of sin, who have not believed how self-destroyed they are, out of self-love, without the warrant of the Word, conceit themselves to be beloved of God; and that the formerly mentioned description of faith agrees well to them. Secondly, I perceived that many who make right use of faith in order to their justification, made not directly use thereof in order to sanctification. But then I perceived that the living of the just by faith reached further than I formerly conceived, and that the heart is purified by faith. If any think, What! knew I not till then that precious faith, being a grace, was not only a part of our holiness, but did set forward other parts of holiness? I answer, I did indeed know, and so accordingly made use of faith as a motive to stir up to holiness, according to the apostle's exhortation: "Having, therefore, these promises, dearly beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of the Lord," (2 Cor. vii. 1.) But I had not, before that, learned to make use of faith as a mean and instrument to draw holiness out of Christ, the well of salvation, though it may be I had both heard that and spoken that by way of a transient notion; but then I learned to purpose that they who receive forgiveness of sins are sanctified through faith in Christ, as our glorious Saviour taught Paul.—Acts xxvi. 18. Then I marvelled not that my progress met with an obstruction for not

making use of faith, as hath been said for sanctification. Then I perceived that in making use of Christ for sanctification, without direct employing of faith to extract the same out of him, I was like one seeking water out of a deep well without a long cord to let down the bucket and draw it up again; or that I was like a child that opened the mouth to the teat or pap, but did not lay the tongue about the top or nipple thereof, and that milk rather did run into the mouth than that there was kindly sucking. Then was I like one that came to the storehouse, but got my provisions reached to me as it were by a window; I had come to the right house, but not to the right door. But by this 'new' * discovery I did find a patent door made for provision and furniture in and from Christ my Lord. So, blessed Lord, thou trainedst on thy poor servant step by step, suffering difficulties to arise, that greater clearing from thyself might flow in. About that time I was employed to preach by my own brother, who had been my master and teacher; and in the doctrine speaking to the point that now I have been uttering, he, after sermon, in conference, asked whence and how I learned that doctrine; for he did not remember that ever he had heard or read that point before. I told him that I had especially learned it from the Holy Scriptures, and that I was put to a stand and a nonplus till I learned it, and that I was confirmed therein by that notable treatise of Mr Culverwell's, formerly mentioned. He told me, thereafter, he had made use of that treatise to purpose, both for himself and his flock.

I hoped then to make better progress with less stumbling; but not long after, encountering difficulties, I wondered what discovery would next clear the way. Then I found that the Spirit of holiness, whose immediate and appropriate work was to sanctify, had been slighted, and so grieved. For though the Holy Spirit had been teaching, and I had been speaking of him and to him frequently, and seeking the pouring out of the same, and urging others to seek the same, yet that discovery appeared to me a new practical lesson; and so I laboured more to crave, cherish, and not

* MS. of 1715.

grieve or quench the Holy Spirit, praying to be led into all truth according to the Scriptures by that blessed guide; and that by that heavenly Comforter I might be comforted in all troubles, and sealed up thereby in strong assurance of my interest in God.

About that time the Lord set me a work to stir up the students who were under my discipline earnestly to study piety, and to be diligent in secret seeking of the Lord; and my gracious Lord was pleased herein to bless my endeavours. But then the teaching of philosophy became irksome and grievous to me; it was as sand betwixt my teeth. I began to think that sort of labour and study more prejudicial to piety and walking with God than any manufacture or handiwork was; for I thought therein the mind was more free to contemplate the Divine Majesty, and to meditate on holy duties, even when the hand is busied with external labour; but to be reading, meditating, and teaching philosophic notions, distracted the mind more from divine contemplations; and yet, for all this, I durst not slack my hand from a diligent performance of my duty herein. Being thus pinched and perplexed, my gracious Lord was pleased to support me by teaching me that duty in a lawful calling was service acceptable to God through Jesus Christ, when his immediate service was not slighted, but conscionably performed; seeing the apostle (Col. iii.) exhorteth Christian servants, that whatever they do in their employments, to do it heartily, not as to men, but as to the Lord; for, saith he: "Ye serve Christ the Lord." Secondly, I was encouraged herein that I was taught to intermix holy ejaculations to God with all my reading, meditating, and teaching of philosophy. And, thirdly, This comforted me, that I had access also to teach the grounds and urge the practice of true piety; and so I got the residue of my time and labour there, which was not long after this, patiently and comfortably endured.

About this time, after Perth Acts were ratified, kneeling at the communion began to be strictly urged, and many faithful ministers were deposed from the ministry for not obeying the said acts, as Mr Henry Blyth,* the minister at Holyrood House; Mr Richard

* Spottiswood, archbishop of St Andrews, (1619) having gone to Court, procured a

Dickson,* minister at the West Kirk; Mr David Foster ['Forrester,'] † minister at Leith; Mr David Dickson, minister at Irvine, and many others. At Glasgow, kneeling at receiving the elements was so hardly pressed that the Archbishop Law removed from the Lord's table some students, being well known to be godly young men. Hereat Trochrig, principal of the college, accompanied with the masters of the college, went to the archbishop, and with great liberty did admonish and reprove him for driving from the Lord's table godly young men whom, doubtless, Christ made welcome; telling him withal, that the table was not his, but Christ's, and that he had dealt in the matter as imperiously as if he had been removing his horse boys from the by-board. The

warrant and command from the king to Law, archbishop of Glasgow, to hold the High Commission Court, and depose Mr Blyth and Mr David Forrester of Leith from their ministry, and to banish Mr Blyth to Inverness, and Mr Forrester to Aberdeen. Archbishop Law was reluctant to do this, feeling some struggles of conscience at the thought of treating in such a manner men who, he was convinced, were faithful and honest; but, upon receiving a second letter from the king, he held the Court of High Commission, and proceeded against these ministers according to the king's will. After Mr Blyth had continued for a long time in his ward at Inverness, he was admitted minister of Eccles, not far from Berwick. "Thus he is far removed from Edinburgh, and put in a place (as the prelates thought) *scarce capable of puritanical principles, hard upon the border.*"—*Row's History*, pp. 323, 324. Row describes him as "an honest and holy man."—*Ibid.*, p. 258.

* In 1619, Mr Dickson was called before the High Commission by the Archbishop of St Andrews; and, for not celebrating the communion according to the Articles of Perth, and condemning, in particular, the act of kneeling in receiving the elements, he was removed from his ministry, and warded in the Castle of Dumbarton.—*Row's History*, p. 320. Here he was detained some years, and was never suffered to return to his flock. About the same time, Mr Hogg of Dysart was banished to the Orkneys for the same offence. Archbishop Law having been employed to confer with them, Mr Hogg said to him that "they must answer before the Judge of heaven, who had a higher commission;" when the bishop replied: "It is lang to that day, and ye must suffer in the meantime!" The archbishop having threatened to close his mouth and banish him, "I shall be as ready," said the minister, "by God's grace, to suffer as you to persecute; and one day will declare whether you do well or not." "We shall be doing till that day comes," replied the archbishop.—*Scot's Apologetical Narration*, p. 269; *Wodrow MSS.*, vol. xliii., no. 94.

† As is stated in the note preceding the last, Mr Forrester was at this time deposed from his ministry, and banished to Aberdeen by the Court of High Commission. After continuing for a long time in his ward, he was, by the influence of Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, afterwards Earl of Stirling and Secretary of Scots affairs, a cousin of his wife's, restored to his charge at Leith.—*Row's History*, p. 323.

archbishop was so incensed with this free admonition, that his passion hindered his expression for some space; but so soon as he had recovered himself, he uttered his indignation in very high words,* which occasioned the removal of that shining light from the college of Glasgow; for he said, "I will not sit in Rome and strive with the Pope." But in the end, the archbishop magnifying Perth Assembly (where kneeling at the communion was concluded) so highly, saying that all things there were carried upon so weighty grounds, I was forced (none of the rest there present having seen that Assembly) to say something, viz., that the moderator of that meeting said openly, in time of the disputation: "This matter shall be carried neither by arguments nor voices; if there were no more than we bishops and the king's commissioner, we will conclude the same." The archbishop, though he acknowledged that it was true which I uttered, yet he poured out his indignation upon me by very injurious words; and thereafter, though he spared not to commend my parts out of measure, yet when I was presented to any charge he opposed the same. Yet he attempted nothing against me till after the retiring of Trochrig, that Mr Cameron,† coming for a time into his place, set the archbishop against

* As a specimen of the "high words, in which this prelate indulged, we may give the following from notes of a sermon he delivered on John ii. 17, before the Provincial Synod of Glasgow, April 4, 1620: "Whereas," he said, "the zeal of the house of God ate up Christ, now the zeal of the people eats up the Kirk; and as Christ was crucified betwixt two thieves, so is his Kirk now betwixt Papists and Schismatics. The zeal now is blind and for by-respects—that they may get credit with people and the purse filled, as Judas got the bag; and as Diogenes would be singular, by bathing in snow and water in winter, that the people came flocking about, pitying, and crying, Come out. But Plato, more learned than himself, said, 'Good people, go home; let him alone, and he will come out of his own will.' They will say that they suffer for righteousness, even as Dioscorus, when he suffered for heresy, cried out, 'I suffer for righteousness' sake!' He then took God and his angels to witness, that the things in question in our Kirk were neither commanded nor forbidden in God's Word, but left indifferent. He took it upon his salvation, that they were but *trifles* that all the strife was for, and that the pamphleteer's pamphlet (meaning the *Nullity of the Perth Assembly*) that called kneeling idolatry, was but a false lie."—*Wodrow MSS.*, vol. xliii., no. 94.

† The life of Dr John Cameron presents a series of vicissitudes seldom experienced by the mere student. He was born about the year 1580, in Glasgow, "in our Salt-Mercat, a few doors from the place of my birth," says Robert Bailie. Having acquired the French language from Andrew and William Rivet, who were his fellow-students

me; but before I set forth that matter, it shall not be amiss to premise something concerning that very learned man, and what it was that did irritate and provoke him so against me.

and companions in the University of Glasgow, he went to France in 1600, and became professor of theology at Sedan; but, devoting himself to the study of divinity, he accepted a ministerial charge at Bourdeaux, in conjunction with his countryman, Gilbert Primrose. While in this situation, he and his colleague became involved in a strange quarrel with the Government. Orders having been given to disarm the Protestants of Bourdeaux, the consistory became alarmed, and, dreading a general massacre, suspended all meetings for public worship. One of the elders, however, an advocate of the name of Saint-Angel, felt so aggrieved at the suspicions thus evinced of the designs of Government, that he entered a complaint against the two Scottish ministers before Parliament, representing them as "imbued with the maxims of their country, according to which no distinction was made between absolute authority and tyranny." The consistory, on the other hand, considering this an undue interference with ecclesiastical liberty, suspended the recusant elder from communion, on the ground of his contemning the discipline and disturbing the peace of the Church. The Parliament, of course, took the part of the advocate, and ordered the consistory to open the churches, and conduct the public worship as usual. The ministers, to avoid this, retired from the city.—*Hist. de l'Édit de Nantes*, tom. ii., p. 188, *et seq.* The Government never forgave Cameron for this offence; and though he was afterwards called to be professor of divinity at Saumur, we find the king insisting on his removal from the country, and telling the Synod of Charenton that "it was his will and pleasure that those two gentlemen, Mr Gilbert Primrose and Mr John Cameron, should not be preferred to any public office, either of pastors in the churches or professors in the universities, not because of their birth being foreigners, but *for some private reasons of State* relating to his service."—*Quick's Synodicon*, p. 101. In 1621, he came to London, and was introduced to James VI., who, finding him favourable to Prelacy and the ceremonies, made him principal of the College of Glasgow, in the room of Boyd of Trochrig. His sapient majesty seems to have thought that the fame of the doctor's learning would carry all before it, and it is curious to find the man who suffered for witnessing against religious despotism in the person of Louis XIII. condescending to become its tool in the person of James VI. It is strange to hear Baillie saying: "I had drunken in, without examination, from my master, Cameron, in my youth, that slavish tenet, that all resistance to the supreme magistrate, in any case, was simply unlawful."—*Baillie's Letters*, vol. i., p. 188, 4to. James, however, being disappointed in his expectations, was proportionably incensed at "the dolts and deceivers," as he called his agents in Scotland; and Cameron, smarting under his failure and the king's displeasure, before he had been two years in Glasgow, returned to France, only to meet with fresh calamities. Venturing, in the time of civil war, to preach up his tenet of non-resistance at Montauban, he was suspected of currying favour with the king, and insulted in the streets. Poor Cameron, when assailed by one of the mob, in a fit of classic heroism, opened his breast, crying "Strike, villain!" when the fellow immediately knocked him down, and would have killed him, had he not been saved by a woman. He was compelled to flee to a village, where he fell sick and died in 1625, at the age of forty-six. Bayle represents him as "a man of great parts and of an excellent memory, very learned, a good philosopher, good humoured, liberal, not only of his knowledge but his purse, a great talker, a long-winded preacher,

The college wanting a principal for a year, about the time of the laureation, Mr Cameron came, being sent from the Court, where he was then residing, to bring that college to conform to Perth Articles, as we learned thereafter. When we were leaving the town, he, knowing that his main work would be to persuade me (being somewhat confident, upon some essay he had made, to prevail with the rest), hearing that I intended a journey to the north, to visit the faithful servants of Christ who were there confined by the Prelatic High Commission; he, thinking the work would be the harder to prevail with me after I had met with these worthies, set himself to mar my journey, offering that, if I would stay some days, he would go the length of Aberdeen; but suspecting he had no real intention for Aberdeen (as the event proved), I earnestly entreated him to hold me excused, seeing I was engaged, and some company at Edinburgh were waiting upon my coming, who were to go all the length of my journey, and farther. So I following the intended journey, those who had promised to go along with me being hindered by weighty causes, I did find unexpected company, and therein very sweet passages of divine providence, all the time, from day to day; my spirit was much refreshed, observing the Lord's guiding: and when I arrived at these sufferers, their company and conference was to me admirably refreshful, especially at Turriff, where Mr David Dickson was confined, and at Inverness, where Mr Robert Bruce was the second time confined.* That an-

little read in the fathers, inflexible in his opinions, and somewhat troublesome." Bishop Hall pronounced him "the most learned man ever Scotland produced." While in France, he propagated with success new views concerning universal grace, which his disciples, Amyrald and Testard, as usual, carried farther than their master, maintaining that Christ died for all men. His theological lectures were printed at Saumur, in three volumes 4to, 1626. His remarks on the New Testament, entitled *Myrothecium Evangelicum*, were printed in 1633. His "Examination of Popish Prejudices against the Reformed Religion" deserves a better translation than that "Englished out of French," Oxford, 1626.

* Bruce's ministry there appears to have been eminently blessed of God. "*June* 29, 1700.—The memory of that man of God, Mr Robert Bruce, is sweet to this day in this place (Inverness.) He, in the days of King James, was confined to this town, where the Lord blessed his labours to the conversion of many brethren in the town and country about; for multitudes of all ranks would have crossed several ferries every Lord's-day to hear him; yea, they came both from Ross and Sutherland. The

cient heroic servant of Christ, considering how long a journey I had made from Glasgow to visit him, being estimated one hundred and forty miles, did impart to me the memorable passages of his life in a large book, wherein was set down what hard and sore exercise his soul had met with, both before his entry to the ministry at Edinburgh and after, affirming that he was full three years so assaulted and disquieted, that he never said "My God," but he was challenged and questioned for the same: as also the strong consolations whereby the Lord had comforted him, among which two were most eminent, whereby he said the Lord strengthened him, before he fell under the king's displeasure. Also, therein was contained choice letters, either written to him or written by him. In my return, I also met with sweet passages of divine providence, some being drowned in rivers about that same time, and others killed by robbers. Returning to Glasgow, I heard that Trochrig was sick in his own house in Carrick, whereupon I made haste the next day to visit him, who made me very welcome.

Mr Cameron, who had stayed all this time at Glasgow, hereby took a strong prejudice that, in this my journeying first to the north and then to the south, I was carrying on a design (as I learned thereafter, when his fury broke out against me), negotiating amongst ministers who were disaffected to the innovations which had lately crept into the Kirk of Scotland; whereas it was my ordinary practice, in time of our vacation, to visit gracious ministers and eminent Christians, that, by their conference and fellowship, I might be edified and set forward in the good ways of my God.

The vacancy being ended, that learned man began his prelections, all which I took with my pen. At first, in private he did much insinuate himself, and, by his discourses, laboured to persuade me to conform to the late Acts of Perth. I, with as good discretion and modesty as I could, answered his arguments, so that still we parted fairly. About that time came to my hands "The

memory of the just is blessed."—*Extract from the Diary of John Brand, minister at Borrowstounness, from* 1600 *to* 1727, p. 100.

History and Acts of the famous Synod of Dort," together with "The Anti-Synodal Writings of the Belgic Remonstrants." Both these I perused diligently in my night studies, and that so much the more diligently because that I conceived Mr Cameron was most able, both in our public disputes, which we had weekly, and in private conferences, wherein he was very communicative, to dissolve (resolve) doubts on that subject; seeing lately he had, in a public dispute, confuted Tilenus, who had fallen into the Arminian faction.* So I being invited to that weekly disputation to oppugn the thesis,† did unexpectedly meet with Mr Cameron and the French student who maintained the thesis—their defence of election for foreseen faith.‡ Being herewith surprised, I knew not well what to do, partly because I had not will to fix them upon that point by my opposing of it, thinking that perhaps the argument in hand had rather driven them to what they had said than that they were settled in that judgment; and partly because the arguments I had thought upon were frustrated. In this my doubt-

* Daniel Tilenus, a native of Silesia, born in 1563, was professor of divinity at Sedan. He was among the first opponents of Arminius, but afterwards adopted his views. Cameron had a public dispute (he calls it "a friendly conference") with Tilenus, while in France.—*Walch. Bibliotheca Theol.*, vol. ii., p. 544. But he afterwards embraced the tenets of that professor, who, as Wodrow says, "was an enemy to the Presbyterian form of government and discipline, and laid the foundation of what formed Arminius' doctrine; and it was afterwards smoothed and improved by our Cameron, Amyrald and others in France, who generally bear the name of New Methodists, and have many followers at this day."—*Life of Boyd*, p. 106. Tilenus was a violent and unfair adversary. Andrew Melville was much annoyed by him when he taught with him at Sedan.—*Dr M'Crie's Life of Melville*, vol. ii., pp. 290, 304, 305.

† The *thesis*, according to the ancient practice in schools of divinity, was a Latin exercise on some question of theology, such as, "Was Christ the eternal Son of God?" after the reading of which, some student, appointed for the purpose, oppugned it, by adducing the objections of adversaries, to which the author of the thesis, who was called the respondent or defendant, was expected to reply on the spot.

‡ That is, he found Mr Cameron and the French student defending the doctrine, that believers are elected in virtue of their foreseen faith. Cameron was more than suspected of loose views on various points of theology, and too fond of speculating on them all. Much of this may have been owing to his extreme vanity and loquaciousness. He could hardly endure to hear anybody talk but himself, and when interrupted, would frown, and say, with indignation: "Don't interrupt me; let me speak." His scholars admired him almost to idolatry. It is said of Amyrald, that he imitated him, not only in his speculations, but in the peculiar twist of his head and his Scotch accent, so that the king of France once took him for a foreigner. *Bayle*, art. *Cameron*.

ing what to do, I admonished the defendant that the famous Synod of Dort had lately determined the contrary of what he asserted. To this the preses replied, *Tu polles argumentis, omitte testimonium.** So I was necessitated either to be dumb or to dispute against what they held, and so I continued till the ringing of the bell ended the dispute. Many being present, hearers of what had passed, reports did fly through the town hereupon—some affirming that Mr Cameron and the French student or theologue, who was his disciple, had maintained openly, in disputation, a point of Arminianism condemned by the Synod of Dort; others said that I had openly charged them to have done so. This coming to the ears of Mr Cameron, he resolved to have a new public encounter with me, wherein he would baffle me, and I purposed to dispute no more with them. So at the next occasion, in the entry thereof, I was invited to dispute. I prayed to be excused, seeing I had taken up the whole time the last day; and being the following day invited also, I declined, using the former excuse. In the end, there cometh to my chamber a student of theology, who had been under my discipline in philosophy. He told me he was sent by the rest of the theologues to entreat me to dispute the next day. I asked why they were so desirous to have me disputing again. He told me that they were all wearied of disputing so long upon the same thesis, which they had declared to the preses, and he had answered that he would never give them new theses, till I should dispute again. I having formerly a jealousy that there was a snare lying in the frequent inviting me to dispute, I was confirmed therein by what this young man had said; yet he urged me with his request so pressingly, assuring me that my refusal would very much grieve all the young theologues in whose name he had come, that a promise was extorted from me; and when the day came, I proceeded in the argument wherein the ringing of the bells had interrupted me. The defendant would neither retract what he had the former day asserted, nor yet would directly defend it. I was forced to recapitulate the whole argument I had used the last day, together with their answers. At

* "You excel in arguments; don't mind authorities."

this the preses was so enraged that he uttered words of passion. I thinking, as the truth was, that I was very unequally yoked with a man so famous abroad and so much respected at home, and by myself as much as by any other, thought it not fit to insist further, but to come off, saying these words: "I will not dispute contentiously." The preses, not willing to part with me so, framed against me a dilemma thus: "You have either charged us with contention, which would be a proof of your arrogancy, or yourself, which is 'would be' an evidence of an evil conscience. Answer to this," says he. While I am rising to answer, one of the ministers of the town gently laid hold on my gown, saying: "Sit still, and answer nothing;" to whom I answered quietly: "Sir, if I answer not discreetly, bear your witness against me, and spit in my face;" but to the preses I said: "Sir, my speech neither charged you nor myself with contention, but, by yielding, I laboured to prevent the occasion thereof." My answer was commended by them who sat by, especially by him who requested me not to answer. But the preses added injurious and menacing words, till the rector of the university, Mr Robert Scot, a grave and learned minister of the High Kirk of Glasgow, publicly reproved and contradicted him. Then one of the French theologues craved leave of the rector to dispute. When all was ended, when the principal and regents had conducted the rector to the college gate, I went forward, and requested the rector and those that were with him to stay a little; then I requested them, when matters were recent in their memories, to declare whether I had given any just cause to that great wrath and reproachful menacing speeches. They with one consent answered, to their best observation I had given no cause; only one of them added: "It seemeth there is some other thing among you which we know not;" and he guessed rightly, for that learned man, not gaining his point in persuading me to conform to the Perth Articles by privy conference, thought himself affronted; and being of great passions as well as of great parts, he could not contain himself from violent outbreaking.

But then Mr James Roberton,* who was my senior colleague, rested not to travel betwixt us till a reconciliation was made; but something fell out shortly that rankled this reconciliation, and it was this: At a meeting of the moderators of the university, before they entered upon the affairs to be considered, one of the ministers, who was dean of the faculty, asked Mr Cameron, if at any time in the Christian Church before this age, the keeping of the day of Christ's nativity was questioned? He answered, "Never;" and confirmed his answer, citing Augustine's Epistle to Januarius, affirming that it was kept through the whole world. I, having lately read that epistle, observed, then, that in it there was no mention of the nativity-day; yet, waiting to see if men of learning and years there present would make any answer, for a time I was silent; but at last I said: "I trow Augustine makes no mention of the nativity-day in that epistle." Whereupon that man (of whom it was said that he knew not what it was to forget) rises hastily, and laying hold on that book, (for it was in the room where we were convened), turns to the place, thinking to convince me, but finding himself mistaken, he still reads on, till he who asked the question came to look upon the book. Then suddenly throwing it together with some indignation, said: "I wonder that Augustine did forget this!" Before he spake these words some of those that were present looked upon me as the barbarians did upon Paul when the viper was upon his hand, thinking that the present reading of the place would confound me. But I, who uttered the matter conjecturally, (though I knew it certainly), I looked also not confidentlike, neither while he was searching, nor after he had found his mistake. But all this availed not; for though he concealed his wrath at that time, yet he showed his malice and hostility within a few days.

While I had withdrawn myself out of the town, lest in the time of these superstitiously abused days, some debate should be thereabout, he 'tried' who of all those who had been my scholars loved

* Son of Roberton of Earnock, an advocate, and at the Restoration raised to the bench by Charles II., under the title of Lord Bedlay.

me least; and finding one fit for his purpose (not long thereafter he was taken for theft of books, and was laid in the bishop's stocks, whence he made an escape, leaving upon the stocks a paper, confessing, under his hand, that the judgment of God was upon him since that Lord's-day wherein he was seduced to inform against Mr Robert Blair; which paper a friend sent to me, being then in Ireland), he called to him, and employed him to search my Dictates on Aristotle's Ethics and Politics, and to bring to him what he found either of magistrates, laws, or obedience. Some places capable of wresting, John Gardner (for that was his name) found, and presented them to Mr Cameron, and he to the archbishop, where three or four more were drawn upon this plot, their oath of secrecy being taken. But one of these thinking it a pernicious-like plot, and that his oath given was unlawful, sent me information of the whole business. Whereupon I prepared my apology in writ, and being questioned, did read from writ mine answer to all the excepted places that were wrested against me, so convincingly, that both the magistrates of the town and ministers being present were satisfied, in such sort, that one of the ministers standing up in the meeting (even one who had been drawn upon the plot against me), said: "Would to God King James had been present, and had heard what answers that man hath given;" and the archbishop himself told Mr James Roberton, that King James himself would be satisfied with my declaration, and, after some space, did write to my elder brother, minister at Dumbarton, to hinder me to go out of the country, and that shortly I should be planted in a considerable charge, even in the town of Ayr; but before that letter came, I had followed a call that came to me from a nobleman in the kingdom of Ireland, whereof hereafter. Yea, Mr Cameron himself, before that matter was determined, perceiving my inclination to demit my place (he and I meeting privately in his chamber) dealt with me in a seeming earnestness not to relinquish my charge in the college, promising to be my cordial friend; for now (said he) he perceived that both my parts and tenets would make way for my rising. But being now wearied

of teaching philosophy, and considering in how dangerous company I was, and not trusting the fair promises that were made to me, I resolutely refused, and so demitted my place in the college, to the great grief of my fellow-regents, the students, and good people of Glasgow.

Notwithstanding all this evident clearing, yet this calumny did follow me; and when, many years thereafter, I was transported from the ministry at Ayr to the ministry at St Andrews, by the famous Assembly at Glasgow, in the year 1638, the book written against that Assembly, called "The King's Large Declaration," sets a note upon the act of my transportation, that I was expelled the College of Glasgow for being disaffected to monarchical government. But by the good providence of God it came to pass, towards the beginning of that Assembly, that a gentleman, a ruling elder, having heard a surmise of my business, desired openly to be satisfied therein, I being a member of the Assembly. There had I a better occasion of vindication than ever I expected on earth; for we were in the place where that matter was first handled, and many were present, especially Mr Robert Baillie * and Mr George Young, who were eye and ear witnesses of all that business, and did verify before that Assembly all the main articles of the relation before mentioned. The whole Assembly was fully satisfied, and the gentleman who moved the scruple against me, at the parting of the Assembly that day would needs

* The celebrated Robert Baillie, author of the well-known Letters and Journals, and afterwards principal of the College of Glasgow. In 1646, when he dedicated to Blair his "Historical Vindication of the Government of the Church in Scotland," he thus recalls the memory of his youthful days, and pays a high tribute to our author: "When I look back, as I frequently do, with a delightful remembrance towards those years of my childhood and youth, wherein I did sit under your discipline, my heart blesses the goodness of God, who, in a very rich mercy to me, did put the almost white and rased table of my spirit under your hand, after my domestic instructions, which were from mine infancy, to be engraven by your labours and example with my first most sensible and remaining impressions, whether of piety, or of good letters, or of moral virtue. What little portion in any of these it has pleased the Lord, of his high and undeserved favour, to bestow upon me, I were ungrateful if I should not acknowledge you, after my parents, the first and principal instrument thereof. I cannot deny that, since the eleventh year of mine age to this day, in my inmost sense I have always found myself more in your debt than in any other man's upon earth."

be acquainted with me, and thereafter entertained friendship with me; yea, which is much more, the penner of that formerly mentioned book, which had that scandalous note against me, to wit, Dr Balcanqual, dean of Durham,* the year after that Assembly,† I being at London, waiting upon the commissioners of the great treaty, the said doctor sent his servant to me, to entreat that I would appoint some place where he might wait upon me, to satisfy me anent that note against me in the book penned by him, promising to declare to me who had misinformed him therein; to whom I returned this answer, that his whole book, and all the contents thereof, were under public agitation by the honourable commissioners of both kingdoms, by whose united consent (as he knew well enough) that whole book was, one of these days, to be condemned, with all the contents thereof, and he to be declared a public incendiary (and this was ratified by the Parliaments of both the nations;) and that, therefore, I might not follow any private transaction for my own satisfaction; and yet I sent him thanks for his offer, and wished he might see his errors in other things as well as in that for which he had sent to me.

Albeit these things fell out not at one time, but there were near twenty years between the beginning and the end of what has passed in this last discourse; yet I did find it expedient to join

* Dr Walter Balcanqual was the son of Walter Balcanqual, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, distinguished for his opposition to the despotic measures of James VI., and whom Boyd of Trochrig, in his Obituary, describes as "a good man and straight." His son the doctor may have been "a good man," but he was far from being "straight." In 1616 King James sent him as commissioner to the Synod of Dort, to represent the Churches of Great Britain; though it appears he had no commission from the Church of Scotland.—*Hist. Motuum*, p. 100. If he appeared as a Calvinist at Dort, he amply atoned for it by his subsequent exertions to put down Calvinism in Scotland. Created Dean of Rochester in 1624, and Dean of Durham in 1639, he lent himself to become a tool in the hand of Archbishop Laud, and was the author of the "King's Large Declaration," a book in which the Presbyterians of Scotland were falsely and calumniously represented, and which, in order to escape the odium of the pasquinade, was published in the name of the unfortunate monarch. Dr Balcanqual died at Chirk Castle, Denbighshire, on Christmas-day, 1646. He compiled the statutes of Heriot's Hospital, now printed.—*Life of Boyd*, 260; *Charteris' Account*, *Wodrow MSS.*, lii., 2. There is a full account of Balcanqual in Dr Steven's Life of George Heriot.

† On the margin: "1639, after the pacification at the Birks of Berwick. The next year, 1640, when our army was in England, the long treaty began."

together all these passages—one part clearing another. But now, to return to my fore-mentioned trouble at Glasgow: Though I was expecting to share in the troubles of the time, and was not a little prepared and encouraged to undergo the same patiently, having lately been partaker of the consolations of the suffering servants of Jesus Christ, yet I was surprised both in the measure and manner of my trial. Not only Archbishop Law was incensed against me for testifying what I heard and saw at the Assembly of Perth, and had opposed my entry to the ministry, having had a call from several congregations within the land; but the Lord was pleased, also, for my correction and humiliation, to raise up an eminent learned man, who was greatly incensed against me for not being satisfied with his persuasions to yield to that sinful conformity, to be a sharp adversary; he thinking that I intended the affronting of him in the passages formerly mentioned, which (the Lord, the searcher of hearts, knows) was far from my thoughts. Being thus surprised, and having none at hand to consult with (the messenger that I sent to my brother to hasten him to me deceiving me), and this being my first apprentice essay in public suffering, I was not a little astonished. The closest friend I had at hand, by whom I had gotten the intelligence of the plot against me, advised me to make an escape, and not to appear; but I abhorred the motion, seeing that was the way to betray my innocence. And the Lord established my heart with confidence, that he would clear my innocence and integrity; and so I made ready my apology, keeping within my chamber the whole day. Thereafter I went to dispossess some worthy persons of some misinformations made to them by my adversaries, and some of them, by the notable testimony they gave unto me, comforted me not a little; for the praise and commendation of worthy persons, which at another time might be the ground of dangerous temptation, is very comfortable in time of trouble and trial.

That which burdened me most was, that being acquainted with, and beloved of, many gracious people in the land, they would be much grieved for my trouble, and that others might fear that I

had run into great absurdities. This held me waking a whole night, being under great vexation. It is a sad thing to be made a gazing-stock and a matter of talking to good and bad. Ah! Lord, even when we seem to be prepared for doing or suffering, how far are we from it! When thou seest it meet to suffer pain and loss, but especially reproach (innocency and integrity being overwhelmed and oppressed with calumny) to assault us, this is more bitter a great deal than simple death. 'When thou, O Lord!'* seest it meet to bring on trouble and trial, thou wilt make it to be so in effect; and this brings matters so about for the purging and fining of thy servants. Thou wilt have them, as it was with the blessed apostle (2 Cor. i. 8), pressed out of measure and above their strength, that they may learn not to trust in themselves, but in God, who quickeneth the dead. Was the chosen vessel that had carried the name of Christ so long, and with so great success, 'only' yet about the learning not to trust in himself, but in the living God? and behoved he to be pressed beyond any stock or store he had received? If so, how can younger apprentices think themselves hardly dealt with, if they be squeezed under their trials? They need not wonder if all their gifts and graces, if all their experiences and consolations, not only shrink, but even sink under them, when they offer to rest, trust, and rely thereon. In love to the souls of thy servants, thou wilt not endure that spice of heart whorishness, that thy gifts be rested on rather than thyself. Thou wilt make, O Lord! for this effect, that neither the sun, moon, nor stars of graces, gifts, or experiences, appear for some days, that so the Lord himself alone may be run to and rested on. And thus the Lord is pleased by trials to fine the faith of his servants, teaching them to trust alone in him who quickeneth the dead, as the place now cited holds forth. Gifts and graces, examples in others, and experiences in ourselves, may be pinnings, as it were, in a wall, to further, encourage, and advance our faith; so may also the diligent use of the means and ordinances of life. All these, though in their own place, may and

* Wodrow MS.

do prove useful to our faith and living thereby; yet if we offer to make all of these, or any of these, the object for our soul to rest or rely upon, in order either to our salvation, our sanctification, or outgate from trouble, they are not able to support and bear up the weight. As pinnings laid in to be foundations, these all will be crushed, for they are out of their own place and office. The Lord Jehovah, in whom alone is power—the Father, I say, in his Son and Spirit—without partners and colleagues—will be the only object of our faith to rest on. For this, see Ps. lxii. 2, 5, 6; and in all these verses compare the word *only* with the word *truly* in the first verse, and thence we will learn that we do not truly wait, trust, or hope in God, when we do it not *only*, excluding from being the object all means and helps, outward and inward. But this is not all the Lord intends, when he brings his servants under such pressures, with the healing and fining of their faith, which is more precious than gold; he intends, further, in relieving them from the pressure, to let out his strong consolations; and yet further, he fits them thereby to comfort others with the consolations wherewith he had comforted themselves.

The day that I left Glasgow, the minister of Stewarton, Mr William Castlelaw, in whose pulpit I had often preached, coming in the night before, resolved to go with me to Dumbarton; that day, I say, I was so sweetly comforted, that the most part of the way (it being ten miles) we did cheerfully sing psalms. But before I went, I staid some days at Glasgow, having got advertisement from the archbishop that he was to inform the king's majesty, but withal desired me to come and see the letter; which I did, and was satisfied therewith. This letter was carried by my Lord Alexander, who had studied under my discipline, who also made this return to me, that his majesty took little notice thereof, seeing no cause to be offended. The archbishop also told Mr James Roberton that he perceived that this whole matter flowed from spleen in Mr Cameron; yet before I left the town, I went to his chamber, and peaceably took leave of him; and as long as he lived, I made conscience to pray for him, that his great gifts might be

useful to the Church of God, fearing, if I had omitted that duty, that I might also harbour spleen against him. How much of his estimation he lost, and how sore he was tossed, even to his dying day, I like not to report, lest that should smell of spleen.

About that time I received a comfortable letter from Trochrig, who had gotten a call to be principal of the College of Edinburgh, to profess divinity, and to preach in one of their kirks. But there was so great resort of gracious people and eminent persons to his preaching, that other ministers, especially Dr Forbes, * who thereafter became the first bishop of Edinburgh, moved with envy, procured a letter from Court to the Council of Edinburgh, so that he was removed from that charge to his own private habitation. One thing further I may not omit, that the day after I demitted my charge, having nominated a successor who was received without competition or trial, there came to me a gentleman called James Hamilton of Kirktonholm, who told me, that if I had a mind to stay it might be easily compassed; but I prayed him to speak no more of that. Then he told me he had a commission to me from the Lord Claneboy in Ireland, patron of the kirk of Bangor, in the county of Down, craving my pardon that he had concealed it so long, telling me the reason—because he had not will that I should leave that place, where I was so well beloved of all the people that feared God; but I rashly and unchristianly repelled that motion, telling him that I had an invitation to France (formerly mentioned), which I intended to follow. How I was diverted from the one, and inclined to the other, it is not amiss to

* Dr William Forbes was born at Aberdeen in 1585. His father was of the family of Corsindae, and his mother was sister of an eminent physician, Dr James Cargill. He was educated at Marischal College, and resided for some time at several of the Continental universities, and at Oxford. He was successively minister at Alford, at Monymusk, and at Aberdeen, and in 1618 was appointed principal of Marischal College. He was afterwards for some time minister of Edinburgh; but his zeal for Episcopacy rendering him unpopular in the capital, he gladly accepted an invitation to become again one of the ministers of Aberdeen. He was nominated as first bishop of Edinburgh on the creation of that See, and was consecrated in February 1634, but did not long survive his promotion. He died suddenly on the 11th April 1634. *Dr Irving's Lives of Scotish Writers*, ii., 1-10; *Spalding's History of the Troubles*, i., 24; *Gordon's Scots Affairs*, iii., 241.

declare. In my daily prayer to God, that he would be pleased to dispose of me according to the good pleasure of his will, at the close of my prayer I did find myself as sensibly rebuked as if one standing by me had audibly said, "Thou fool: thou art taking the disposing of thyself, not submitting to me; thou must either preach the Gospel in Ireland, or nowhere at all."

Being thus often rebuked, I found myself bound in spirit to set my face towards a voyage to Ireland; and yet was not persuaded, for all this, to desire to settle there, loathing that place, and hankering still after France. And so much for the second period of my life, wherein, though I studied brevity, I could not more briefly despatch it.

CHAPTER III.

HIS VOYAGE TO IRELAND, ADMISSION, AND FIRST YEAR OF HIS MINISTRY THERE AT BANGOR.

Although I was presented to sundry charges in the ministry in Scotland, and had an invitation and a great inclination for France, yet the sovereign Lord, who hath determined the bounds of our habitation, thrust me over to Ireland altogether against my inclination; and though I seemed to myself to submit to the will of God, yet I retained much of a will opposite, so deceitful is the heart of man. Passing from Irvine by sea, in a fair day, towards the sun setting, I passed by Arran, writing in my note-book that day's observations; but, in the night, a contrary wind arising, I was very sea-sick. In this sickness the tempter raised an inward storm against me, and shrewdly objected calumnious accusations, which I could not for the present answer; but admitting they were true, fled for refuge to God's mercy in Jesus Christ. But when the storm, both outward and inward, was calmed, I found these objections most groundless and impudent lies. Landing in a place where Irishmen had been at their cups, and all things smelling of a root called ramps, * I was confirmed in my prejudice against that land. Yet the next day, travelling towards Bangor, and meeting with

* *Rampions.*—"This is the *Allium ursinum*, a species of wild garlic. I have found it growing in the vicinity of Carrickfergus."—*Reid's Hist. of Pres. Church in Ireland*, i., 101.

some Scotch gentlemen, by way of conference I discoursed to them the most part of the last sermon I had preached. They heard me most earnestly, and invited me to their dwelling; but I holding my way, met unexpectedly with so sweet a peace, and so great a joy of spirit, that I perceived the Lord welcomed me to that land. I behoved to stay a little, a mile about Carrickfergus, and, lying upon the grass, to rejoice in the Lord, who was the same in Ireland which he was to me in Scotland. The next day, as I was approaching to Bangor, remembering that there was an aged man in that charge to which I was called, it was suggested to me that the old man was sick, and would not rise again. I, not knowing whence that suggestion came, did sharply upbraid myself, that notwithstanding my habitual unwillingness to settle there, I was yet devising odious ways how to settle; but when I came to my lodging, the first thing that was told me (without any inquiring of mine) was the very same thing which was suggested to me by the way. Hereby conceived I that therein the Lord was clearing the way of my entry. Yet gave I not over plodding to obstruct my settling there; and, for that effect, I resolved to be very plain with the noble patron who had given me the invitation, showing both what challenges were made upon me of disaffection to the civil power, which, through God's mercy, I had fully wiped away, even in the eyes of those who were mine adversaries; as also, that I could not submit to Episcopal government, nor any part of the English Liturgy, which there was in use; to see if either the former or the latter would cause him relinquish his invitation. But at our meeting, when I was prefacing what befell me at Glasgow lately, he (having heard of a minister that was present at that dispute formerly mentioned, and thinking that that had been all the matter) interrupted me, saying, "I know all that business;" and, for the other point he said, that notwithstanding my judgment in these things, yet he was confident to procure to me a free entry; which shortly came to pass, and so all my devices to obstruct my settling there did vanish, taking no effect—the counsel of the Lord standing fast in all generations. Yea, the wisdom of the only

Wise overruled all this, both to procure me a freer and safer entry to the holy ministry; as also, that when trials, after some years, came, neither could patron nor prelate say I had broken any condition unto them, seeing I honestly opened myself at the very first.

Being invited to preach by the patron and sick incumbent, * I yielded to it; and, after three Lord's-days, some ancient men of the congregation came to me in name of the rest, showing that they were edified by the doctrine delivered by me, entreating me not to leave them, promising that if the patron's offer of maintenance were not large enough, they willingly would add thereto. But I, slighting their promise (being too careless of competent and comfortable provision), made no scruple to acquiesce in the first offer made to me, having no mind of a family, but to live a single life, with one boy or two to serve me. But of the former part of that speech, importing the congregation's call, I laid great weight upon it, and it did more contribute to the removing of my unwillingness to settle there than anything else. Also the dying man did greatly encourage me, and professed great repentance that ever he was a dean, speaking more peremptorily, and terribly condemning them, which I never durst to do, either before that or since. But, withal, he charged me, in the name of Christ, as I expected his blessing upon my ministry, not to leave that good way wherein I had begun to walk; and, therewithal, stretching out both his arms, drew in my head to his bosom, and laying his hands on my head, blessed me. The house being kept dark for the sick man, some within hearing his speech, and comparing it with his former ways, gave out that it was not he that spoke, but an angel sent from heaven. I refuted that conceit; † but I cor-

* The patron was Lord Clancboy; the "sick incumbent," Mr John Gibson, dean of Down, but resident at Bangor.

† The "conceit," which Blair here refutes has found its way into the account of the interview given by Robert Fleming. Mr Blair "found the dean was lying sick, and, though a naughty man, he made him not only welcome upon his visit, but encouraged him to hold on his way, and told him he was to succeed him in that charge. Yea, he spoke so unlike himself, and in a strain so different from what was usual to him, that a gentlewoman standing by said to some others, 'An angel is speaking out of the dean's bed;' thinking it could not be such a man."—*Fulfilling of the Scriptures*, vol.

dially accepted his exhortation and blessing. Within few days his death followed.

But before I set forth my admission and solemn entry to that ministry, it is not amiss briefly to take notice of the state of that part of Ireland. The most part of the considerable lands in Ireland were possessed in ancient times by the English; but the civil wars in England, between the houses of York and Lancaster, did draw from Ulster (the northern province of Ireland) the able men of the English nation, to assist their own faction in their wars at home. Hereupon, the Irishes in Ulster killed and expelled the remnant of the English out of that province, and molested all the rest in Ireland—Ulster being, in their conceit, like the thumb in the hand, which is able to grip and hold against the four fingers—Leinster, Munster, Connaught, and Meath. The civil war ending in the beginning of the reign of King Henry VII., the suppressing of the Irish rebels was not much laboured by the English, partly through seditions at home, and partly through wars with France and Scotland, till the reign of that happy and excellent Queen Elizabeth, who, as she was a blessing not only to England, but to all the Reformed nations and Kirks in Europe, so she did much to finish that rebellion which yet was not fully extinguished (the Scots West-Islanders sometimes joining with the Irish rebels, and sometimes acting for themselves against the English) till King James, of famous memory, his receiving of the crown of England. These wars lasting so long, the whole country did lie waste; the English possessing some few towns and castles, making use of small parcels of near adjacent lands; the Irishes staying in woods, bogs, and such fast places. In the reign of King James, that de-

i., 435. Dr Reid has subjoined a copy of this "naughty man's" epitaph; and one would be inclined to suppose that another angel was speaking out of the dean's grave, "thinking it could not be such a man." "Heir lyes belowe ane learned and reverend Father in Gode's Church, Mester John Gibson, sence reformatione from Popary the first deane of Down, send by his majestie into this kingdom, and received by my Lord Claneboy to be preacher at Bangor. At his entry had xl. communicants; and at his departour this lyf 23 of Junij 1623 left 1200; being of age 63 years. So Christ was his advantage bothe in lyf and death."—*Reid's Pres. Church in Ireland*, i., 103.

solate land began to be planted both with English and Scots, the northern Irishes remaining not only obdured in Popish superstition and idolatry, but also in their idleness and incivility. The parts of Scotland nearest to Ireland sent over abundance of people and cattle, that filled the counties of Ulster that lay next to the sea; and albeit amongst these, Divine Providence sent over some worthy persons for birth, education, and parts, yet the most part were such as either poverty, scandalous lives, or, at the best, adventurous seeking of better accommodation, set forward that way.* The wolf and widcairn were great enemies to these first planters; but the long rested land yielded to the labourers such plentiful increase, that many followed the first essayers. Little care was had by any to plant religion. As were the people, so, for the most part, were the preachers. This was the main cause of my unwillingness to settle my abode there. Yet in the very next parish there was, before my coming, a very godly man—Mr Robert Cunningham;† and in the county of Antrim, Mr John Ridge,‡ a gracious man at the town of Antrim. There had been in Carrickfer-

* This melancholy account of the first Scotch and English settlers in Ireland is corroborated by the MS. history written by the Rev. Andrew Stewart. They are represented as having been "generally the scum of both nations"—"all void of godliness"—"abhorred at home, insomuch that 'going for Ireland' was turned into a proverb; and one of the worst expressions of disdain that could be invented, was to tell a man that 'Ireland would be his hinder end.'" Dr Reid naturally enough observes, "it is probably a little overcharged." One would hope so, for the picture is most deplorable; but Stewart was nearly contemporary, and had the best means of information.

† Mr Robert Cunningham was a pious and amiable man, beloved by all his brethren, and highly useful as a minister of the Gospel. He had been chaplain to the Earl of Buccleuch's regiment in Holland; but afterwards went to Ireland, and on 9th November 1615 was admitted to the ministry at Holywood by Bishop Echlin. Before Blair's coming to Ireland, Mr Cunningham had been strongly tempted to conform, but on receiving further instruction on the controverted points from our author, became a firm Presbyterian.—*Wodrow MSS.*, vol. lxxv., no. 3. p. 61. We shall hear of his death afterwards.

‡ Mr John Ridge was a native of England; left that country to escape from ceremonial impositions on conscience; was admitted, through the patronage of Lord Chichester, to the vicarage of Antrim, 7th July 1619; deposed by the Bishop of Down for nonconformity; and came over to Irvine, where he died. "A very humble man," says Livingston, and so charitable that "I heard him say he was once in a part of England where he wearied exceedingly, *because he could not find in it an object of charity.*"—*Characteristics.—Select Biographies, Edited for Wod. Soc.*, vol. i., 328.

gus a gracious and able man, Mr Hubart,* under the protection of the old Lord Chichester, who had been lord-deputy of Ireland, and carried secret favour to godly men, Mr Cartwright having been his tutor in his younger years; but he was dead a little before my coming over. My acquaintance being made with Mr Cunningham of Holywood was comfortable to us both, and grew to such intimacy that we frequently visited one another, and spent many hours, yea, days together, in godly conference and calling on the name of the Lord. But the case of the people through all that part of the country was most lamentable, they being drowned in ignorance, security, and sensuality.

The old man, Mr Gibson (of whose encouraging me I spake before) being dead, the Lord Viscount Claneboy (who of a gentleman became a knight, thereafter a viscount, and died Earl Clanbrissel), procured my admission to the ministry, having before, at my desire, informed the bishop 'Echlin'† how opposite I was to Episcopacy and their Liturgy; and, for fear he had not been plain enough, I declared the same myself at our first meeting. Notwithstanding he was most willing I should be planted there, saying: "I hear good of you, and will impose no conditions upon you; I am old, and can teach you ceremonies, and you can teach me substance. Only I must ordain you, else neither I nor you can answer the law, nor brook the land." I told him that was contrary to my principles; to which he replied, both wittily and submis-

* Mr Hubart or Hubard, was another English minister, who officiated for some time in a nonconforming congregation, formed in 1621 in Southwark, London, but oppressed by the intolerant measures then adopted against nonconformists, retreated to Ireland with the members of his congregation, and settled in Carrickfergus. He died two years after, and his flock, on losing the shepherd whom they had followed, returned to the vicinity of London, and chose as his successor Mr John Canne, famous for his "marginal notes" on the Bible—*Brook's Puritans*, iii. 517; *Wilson's Dissenting Churches in London*, iv., 124.

† Stevenson, in his printed edition of this Life, has inserted, by mistake, the name of Knox, bishop of Raphoe, as the prelate to whom Blair applied for ordination. There is no name in any of the MSS. which we have seen; and it is manifest, as Dr Reid remarks, that it must have been Echlin, bishop of Down, "as appears not only from the context, but also from the entry on the diocesan roll of 1633 [1623?], in which Blair is set forth as having been ordained by this prelate."—*Reid's Ireland*, i., 103.

sively, "Whatever you account of Episcopacy, yet I know you account a presbyter to have divine warrant; will you not receive ordination from Mr Cunningham and the adjacent brethren, and let me come in amongst them in no other relation than a presbyter?" This I could not refuse, and so the matter was performed.

Being thus entered, I remembered my resolutions while I was at Glasgow, to wit, that whenever the Lord opened a door to me for the holy ministry, if I failed of that diligence which I used in teaching of philosophy to a few students, I could not be answerable to God when weightier things are to be taught to so many: and, indeed, the charge was very great—above twelve hundred come to age, beside children that were to be instructed. I saw that public preaching would not do it, though I was in public four times every week, having variety of matter and method in all these. I saw the necessity of more plain and familiar instruction; for it is a mockery to examine people without previous instruction. I resolved, therefore, to go out among them, and spend one day every week, and sometimes two, and spent as much time as my bodily strength could hold out. Shortly after I fell upon this way, the Lord was pleased to visit me with a fever. Some that maligned this painful way, said, somewhat scoffingly, they knew I could not hold out as I began. But within a few days the Lord raised me up again, and helped me to continue that way during all the time that I continued in that ministry. About that time, before I went to dwell in the manse, continuing in that lodging wherein I first began, I cannot forget a notable delivery my gracious God bestowed upon me from a very imminent danger. It was upon Saturday wherein I had sitten close all day reading, meditating, and writing, till it was very late. The day being very cold, a fire had been kept on a brick hearth, so that the heat had gone through the brick, and had entered upon a joist that went directly under my bed. A little before I was ready to go to bed, my candle failing while I was searching a considerable place of Scripture, I called for another candle, which the mistress of the house refused, entreating me to go to bed. But my importunate insisting compelled

her to go to the room under my chamber, where the fire was begun. She crying to me that it was all fire beneath me, I presently raised the bricks, and with her help quenched the fire, and giving thanks to God, went to bed and slept sweetly. The delivery was the sweeter upon this consideration, that there was all that night a strong northern wind, and the house wherein I lodged being higher than the neighbours, and situated upon the north end of the town, so that if the fire had prevailed against it, no human skill nor power could have preserved the most part of that town. Thanks be to the Lord for that great mercy!

In the first year of my ministry I resolved not to pitch upon a book or chapter to go through it, but to make choice of such passages as held forth fundamentals (most material and important points of religion), and to close this course with one sermon of heaven's glory, and another of hell's torments. When I came to meditate on these two points, I was the whole day kept in such perplexity that I could not fix either upon matter or method. When night was approaching, and I had come no speed at all, and was like to desert that subject in great sorrow and perplexity, I threw myself upon my bed, there to pray and meditate. But then my spirits being spent I fell asleep for a little, and suddenly waking, my eyes gushed out with tears, and presently both matter and order broke out with clearness, so that I fell a discoursing, first upon the one subject, then the other, and retained the same till publicly I delivered what then I discoursed. Not only the people were much affected with this doctrine, but my learned and judicious patron entreated me that the next Lord's-day I would repeat over these same two sermons, only altering the order of them, and preaching before noon of hell, when all the people were present (for some that dwelt far from the kirk returned home after the first sermon), and of heaven in the afternoon. I commended the overture, but prayed to be excused. He wondering, asked my reason. Then was I forced to open up how it had been with me, while I meditated on these subjects, and that I durst not undertake that repetition, having nothing in writ of that which flowed

to me with such celerity, and remained only until I had delivered it. That nobleman hearing my excuse, accepted it.

The first time I celebrated the Lord's supper I was distempered upon this 'the following' occasion: The noble lord, my patron, would communicate, and his lady, both of them kneeling: whereupon I went to him, and reasoned the matter; but we, not according therein, parted with sorrow. I resolved to delay that work until another time. But his lordship remembering that his pew joined to the upper end of the table, it being so close that only one's head could be discerned in it, offered not to kneel providing he received within his own pew; which I yielded to. But this thorny disceptation so much discomposed me, that to-morrow, when I began the sermon, I was so far deserted for half an hour, that I was like to leave the pulpit and desert the work of that day; but the Lord, in great mercy, helped me. For, preaching upon the words of the institution of that sacrament, 1 Cor. xi., and handling the words, "This cup is the new testament in my blood," as soon as I began to discourse of that new covenant or testament, I found new light and life flowing in upon my soul, enlarging it, and opening my mouth with comfort and courage; and with that assistance went to the table and administered the sacrament. The action being ended, my patron and his lady called to me, and professed their great satisfaction; especially the lady declared she had seen or heard nothing like that day's service, and from that day forth proved my most tender and real friend.

CHAPTER IV.

CONTAINING SOME ACCOUNT OF THE SUCCESS OF THE GOSPEL IN THE NORTH OF IRELAND, AND SOME OTHER PROVIDENCES.

MANY things considerable escape my memory after so long a time, not having by me the notes and observations I then made, having but now sent for them that I may be helped herein. But I cannot forget that memorable passage that occurred to me in the second year of my ministry in Ireland. There being a great crop upon the ground, the harvest proved very bad, especially in that parish, which was very large, being six miles of length, and the most part of it good arable land. The soil being for most part strong clay, fell out ordinarily to be later ten or twelve days than the neighbouring places. They had got in the most of their corns ere the weather brake. But after that, for a whole month, there were so great rains, that in the parish of Bangor there could be no inning. Whereupon we resolved solemnly, by humiliation and fasting a whole day, to seek His face to avert the threatened famine. When the day appointed came, great rain was poured out from morning to evening, so that the Lord seemed at first to answer us by terrible things, thrusting out our prayers. I had before that day conferred with the most ancient and expert husbandmen in what case their corns were. They answered that the whole was in great danger by reason of the great growing in the stacks, almost

a finger long, and that if the weather fell out never so good the third part would be lost. But our gracious God was pleased that night after the day of our humiliation to send so mighty a drying wind, which blew full twenty-four hours, that houses were in danger of being overthrown, and some were in effect blown down. All the corns were so thrown down and fully dried, the growing thereon snibbed, that in two days following (the people labouring night and day without intermission) the whole corns were got in. These two days I with two neighbouring ministers were continuing our supplications.

When I returned home, perceiving the whole fields bare, I asked these same husbandmen with whom I had formerly consulted, what loss of corns there was. They answered that in their judgment there was not one sheaf of corn lost, the Lord had dealt so exceeding mercifully with them. The neighbouring parishes finding their uncovered stacks smoking for heat, did in time of that great wind throw them all down, and set them up again, and so were partakers of our mercy. The wise landlord of these lands, and the whole inhabitants, were so sensible of this mercy, that they gave glory to the Lord, who is the hearer of prayer, and a present help in time of need. This notable act of Divine Providence did not a little endear me to the whole flock; and that which is far more, prevailed with very many, beside their private praying, to set up family prayer in their houses, as formerly I had been urging, both in public doctrine and private instruction. There was among them a devout person, the head of a family, who, upon this experience, and some others that he privately met with, took up an erroneous opinion, that there was need of no other mean to be used but prayer, whatever ailed soul or body, young or old, corn or cattle. This I learned by consulting the man (knowing him to be skilled) concerning my horse, which at that time was not well. He said I needed not to use any other help, but to go to my chamber and pray for him. Finding this error, not without some difficulty, I got him convinced that it was a tempting of God to neglect other means.

The knowledge of God growing among that people, and the ordinance of prayer being precious in their eyes, the work of the Lord began to prosper. Mr Cunningham of Holywood helped us very much, and his little parish was a good example to ours; we preaching often the one for the other. Some days we agreed also betwixt ourselves to celebrate the sacrament of the Lord's supper eight days in the year—four in his and four in mine; so that proficients in both did all these times communicate together. About this time Mr James Hamilton,* a learned and godly young man,

* James Hamilton, nephew to Lord Claneboy, was educated for the ministry in Scotland, though at this time he held only the situation of steward or agent to his uncle. He was settled at Balwater, or Ballywalter, about 1625, but was destined to see a little more of life than generally falls to the lot of a "painful" minister in the county of Down. Deposed by Bishop Leslie for declining to subscribe the canons, he came over to Scotland, where he became minister, first of Dumfries, and finally of Edinburgh. He sat in the famous Glasgow Assembly of 1638. Having been deputed with some others, in March 1644, to superintend the administration of the covenant in Ireland, he had the misfortune, on his return, to fall in with the noted Alaster Macdonnell, the Popish ally of Montrose, who was scouring the seas in a frigate, called "the Harp," and, with several other prisoners, was carried to Castle Megrie, or Mingarie, in the island of Ardnamurchan. There he lay in a filthy dungeon for ten months, including a dreary winter, during which time his fellow-prisoners, Mr Weir, and Mr Watson, his father-in-law, sunk under the hardships and privations to which they were subjected. It is a wonder that he escaped with his life; for Alaster held him as a hostage until Argyle should deliver up his father, old Coll Kettach; "and the truth is," says a record of these sad times, "Argyle had not old Coll now to deliver, for having him his prisoner, and a wicked man (I doubt not) that deserved death"—having, besides, says another story, a great indignation against all the clan, specially against old Coll—in the end, he "hanged him over the ship side, betwixt Inverkeithing and Kirkaldy;—so he was both hanged and drowned." Hamilton, however, was released in May 1645, after which he was translated to Edinburgh, where he continued to labour fifteen years. Here we find him an active man among the Resolutioners, the losing party in 1651, when Scotland was laid at the feet of the infamous Monk, and on 28th August of that year, "on Thursday, in the morning," he is surprised by five hundred horse, along with the whole Committee of Estates, and of the General Assembly, then sitting at Alyth, (formerly Elliot), in Angus, stript of all they had, carried to Broughty, and shipped off to the Tower of London. Among the prisoners is "Mr James Sharpe, minister of Crail," who contrives, by cringing to Cromwell, to get home next spring; while Hamilton, more honest in his loyalty, has two years of it. In 1662, the same Mr James Sharpe, having, by cringing to Charles, become Archbishop of St Andrews, our Mr Hamilton, not choosing to turn so quickly, is expelled from his church, retires to Inveresk, and dies on the 10th of March 1666. Take his portrait by a friendly hand:—"Naturally of an excellent temperament both of body and mind—always industrious and facetious in all the several provinces and scenes of his life; he was delightful to his friends, yea, beloved of his enemies. Bold for truth; though naturally,

being a daily hearer, showed much tenderness and ability. Being then chamberlain to the Lord Viscount Claneboy, his uncle, Mr Cunningham and I put him to private essays of his gift, and being satisfied therewith, invited him to preach publicly at Bangor in his uncle's hearing, he knowing nothing till he saw him in the pulpit; for we feared he would be unwilling to part with so steadable and faithful a servant. But having heard him publicly, he put great respects upon him that same day; and shortly thereafter 'Mr Hamilton' entered to a charge in the holy ministry, wherein he was painful, successful, and constant, notwithstanding he had many temptations to follow promotion which he might easily have attained; but the Lord graciously preserved him from these baits, and made him very successful and instrumental in setting forward the work of the Lord, both in his own charge and elsewhere also, when he got a call.

The second time when I did celebrate the supper of the Lord, being mindful how much my heart was enlarged the former time, and bonds being taken off me when I fell to speak of the new covenant, I fell seriously about the study thereof, and that so much the more diligently, because little then was written thereof. And coming to Scotland shortly thereafter, I conferred thereon diligently with Mr David Dickson, who was then studying and preaching on the same subject.

Having declared how gracious the Lord hath been towards me, and that people he sent me to, I shall next show how the murderer Satan visibly appeared to a wicked man, stirred him up to stab me, and how mercifully I was delivered therefrom. I was spending a day in family humiliation, and was come to the mid-day, when one comes to the gate and knocks. Now, I had given order beforehand that if any knocked at the gate that day, none should open but myself. When I opened I saw two men standing without; the one whereof, being a rich man, was chief constable of that parish—

and in his own things, amongst the mildest sort of men; rich in learning, intelligent, judicious, great in esteem with the greatest and wisest."—*Reid*, ii., 52, 481; *Lamont's Diary*, 41; *Balfour's Annals*, iv., 315.

the other was a tenant of his. Their errand was to show me that the tenant had a bairn to be baptized, (for I baptized none till first I conferred with the father, and exhorted and instructed him, as need required.) When I had spoken what I thought necessary, and was ready to turn into my house, the constable dismissing the other, told me he had something to say to me in private. I, looking upon him, saw his eyes like unto the eyes of a cat in the night, and did presently conceive that he had a mischief in his heart; yet I resolved not to refuse what he desired, but I kept a watchful eye upon him, and stayed at some distance; and being near to the door of the church, I went in, and invited him to follow me. As soon as he entered within the doors he fell a-trembling, and I a-wondering. His trembling continuing and growing, without any speech, I approached to him, and invited him to a seat, wherein he could hardly sit. The great trembling was like to throw him out. I laid my arm about him, and asked what ailed him; but for a time he could speak none. At last his shaking ceased, and he began to speak, telling me that, for a long time, the devil had appeared to him; first, at Glasgow, he bought a horse from him, receiving a sixpence in earnest, and that in end he offered to him a great purse full of silver to be his; making no mention of the horse, he said that he blessed [buyed?] himself; and so the buyer, with the silver and gold that was poured out upon the table evanished. But some days thereafter, at his own house, he appeared to him, naming him by his name, and said to him: "You are mine; I arled you with a sixpence, which yet you have." "Then," said he, "I asked his name, and he answered, 'They call me Nicol Daunus.'" (I suppose he repeated evil,* and that he should have said, *Nihil damus*). Being thus molested with these and many other apparitions of the devil, he said he left Scotland; but being come to Ireland, he did often also appear to him; "and now of late he still commands me to kill and slay; and often," said he, "my whinger hath been drawn and kept under my cloak to obey his

* That is, *ill, incorrectly.*

commands; but still something holds my hand, that I cannot strike." But then I asked him whom he was bidden kill. He answered, "Any that comes in that way, but the better they be the better service to me, or else I shall kill thee." When he uttered these words, he fell again a-trembling, and was stopped in his speech, looking lamentably to me designing me to be the person he aimed at. Then he fell a-crying and lamenting. I showed him the horribleness of his ignorance and drunkenness. He made many promises of reformation, which were not well kept; for within a fortnight he went to an ale-house to crave the price of his malt, and sitting there long at drink, as he was going homeward, the devil appeared to him, and challenged him for opening to me what had passed between them secretly, and followed him to the house, pulling his cap off his head, and his band from about his neck, saying to him: "On Hallow-night I shall have thee, soul and body, in despite of the minister and all he will do for thee." The man, being exceedingly terrified, sent presently for me, and told me as is here presently set down. Being driven to his bed by this terror, when I came, his wife told me with what amazement he entered the house bare-headed and his band rent, saying he had hardly escaped. He entreated me for Christ's sake to be with him that night wherein Satan had threatened to carry him away. I instructed him the best I could, and, praying with him, promised to be with him that night, providing he would flee to Christ for refuge, and not to me, who was but a weak and wretched creature.

I intended to have spent the day before that night wherein I was to be with him as I had done that day when he first came to me, and thought to have killed me; but when the day came, I had no mind of my resolution till it was near night, and being in great doubt what to do, I went to my chamber in great heaviness. I durst not break or slight my promise; and how durst I go, being so unprepared for so pitched a conflict? Being thus humbled before the Lord, I was encouraged to go, trusting in his gracious goodness who is the preserver of men against the wiles and violence of Satan. And so coming about daylight going, I called to one man

of that village who was under the reputation of a godly man, and an elder of the congregation: to him I imparted the whole matter, desiring him to convene the people of that village, and to tell them no more but that I would stay that night in the house of the sick man with them. I began with prayer, and thereafter expounded the doctrine of Christ's temptations, closing with a prayer and singing of a psalm, and after that did the like upon another passage of Scripture, and after that another, still intermixing prayer and singing till towards the morning. All this time, my chair being close by the sick man's bed-side, when I uttered anything which he did not understand, with his hand he laid hold on my arm, requesting me to say that better. I hearkened to him, and laboured to do so. In the morning he took great courage to himself, defying Satan and all his works. Thereafter he recovered, behaving himself better, and was charitable to the poor; but I was never satisfied with him continuing still ignorant. In end he sickened, and therein seemed very penitent. The last time I saw him, I asked at him whether Satan had ever appeared to him after that night wherein I continued with him. He answered, "Never," taking the Lord witness thereof, and shortly thereafter died.*

In the former discourse I made mention of an elder of the congregation; and indeed we had discipline therein by elders, and deacons for the poor; and as long as we got leave to exercise discipline that way, the Lord blessed his own ordinance for edifying of the people. To this purpose I shall only relate one instance. There was a cunning adulterer who, living long in that sin before I came, and continuing still therein, did bribe the bishop's official to conceal his wickedness; but one day, I preaching on the parable of the sower, and speaking of the thorny ground, how the seed of the Word was choked by the cares of the world and the sinful pleasures of the flesh, he came to me, confessing his sin with many tears, and desired to be admitted to the public professing of his repentance. The elders, being acquainted with this, required him

* Similar instances of the species of mania above described, somewhat resembling that of Ravaillac, were not uncommon at that period.

to appear, which he did, sore weeping several days, to the great edification of the whole congregation, and lived thereafter a reformed man in the rest of his life. And so, also, sundry others willingly submitted themselves, until a proud youth, the son of a rich man, falling into scandal, proved refractory, and appealed to the bishop, whereby this order of our discipline was broken. But this young man, in the very flower and strength of his youth, being heir of a considerable estate, was cut off by death, leaving no succession, and a brother of better behaviour filled his place. I remarked that after the bishop's official had wrung the discipline out of our hands, compounding with the richer sort for money, and sending the poorer to public penance, as they call it, I never saw a blessing following that work, nor edification to the people thereby; yet the Lord's husbandry prospered, the Lord thrusting out more labourers to his harvest, as shall be declared in the next chapter. Here is to be insert the great fever I had in my new house at Bangor. *

* At p. 59, Blair speaks of a fever that lasted only "a few days," and "before I went to dwell in the manse." But this was evidently different from "the great fever" which he here speaks of having "had in my new manse at Bangor." Very probably he meant to have inserted it from the "notes and observations" which he mentions, p. 62, as not having by him at the time. Some of these notes, in reference to this fever, are afterwards given by Row in his supplement.

CHAPTER V.

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE LORD'S MAKING USE OF THE MINISTRY OF MR JAMES GLENDINNING, IN ORDER TO PREPARE SEVERALS FOR CONVERSION, AND OF HIS BACKSLIDING; AS ALSO OF SOME DEVICES OF THE BISHOPS TO BREAK THE GOSPEL MINISTRY IN THE NORTH OF IRELAND.

About that time I heard of one James Glendinning, lecturer at Carrickfergus, who got no small applause there for a learned man. I longed to hear him, and in a morning I passed from Bangor to Carrickfergus by water; and hearing him, I perceived he did but trifle, citing learned authors whom he had never seen nor read. After sermon I waited on him, and communed with him, freely asking him if he thought he did edify that people? He was quickly convinced, and told me he had a vicarage in the country, to which he would retire himself quickly. This man was neither studied in learning nor had good solid judgment, as appeared quickly thereafter; yet the Lord was pleased to serve himself of him. When he retired, as he had promised to me, to preach at Oldstone,* there he began to preach diligently, and having a great voice and vehement delivery, he roused up the people, and wakened them with terrors; but not understanding well the Gospel, could not settle them nor satisfy their objections.† Within a mile to that place lived

* Near the town of Antrim.

† "This man," says Stewart, in his MS., "seeing the great lewdness and ungodly sinfulness of the people, preached to them nothing but law, wrath, and the terrors of

Mr John Ridge, a judicious and gracious minister, who perceiving many people on both sides the Six Mile Water awakened out of their security, and willing to take pains for their salvation, made an overture, that a monthly lecture might be set up at Antrim, and invited to bear burden therein Mr Cunningham, Mr Hamilton, and myself. We were glad of the motion, and hearkened to it at the very first, and came prepared to preach. In the summer day four did preach, and when the day grew shorter, three. This monthly meeting thus beginning, continued many years, and was a great help to spread religion through that whole country. Sir Hugh Clotworthy was very hospitable to the ministers that came there to preach. His worthy son (now Lord Viscount Mazareine),* together with his mother and lady, both of them very virtuous and religious, did greatly countenance this work.

God for sin; and in very deed for this only was he fitted, for hardly could he preach any other thing." This, however, was likely the very thing which the people needed; just the John Baptist preaching necessary to awaken them. "But, behold the success," says the same writer, who was an eye-witness; "for the hearers finding themselves condemned by the mouth of God speaking in his Word, fell into such anxiety and terror of conscience that they looked on themselves as altogether lost and damned, as those of old who said, 'Men and brethren, what shall we do to be saved?' I have seen them myself stricken into a swoon with the word; yea, a dozen in one day carried out of doors as dead; so marvellous was the power of God, smiting their hearts for sin. And of these were none of the weaker sex or spirit, but indeed some of the boldest spirits, who formerly feared not with their swords to put a whole market town in a fray; yea, in defence of their stubbornness, cared not to be in prison, and in the stocks; and, being incorrigible, were as ready to do the same the next day. For a short time this work lasted, as a sort of disease to which there was no cure, the poor people lying under the spirit of bondage; and the poor man who was the instrument of it, not being sent, it seems, to preach Gospel so much as law, they lay for a time in a most deplorable condition,—slain for their sin and knew of no remedy. The Word they could not want, and yet the more they heard it the more they could not abide it, as Paul says." "A most deplorable condition," certainly, but not nearly so much as flourishing their swords in the face of "a whole market town," and expiating for the drunken brawl by being laid "in the stocks!"—*Wodrow MSS.*, vol. lxxv., no. 3; *Reid*, i., 107.

* Sir John Clotworthy, afterwards first Viscount Mazareine, or Massareene, is well known in the history of Ireland for his ardent attachment to Presbyterianism, and the cause of civil liberty. The student of English history will also be familiar with his name and character, as a prominent member of the Long Parliament. He was one of nature's noblemen, one of the few whose names, when the history of that period has been written, will be found honourable exceptions to the degeneracy of this age and order. "Lord Viscount Ferrard is the present representative of this ancient family, and the title of Lord Massareene, having been for some time dormant, is once more revived in his eldest son."—*Reid*, i., 109.

Mr Glendinning, who, at the first, was most glad of this confluence, when his emptiness began to appear, began to be emulous and envious. Yet both the brethren cherished him, and the people carried good respect to him, yea, they were bountiful to him, until he was smitten with erroneous conceits. He watched much, and fasted wonderfully, and began publicly to affirm that he or she after they had slept a little in bed, if they return themselves from one side to another, could not be an honest Christian. This rigorous paradox his hearers did bear with, in respect of the rigorous course he took with himself. But when he began to vent other conceits privately, condescending upon a day that would be the day of judgment, and that whoever would join him in a ridiculous way of roaring out some prayer, laying their faces on the earth, would be undoubtedly converted and saved, some judicious gentlemen to whom he imparted this folly, loving him dearly, because he had been at first instrumental of their good, resolved not to let him come in public with these conceits in his head; and presently posted away one to me, requesting me with all expedition to repair to them. The day being then at the shortest, and the journey considerable, I made such haste to obey their desire, that I stayed not so much as to break my fast, and yet, ere I could reach them, the night was fallen. When I came, I found him in a religious family, who had taken him in with his family, (his own house a little before being burnt down with a sudden fire). There were there also some judicious persons, all waiting upon him. I found him so fixed in his erroneous conceit that he laboured to persuade me to join therein with him. He had fasted I know not how long, and we being all set down to supper, they all expected that my persuasion would have induced him to eat, seeing heretofore he had always hearkened to my counsel. To induce him, I told him that I was yet fasting for his sake, and if he would not eat with me I would fast with him. But this availed not. I entreated the company that they would eat while I discoursed unto them. After supper, I was left alone with him, only his wife sitting by. He asked me if I would believe he was

in the right, if his foot could not burn in the fire? I answered, if he offered to do so, I would be confirmed that he was a deluded man. But before I had spoken out these words, his foot was in the midst of the fire, holding the lintel with both his hands. But I pulled so hard that I threw both him and myself in the midst of the floor. This noise drew in the gentlemen who had retired. Some of them were angry that I had pulled him out, thinking that the heat of the fire might have helped to burn away his folly. There, in presence of them all, he thus conditioned with me, that if ere to-morrow I were not of his mind, he was content to be forsaken as a deluded man. I accepted the condition, so we parted; but I behoved to lie in bed with him. His wife reviled him for his delusion, whom I silenced with a rebuke. Being laid, he presently fell asleep; but I having fasted all day, and remembering the condition that was made, continued watching and praying. There was not an hour passed, when his wife, who lay in another room, came in muttering that the matter was revealed to her, and that the day of judgment was presently coming. He hereby awakened triumphantly, did leap out of his bed, saying, "You will be next." I who had not so much as warmed in the bed, being somewhat astonished, did rise also. While I was putting on my clothes, my flesh did a little creep and quake; but being clothed, I was confirmed to encounter these deluded enthusiasts, though there had been an hundred of them.

I thought the best way to confute them was to set them a-work to open the revelations, putting no doubt to find some absurdities and contradictions therein. They entreated me presently to write to their Christian friends, lest they should be surprised by the coming of that day. I calling for paper, took the pen in my hand, as though I intended to write; and asked first at him, then at her, and catching a contradiction in their speeches, threw away the pen and paper, and rebuking them, said, "Will you not yet see your folly?" But he inviting me to prayer did himself begin. I stood to see his new way (formerly mentioned), whereby he thought to convert me. When I saw and heard the absurdity thereof, in the

idle, roaring repetitions, requiring him in his Lord's name to be silent, I kneeled down and prayed with humble confidence, hoping to be heard. A gentleman that lay in the room, surprised with fear and sweating in his bed, (supposing that the woman's muttering had been the apparition of a spirit), when he heard my voice at prayer adventured to rise and join. Yea, his roaring before I began had awakened them who lay at some distance, and so all jointly continued a space in prayer. When I had made an end, Mr Glendinning takes me apart and confessed he saw now he was deluded, and entreated me to see how the matter might be covered and concealed. I called the gentlemen to hear his confession. They being very glad, I warned them that the matter was not yet at an end, as the event proved; for he, falling from error to error, did run away at last to see the seven Churches of Asia. Always * we thanked God for what was done; and I calling for bread and drink to refresh myself, went to bed, and so did all the rest. †

That which I observe out of all this discourse is, what a deep design Satan had herein against the work of God in the county of Antrim; for he, knowing that this man was very instrumental in rousing up many out of their security, thought, by deluding him, to shake, if not to crush, that blessed work. But—O the wisdom, the power, and goodness of God!—except his own wife (of whom few had any good opinion before) there was neither man nor woman that stumbled or fell at his fall; but, on the contrary, were thereby guarded against delusion, magnifying the word of God in the Holy Scriptures, and learned to work out the work of their salvation in fear and trembling, not doting upon the bodily exercise of watching and fasting, whereby that man thought to cry up himself. And now having lost this one man, the Lord thought it fit to give unto us three gracious and able men. First,

* *Always*, however.

† The garrulity of age is somewhat apparent in this long account of poor Glendinning, who was evidently a lunatic, and we might have reduced it, as Stevenson has done, into a few sentences; but the plan we have adopted, of giving the manuscript entire as it stands, forbids such freedom; so we have allowed Mr Blair to tell out his story in his own way.

Mr Henry Colwart,* who came over with Mr Hubart (formerly mentioned), and was entertained by a godly lady at Broadisland, being an helper to an ancient minister there, Mr Edward Bryce.† After Mr Glendinning's departure, he was brought to Oldstone, where he laboured diligently, and did bear burden at the monthly meetings, being a man of a fervent spirit and of a vehement delivery in preaching. This variety of gift glorifies the Giver; for his next neighbour, Mr Ridge, (formerly mentioned), as he was in his carriage, so in his doctrine, grave, calm, sweet, ordinarily pressing some weighty important point to good purpose. The Lord was also pleased to bring over from Scotland Mr Josias Welsh,‡

* Henry Colwart, or Calvert, was an Englishman, and was admitted to Oldstone in 1630; but, instead of being allowed to prosecute his labours in peace, he was deposed, with many others, by Bishop Leslie, for refusing to subscribe the canons, and came over to Scotland, where he and his friends, by preaching what Traquair was pleased to call "nothing but foolish, seditious doctrine," helped the Covenanters to overthrow canons and bishops and all.—*Reid*, i., 115-221. He was admitted minister of Paisley, where he died.—*Livingstone's Char., Select Biogr.*, vol. 1, 329.

† Edward Bryce, or Brice, A.M., was for many years minister of Drymen, in Stirlingshire (Livingstone says also of Dumbarton). But his opposition to the famous expedient of "the constant moderator," cost him his living. He was one of two of the Synod of Clydesdale, who, after all the rest had yielded to the menaces of the Earl of Abercorn, and received Archbishop Spottiswood as their moderator, "mainly opposed it, and would never condescend, but spake publicly against it in bitter terms." —*Balfour's Annals*, ii., 22. Taking refuge in Ireland, he was admitted by Bishop Echlin to Broadisland, where he laboured "with great success," from 1613 to 1636, when he was deposed by Bishop Leslie for non-subscription to the canons, which required kneeling before the elements, &c. The good old man returned home, oppressed with the thoughts of being obliged to resign his beloved ministry; but, before any steps could be taken by Leslie to carry his sentence into effect, he had resigned both life and office into the hands of "the Bishop of our souls." "He was an aged man ere I knew him," says Livingstone, "and came not much abroad. In all his preaching he insisted most on the life of Christ in the heart, and the light of the Word and Spirit on the mind, that being his own continual exercise."

‡ Josias Welsh was the younger son of the celebrated John Welsh, minister of Ayr, and Elizabeth, third daughter of John Knox. He was educated at Geneva, and, on his return to Scotland, was appointed professor of humanity in the University of Glasgow. His opposition to Prelacy forced him to leave this situation, and, complying with Blair's advice, he went to Ireland about 1626, and was ordained minister of Temple Patrick by his relative, Knox, Bishop of Raphoe. Howie says: "He was commonly called the 'Cock of Conscience' by the people of that country, because of his extraordinary awakening and rousing gift. He was one of that blessed society of ministers which wrought that unparalleled work in the north of Ireland about the year 1626, but was himself a man most sadly exercised with doubts about his own

the son of Mr John Welsh (that famous man of God, who, both in Scotland and France, was rarely instrumental, both for converting and confirming the souls of the people of God). A great measure of that spirit that wrought in and by the father rested also upon the son. I meeting with him in Scotland, and perceiving of how weak a body and of how zealous a spirit he was, exhorted him to haste over to Ireland, where he would find work enough, and, I hoped, success enough. And so it came to pass; for he being settled at Temple Patrick, became a blessing to that people. He, being under great exercise of spirit, spake vehemently, to convince the secure; sweetly, to comfort the cast down. Also, the Lord brought over to Lern the ancient servant of Christ, Mr George Dunbar,* who was deposed from the ministry of Ayr by the High Commission in Scotland, and by the Council was banished to Ireland. So careful was the Lord, and bountiful towards that plantation of his in the north of Ireland, that whoever wanted, they might not want. In that place the Lord greatly blessed his ministry. All these three now mentioned, as they laboured diligently within their own charges, so were they still ready to preach at the monthly meetings when they were invited thereto. So mightily grew the Word of God, and his gracious work prospered in the hands of his faithful servants; the power of man being restrained from offering to oppose the work of God.

About that time I perceived Echlin, bishop of Down, privily to lay snares; being unwilling openly to appear, the people generally

salvation all his time, and would ordinarily say: 'That minister was much to be pitied, who was called to comfort weak saints, and had no comfort himself.'"—*Scots Worthies*, p. 95. He was deposed, but restored again to the ministry, and died a young man, 23d June 1634. The reader will afterwards meet with an interesting account of his closing scene. He was the author of a small catechism. His name is still held in the highest respect in the north of Ireland; and in Scotland he is known as the father of the eminent and faithful John Welsh, minister of Irongray, whose perils and escapes during the persecution under Claverhouse form a most wonderful episode in that eventful history.

* George Dunbar was twice turned out by the Scotch bishops—was for some time a prisoner in the castle of Blackness—went to Ireland, and was deposed in 1634—returned to Scotland, and, in 1638, was admitted minister of Calder, where he died.

approving and commending the labours and success of his servants. And, first, he wrote to me to be ready to preach at Primate Usher's * triennial visitation. He himself was then in England, but in his room were two bishops and a doctor, his substitutes and delegates. If any ask how I durst countenance these Prelatic assemblies, how I did countenance these meetings, the ensuing discourse will declare; but it may be rather wondered how these Prelatic meetings did countenance us, knowing our judgment and practice to be opposed to them and their way; and it would be also considered that we were not then under an explicit sworn covenant against them. Before the appointed day came, he sent me word that, as another was to supply that place, I might lay aside thoughts of it: his message by word thus contradicting his writ, that he might leave me in an uncertainty, and might pick a quarrel against me at his pleasure. My meditation was upon the first verse of the 4th chapter of the Second to the Corinthians: "Therefore seeing we have this ministry, as we have received mercy, we faint not." Beside other points, I specially insisted to show that Christ our Lord had instituted no lord bishops in his Kirk, but presbyters and ministers, both to teach

* James Ussher, archbishop of Armagh, primate of Ireland, and, according to Bayle, "one of the most illustrious prelates in the seventeenth century, as well with respect to his piety and other virtues, as his prodigious erudition," was the son of Mr Arnold Ussher, clerk in Chancery, and nephew of Henry Ussher, previously archbishop of Armagh, and was born in Dublin, January 4th 1580. His great talents and acquirements, at a very early period, appeared in a dispute with Fitz-Symonds, an Irish Jesuit, and led to his appointment of professor of divinity in the University of Dublin in 1607, when only twenty-seven years of age. In January 1625, he was elevated to the archbishopric of Armagh, and during his administration of that See, he manifested as much zeal against the Papists as moderation towards the Puritans and Presbyterians. His profound acquaintance with history, civil and ecclesiastical, appears in his invaluable writings, which throw much light on the Popish innovations, and shew the real antiquity of the doctrine recovered at the Reformation. In 1640 he went over to England, from whence he never returned. During the unhappy troubles which led to the execution of the King, and the erection of the Commonwealth, Ussher exerted himself with praiseworthy zeal, but without success, to reconcile the contending parties. Holding himself moderate and liberal views with regard to the government of the Church, he proposed a plan for accommodating the differences between Episcopacy and Presbytery, which neither party could be induced to adopt. He died at Rygate, March 21. 1656, aged seventy-five years, and was buried, by Cromwell's orders, with great magnificence, in Westminster Abbey.

and govern his Kirk, and proved this, *first*, from the Holy Scriptures; *secondly*, from the testimonies of purer antiquity; and *thirdly*, from the famous divines that have been seeking reformation these thirteen hundred years; and, *lastly*, from the modern divines, both over sea and in England; closing all my proofs with the consent of learned Dr Usher, thereby to stop their mouths; and, finally, I closed with an exhortation, that, seeing the truth was proven so clearly and undeniably, they would use moderately what power custom and human laws had put in their hands. And so they did indeed, neither questioning me nor any other; only the Bishop of Drummore, one of the delegates, being brother-in-law to Primate Usher, spake to me privately, desiring me also to be moderate towards them, as they had not questioned me, and so bade me farewell.

This snare being broken, the crafty bishop fell to weaving another more dangerous. He knowing that one of the judges, the Lord Chief Baron, who came yearly to that circuit, was a violent urger of English conformity, did write to me to make ready a sermon against the next assizes. This was the more dangerous because the judges were to communicate that day, it being Easter-day. I came prepared by prayer and meditation, committing the matter to the Lord, who had all hearts and mouths in his own hand. The Scottish gentlemen there present, waiting upon the judges, told one of the judges that they wondered how they communicated on the Lord's-day, being taken up with civil affairs the whole Saturday. He answered, that he wished it was otherwise; and said further, that if any were prepared for a sermon* that day, he would procure a hearing. They assured him (I knowing nothing of the matter) that the preacher appointed for the Lord's-day would preach the better then, if he preached upon the Saturday also. When some were sent to me for that effect, I wondered at the unexpected motion, but durst not refuse, there being three or four hours for meditation before the hour appointed for the sermon. Upon the Lord's-day I resolved not to take notice of

* That is, for preaching a sermon.

their communicating, neither was it expected from me. So when I ended, I went to my chamber, and they to their work, which was ended in the eighth part of an hour. After the afternoon sermon, made by the curate of the place, one of the judges sent for me, and desired private conference with me in his chamber. He told me he was well satisfied with the Saturday's sermon, and more with that which I delivered on the Lord's-day; "for there," said he, "you opened a point that I never heard before, viz., the covenant of redemption, made with the Mediator as head of the elect Church." He entreated me to go through the heads of that sermon. Then he opening his Bible, and I mine, we considered all the points and proofs, turning to all the places cited, and reading them over. He was so well satisfied that he protested, if his calling did not tie him to Dublin, he would gladly have come to the north and settled under such a ministry. In end he told me I would be sent for to supper, warning me that his colleague was violent for English conformity. He entreated me, if he asked any captious questions at me, that I would answer them very circumspectly. I was sent for, and used very courteously and kindly, without any captious questions proposed to me; and so the only wise God, to whom I had committed myself and the work in hand, brake this snare also, bringing me off with comfort and credit. Yea, I had hereby this advantage, that the godly judge mayor, after that conference he had with me, sent for the bishop to his chamber, and in presence of the Master of Airds (who thereafter related this unto me), charged him to lay down his evil will against me, yea, to have a care that no harm nor interruption should come to my ministry; and if any came, he would impute the same unto him, and hereof took the master witness.

When Primate Usher came back to Ireland, my patron, desirous that I should be acquaint with him, took me in his company, where a meeting of the nobility and gentry of Ulster was to be, where he received me very kindly, and desired me to be at his table while I was in town. The next day coming to dinner, I met with the

English Liturgy in his family; but I came not again, leaving my excuse with my patron, that I expected another thing in the family of so learned and pious a man than the reading of the Liturgy. But he excused the matter by reason of the great confluence that was there; but he entreated me that I would be at the pains to come to Trodaff,* where his ordinary residence was, where he would be more private, and at leisure to be better acquainted with me. I obeyed the desire, and was made welcome. He was very affable and communicative. In conference he desired to know of me what my mind was concerning the nature of justifying and saving faith. I told him my mind, that I held the accepting of Jesus Christ as he is offered in the gospel, &c. With this he was well satisfied, confirming the same in a large discourse, clearing the matter by the similitude of a marriage, wherein it is not the sending or receiving of gifts that made the marriage, but the accepting of the person. Hereby I was much refreshed. From this he passed on to speak of ceremonies; tried my mind therein, saying that he was afraid that our unsatisfiedness therein might endanger our ministry, and it would break my heart if that successful ministry in the north should be interrupted and marred. "They think," said he, "to cause me stretch out my hand against you; but all the world shall never move me to do so." When he had drawn forth my mind thereanent, he said, "I perceive you will never be satisfied therein; for still you enquire what ought to be done. I confess all these things you except against might, yea, ought to be removed, but that cannot be done." I replied that I had read all those arguments used by Mr Sprint, in a treatise entitled "Cassander Anglicanus; or, A Necessity of Conformity in case of Deprivation;" and I had seen all these fully answered in a treatise entitled "Cassandra Scoticanda; or, A Necessity of Nonconformity in hope of Exaltation." Our conference being ended, he dismissed me very kindly, though I gave him no high styles at all, and proved thereafter very friendly when trouble came on us —as will appear in this subsequent discourse.

* Or Tredaff, the ancient name of Drogheda.

After all the former helpers we had from the Lord, Mr John Livingston was sent over to us. He was a man of a gracious melting spirit, and was desired much by godly people about Torphichen, where he had preached as a helper to another, but was still opposed by the bishops. But old Bishop Knox* of Raphoe refused no honest man, having heard him preach. By this chink he and sundry others got entrance; and being settled at Killinchie, the Lord was pleased greatly to bless his ministry, both within his own charge and without it, where he got a call. But he continued not long there, trials hasting upon us. Likewise Mr Andrew Stewart,† a well-studied gentleman and fervent in spirit, was settled at Donagore, and prospered well in the work of the Lord. But his ministry was of short endurance, he dying in the midst of our trials.

* Andrew Knox, bishop of Raphoe, was of the same family with the Scottish Reformer; consequently Welsh was his relative. The bishop was educated at Glasgow, and was minister first of Lochwinnoch, and next of Paisley. In 1606 he was made bishop of the Isles by James VI.; and in 1622 was translated to the see of Raphoe, where he died 7th November 1632.

† Mr Andrew Stewart came over to Ireland after Mr Welsh, in 1627, and was settled minister of Donagore. He died about the same time with Josias Welsh. An interesting account of the closing scene of this excellent minister is given in Fleming's "Fulfilling of the Scriptures."

CHAPTER VI.

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE WONDERFUL GROWTH AND INCREASE OF THE GOSPEL, AND OF SEVERAL ATTEMPTS OF SATAN AND OTHER ENEMIES TO BREAK THE SAME, WITH THEIR SUCCESS THEREIN.

At this time the Lord was pleased to protect our ministry, by raising up friends to us, and giving us favour in the eyes of all the people about us. Yea, the Bishop of Down himself used to glory of the ministry in his dioceses of Down and Connor. Yet we wanted not exercise enough. Some of the conform clergy, by letters, provoked me to a dispute about that wherein we differed from them; but a modest answer, how unsafe it was to do so, did satisfy them. After that there was sent a dean to reside at Carrickfergus, to counteract and bear us down; but some of us waited on him, and putting some civilities on him, invited him to concur with us in the monthly meeting at Antrim. We did not expect he would yield to the motion; yet by our visit and invitation we obtained this much, that he proved no unfriend to us.

As for the Papists, they became very bold through the land, by occasion of the match intended betwixt Prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain; so that in every shire they set up their old convents—even in the city of Dublin itself; and so the rebellion, that after some years followed, and the bloody massacre that they made, had not the rise of it from any pressure that was on

them, but rather from the great indulgence used towards them. The Irish priests generally were ignorant dolts, living in whoredom and drunkenness; yea, one that came from Rome with pardons, and had gotten a great deal of money thereby, when he was brought to my Lord Claneboy, in whose land he was taken, scarce understood Latin. Yet two Irish friars, who had been trained up in the University of Salamanca in Spain gave us a defiance, provoking us to a dispute. The particular heads were condescended upon, and time and place appointed; but when, at the appointed day, I came to assist Mr Josias Welsh against these two friars, for all their bragging they appeared not.*

We had also an assault from the Separatists.† Some of that faction at London, hearing tell that there was a people zealous for the Lord in the North of Ireland, came to Antrim, where our monthly meetings were, and there set up their dwelling, thinking to fish in these waters. They thought that zealous people would seek after them, and did not call to any; but therein they were frustrated of their expectations. Seeing they came not to the public worship, none there did own them, or take any notice of them, till the minister of the place sent some judicious Christians to confer with them about some practical cases of conscience, who made their report to the minister concerning these persons, that they thought they understood not such proposals, nor could they at all discourse concerning the points by them proponed; only they fell a-jangling against the Church of England. The next day I came there, the minister of the place desired me to go with him, that we might confer with these people. We did find them rude, and somewhat uncivil; what they held they could not tell well, or else they kept up and concealed themselves. Yet in end, they began to essay whom they could seduce; and with one of great tenderness they prevailed not to communicate with us; but immediately thereafter the Lord did smite him with distraction,

* Blair and his friends do not appear afterwards to have met with any more opposition from this quarter.

† Dr Reid thinks that these Separatists were probably of the Baptist persuasion.

from the which he no sooner recovered, but he abhorred the seducers. So careful was the Lord to preserve his people within our charges from all sort of seducement.

That blessed work of conversion was now spread beyond the bounds of Down and Antrim, to the skirts of neighbouring counties, whence many came to the meeting, and the sacrament of the Lord's supper. I being at a time invited to assist Mr Josias Welsh, it fell to my share to preach upon the Saturday, and the afternoon of the Lord's-day. When we are entering the church on the morning of the Lord's-day, we perceived that there would be large as many without the church as within it, and most of these were come out of other counties, hindered to be there on Saturday by the great rising of waters. At our entry, when they perceived the house to be filled, so that they could not enter, 'they' began to lament that for all the pains and hazard they had been at in passing deep waters, they were now excluded. Being moved with compassion, I resolved to stay out with them, and making choice of a fit place where we might be accommodated, even the court of a castle hard by, I taught them as the Lord furnished me: and when those that were within had received, they giving way to us, all did communicate, and I closed with the doctrine of thanksgiving in the evening. Having thus once oftener than I intended spoken in public, I was far from thoughts of being employed that way on the morrow; but the Lord thought otherwise.

The people having entered very early upon the Monday, fearing the throng, and staying there some hours before the appointed time of preaching came, some of the elders of that parish requested me that I would go in and read some place of Scripture, and give some notes thereon, till the appointed preacher came in. I was hardly persuaded to yield to this motion; but they would take no naysay. While I am about this, the minister of the place being ready to enter in, the people that were without (the most of them being the people that had heard me before in the castle court), not using many words, laid hands on him, and carried him away to the same place where I exercised yesterday, sending an elder to me, to tell

me that I needed expect no other speaker. This message wonderfully astonished me; for I thus reasoned, Shall so many gracious souls, who have been waiting since day-light for the word of the Lord to be ministered to them, be thus dismissed and frustrated of their expectation? and, on the other hand, how can I, who had already adventured a little, offer to go to the pulpit, whence much at that time was expected, especially some eminent persons being present? Some that marked my countenance observed (as they told me thereafter) that all the blood went out of my face in a moment; and no marvel, for I was in a perplexed anguish what to do. At last I was encouraged to adventure, and in my preface before prayer (that which I never durst do neither before that time nor after it), I promised a blessing from God unto them that would seek it, and open their hearts unto it, seeing neither art nor industry had any place or part in this work. After incalling upon the name of the Lord, and earnest wrestling with him for his presence, I read a place parallel to what I had entered upon standing below. The Lord so carried on that business, that in the entry there was offered to me only one proposition to speak of, and no more was presented to me till I was closing that point, in the very last comma of the sentence, and then was another edifying point suggested from the text, and so another still, till the glass was run. In all this I was but the voice of one crying. There was a prompter that suggested to me, even He that sent me to preach the gospel. But when the hour-glass was ended, three points, all weighty, concatenated together, were offered to me, the uttering whereof was almost (as I suppose) as much as all the rest. Closing with prayer, I hasted to my chamber, that I might meet with nobody, but that I might hide me in my chamber, and spend some time in admiration. I feared applause, whereas nothing of me was there but a voice. Yet I was surprised as I was stealing away by that ancient minister, Mr Bryce of Broadisland (who had been earnestly invited to preach at that diet, but obstinately refused). He perceiving the haste I was making, cried after me, "Of a truth the Lord was with you;" and I turning cried to him, "Sir, God for-

give you your backdrawing." I hid me in a chamber till I was called to dinner, and all the time sat silent, except when something was asked at me. After dinner, I overheard an honourable person in conference with another, wishing that the speaker had spoken till sunset, the hearing whereof drew me out of that room.

The next time that I was invited to the like occasion in that county, where people had a great zeal and a vehement appetite which could not be satisfied, I was sore tempted to be wholly silent, I saw such readiness in people to give great applause to instruments, and the great hazard of receiving and admitting the same. But dear Mr Cunningham offered to chide me out of this snare, approving my jealousy, but reproving my backdrawing. I had in my haste vowed not to set my feet in that pulpit at that season, yet I yielded standing below to be doing somewhat, which as I learned thereafter, the Lord was pleased to follow with no small blessing. The people so hung upon us still desirous to have more; no day was long enough; no room was large enough. Then said I in the hearing of many, "Our tide has run so high, that there will be an ebb; no doubt a restraint is near, our trials are hasting on."

Another assault Satan made upon us by an English Conformist, called Mr Freeman, a strong opinator, who, falling upon Arminian books, drank in their opinions, and began boldly to propagate the same. This man having a strong body, able to watch and fast, made himself very plausible by a seeming strictness and austerity of life. Thereby he did insinuate himself in the affections of people, inviting them to conference, and singing of psalms. Being thus much followed, he vented his opinions not only by preaching, but also by spreading of papers, one whereof had this inscription "Of the Three Generations of Noble Christians." Many copies of this were spread among the people, some whereof came to our hands. And being asked what was my judgment concerning the same, I answered, "All these three generations of noble Christians might be among ignoble heathens, and that there was nothing of Christianity therein but the product of self-flattering nature, no expres-

sion holding forth any thing of Christ, or of his grace, or of the sanctifying Spirit." Yet this man went on drawing disciples after him, having his person and practice in admiration. His patron, a generous gentleman, Mr Rowlie (who thereafter was killed by the Irish rebels), invited him to go to one of these monthly meetings at Antrim. He, undertaking the journey with his patron, gave out confidently that he would confute and silence us all.

The ministers meeting there hearing of his brags, with one consent designed me to encounter him. I having gotten cold by the way travelling, was taking a sweat in my bed. Some of these brethren, sent by the rest, told me what was to be done, assuring me, that unless his brags were laid by a disputation, to which he had provoked us, the whole people where he lived would follow him in his erroneous way, to the great prejudice of the Gospel. I went with them to the Castle of Antrim, where his patron and he were waiting for the disputation. When we came to it, he would choose both the matter and manner of procedure. The matter was the decree of reprobation, and he to oppugn. We told him that another method was better, but we gave way to his. His first argument he brought being easily answered, and retorted back upon himself, the second had the same issue; but he keeping still his jocund humour, telling us that he was coming on with the strength of his arguments. But then the Lord did smite him with such confusion that he spake nonsense, so that the scribe could set down nothing of it. All the hearers were sensible of this, and some fell a-laughing. His patron turning to me said, "You know what he would be at; set you it in order, and give an answer to it." To whom I replied, "How can I know, seeing he knows not himself?" "But now," said I, "seeing it is late, and ye all see him in confusion, let him recollect his thoughts, and we shall meet in this place the next morning."

That night I went a mile off to visit a friend, and at the appointed time returned to the place appointed, where I did not find him, and so going to his chamber, I found him there with his patron. I found him writing out arguments from an Arminian

author—Grevinchovius,* as I remember. I snatching the book out of his hand, said to him, "Now I perceive your subdolous dealing;" and so I began to catechise him, and asked him if he believed that all events came to pass according to the determined counsel of God; to which he answered by a flat denial, bringing a blasphemous confirmation of his answer. Then said I, "Know you not that it is written, 'He hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation, that they should seek the Lord?' but you say you would take a course of your own, and would not seek the Lord; behold, how you blaspheme and contradict the Scriptures!" His answer was, that what I cited as Scripture was nowhere written in the Bible. Perceiving his gross and bold ignorance, I desired his patron to cast up Acts xvii. 26, 27. This being done, he could say nothing but that he thought that there had been no such thing in the Scriptures. Then said Mr Rowlie, "We need no more disputation, I see evidently his erroneousness and ignorance in the Scriptures. Mr Freeman, I have followed you too long—here I renounce you, and will have no more to do with you." So he and I were left alone to confer together, where I told him that when I saw some of his papers, I perceived that he was evil-grounded in religion; and by what now had appeared both yesternight and to-day it was now manifest. He thanked me that when others did laugh at him yesternight, I did not so, but spake still to him meekly and gravely. But then I dealt plainly with him, and told him, that perceiving him to be of a melancholic temper, though he had carried hitherto jocundly, yet, when he should lay matters to heart, he might be in danger of destruction; or, if he carried still jocundly, that he was in hazard to become loose and openly profane. He offered no answer, but showed by his smiles a waiving of my warning. The ground of my apprehension was, because I perceived he knew nothing of the grace of Christ; and the event followed sadly, for he being deserted of the people who formerly admired him, turned more dis-

* Nicolas Grevinchovius, a divine of the 17th century, who wrote against Amesius.

solute, and at last, as I was credibly informed, fell into mischievous practices. *

The Gospel thus flourishing by the ministry of his servants before mentioned, no public opposition being made thereto, all Satan's devices proving abortive, he was at last let loose to devise a pernicious device. There being many converts in all these congregations, the destroyer set himself mainly against the people of Lochlearn by this stratagem—he playing the ape, did upon some ignorant persons counterfeit the work of the Lord. In the midst of the public worship these persons fell a-mourning, and some of them were afflicted with pangs like convulsions, and daily the number of them increased. At first both pastor and people, pitying them, had charitable thoughts, thinking it probable that it was the work of the Lord; but thereafter in conference they could find nothing to confirm these charitable thoughts—they could neither perceive any sense of their sinfulness, nor any panting after a Saviour. So the minister of the place did write to some of his brethren to come thither, and with him to examine the matter. Coming and conferring with these persons, we deprehended it to be a mere delusion and cheat of Satan to slander and disgrace the work of the Lord. And the very next Lord's-day one of my charge, in the midst of the public worship, being a dull and ignorant person, made a noise and stretching of her body. Incontinent I was assisted to rebuke that lying spirit that disturbed the worship of God, charging the same in the name and authority of Jesus Christ not to disturb that congregation; and, through God's mercy, we met with no more of that work, the person above mentioned remaining still a dull and stupid sot. All this was so notoriously known that Primate Usher got word of it; who, the next time I saw him, said to me, I had reason to bless the Lord, who had assisted me so confidently (as he was pleased to word it) to conjure that lying spirit.

Yet, for all this, a matter of accusation was made against us, as

* Blair and his friends do not appear to have been afterwards troubled with attempts to introduce Arminian tenets among them.

if we had taught the necessity of a new birth by bodily pangs and throes. The instrument fitted for this accusation was Mr Harry Leslie,* who, being a violent and vain-glorious man, envied the credit and respect the ministers of these two counties had of all good people. It fell out so, that Mr Livingston and I were both in Scotland together, after some years absence, visiting our friends and doing our affairs. In our return, both of us were invited to assist an aged and infirm man, who was about the celebrating of the supper of the Lord at the Kirk of Shotts. There being a great confluence of zealous people there, Mr John Maxwell,† one of the ministers of Edinburgh, who was gaping for a bishopric, entertaining correspondence by letters with the above-mentioned Mr Leslie, they so dressed the matter betwixt them, that the said Maxwell carried a letter from Leslie to the Court, containing the calumnious accusation formerly mentioned. The timorous Bishop

* Henry Leslie, dean of Down, was a native of Scotland, and a man of considerable erudition, but a most violent and bigoted Episcopalian. He succeeded Echlin, bishop of Down, October 1635, and proved an active supporter of Wentworth in all his measures against those who had sworn the covenant. He lived till near a hundred years, and died not long after the Restoration of Charles II.

† John Maxwell was a native of Dumfries-shire, and first settled at Mortach in Banffshire, whence he was removed, in 1620, to occupy the church of the venerable Robert Bruce, who was banished to Inverness. In 1633 he was made bishop of Ross by Charles I., and afterwards a Privy Councillor and extraordinary Lord of Session. In 1637, when some of his majesty's counsellors wisely urged him to yield to the wishes of the nation, in regard to the Liturgy and Book of Canons imposed by Laud; "to all this," says Balfour, "the bishops blowing the bellows, and still crying fire and sword, especially Mr John Maxwell, bishop of Ross, *(one that did favour Rome too much)*, suggests it to be a shame for his majesty to recede from what he formerly had determined."—*Annals*, ii., 263. Spalding gives a curious account of his flight to England. Some boys having made a bonfire of the service-books which he had placed in his church at Ross, he got alarmed: "He had soon done with sermon, and therefore hastily goes to horse, and privately disguised he rode south, and to the king goes he directly. A very busy man thought to be in bringing in this service-book, and, therefore, durst not, for fear of his life, return to Scotland again."—*Troubles*, p. 47. "Fear of his life!" He was in much more danger from the Papists, "whom he did favour too much." Exalted to the bishopric of Killala, he proved an active instigator of the persecution of the Presbyterian ministers in Ireland; but during the rebellion in that country, was "stricken down, and left with many wounds as dead, by the hands of the Irish, with whom he had been but too familiar."—*Baillie's Hist., Vindication*, p. 2. After escaping the fury of the Irish rebels he retired to Oxford, and died in 1646. A poor life indeed! He was the author of "Sacro-Sancta Regum Majestas," which called forth Rutherford's reply of "Lex Rex."

of Down, getting an inkling* of this, thought it time to bestir himself, and presently suspended four of us—Mr Dunbar, Mr Welsh, Mr Livingston, and myself. Whereupon I presently had recourse to Primate Usher, speaking somewhat of an appeal which I never intended to make use of. But he presently did write to Bishop Echlin to relax that erroneous suspension; which forthwith was done. So for a season we went on in our ministry, till a letter came from Court, the narrative whereof was that accusation formerly mentioned, requiring the examination of the truth thereof, and to censure accordingly. The bishop knowing perfectly the falsehood of that accusation, and concealing the contents of his majesty's letter, (which was most just and fair), took another way—cited again us four—urged us to a subscription. We in defence answered, that there was neither law nor canon in that kingdom requiring the same. Notwithstanding he, out of his cruel fury, proceeded to the sentence of deposition.† Primate Usher being acquainted with this was sorry, but said he could not help us; but desired us to make our address to the two Lord Chief Justices, who then under his majesty governed that kingdom. I repairing to their lordships received this answer, that there was no remedy to be had but from the king himself, to whose ears that misinformation had come; and so, by the earnest persuasion of my brethren, was I persuaded to undertake a journey to England. This, and some more toil that befell me, was revealed to me ere it came to pass; but I concealed it from all flesh, save my dear friend and brother Mr Cunningham, who was sorry when I opened it to him, and afraid also; but when I told him the manner, and promised to him to act nothing thereupon, but would follow the rule of the revealed will of God in his Word, he acquiesced, and, in process of time, did see the event which I foretold him, even the recovery of our ministry after the compassing sea and land.

* *Inkling*, hint.

† On the margin, "May 4. 1632."

CHAPTER VII.

CONTAINING MR BLAIR'S JOURNEY TO LONDON, IN ORDER TO PROCURE LIBERTY TO HIMSELF AND OTHERS TO PREACH THE GOSPEL, WITH HIS SUCCESS THEREIN; AND HOW AT LAST HE WAS DEPOSED AGAIN.

While I am about my journey to England, I was much censured in the judgment of some wise men, who seemed to know best the times. What meant I, said they, to go to Court to complain of what bishops had done, that faction domineering so much at Court, especially in all matters that appertained to the Church and ministers? Who there would appear, or durst once open their mouths for those that are disaffected with Episcopal government? Albeit, I had with me letters to the Scottish noblemen who were at Court, and was well acquainted with my Lord Secretary for Scotland,* his eldest son having been my best beloved scholar at Glasgow; yet I did forecast all the difficulties before mentioned, and, notwithstanding, resolved to bestow charges and pains to seek redress, committing the event to him who is a King over kings, and Lord over lords and courtiers, who hath all hearts, mouths, and pens in his hand. I had but one answer: "The king is the ordinance of God, as a refuge under God for the oppressed. We had used all other means, and ought not to neglect the highest. If our desire

* Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, afterwards Earl of Stirling.

were granted—to wit, that the truth of the information given to his majesty against us might be tried—we had gained our point; and if refused, we had endeavoured our utmost duty; satisfying our own consciences, and refuting them who say, ordinarily, They leave and forsake their ministry. So, setting forth with some merchants who were to bring commodities from England, though I was not used to long journeys, and they were yearly accustomed with the like, yet I endured the travel much better than they. They wondering that I never complained, neither by day nor night, which they often did, did ascribe the same to the better errand I was about, and to the many prayers poured out daily to God to prosper my way, and to grant me success therein; and, indeed, they were a praying people for whom I undertook this labour, praying night and day for the liberty of Gospel ordinances. At my house two nights were spent every week; and they that did bear chief burden therein were not above the rank of husbandmen, and yet abounded in the grace and spirit of prayer, as I found by experience after my return, and spent many a night with them in that exercise; and other parts were not short of this, but abounded much more, even those who yet enjoyed the benefits of their own pastors. Towards the entry of that journey, I was suddenly saluted with the pain of the gravel in my kidneys, while I am riding upon the highway, so that I was forced to stoop and lie upon the very curche of the saddle. No one of them that were with me knew what I meant in so doing; but my heart cried earnestly to the Lord, that he would be pleased to spare me till I was better accommodated for it. This was no sooner spoken than granted.

Shortly after my coming to Court, which then lay at Greenwich, the king's progress being begun, I was promised by the Earl of Stirling, that if my petition was sent to him by the king, I should get a speedy despatch according to my mind, without expense either of time or money. He promised the more liberally, because he never expected it would be sent to him. But I, thinking that the whole difficulty lay therein, bended up all the earnestness I

could of prayer and dexterity of endeavours to have it carried so; and so it was carried. I hereat was overjoyed, so that I did readily exult and leap for joy. But when the fearful man fainted in performing his promise, fearing Bishop Laud more than God, I was much dejected. In Greenwich Park thrice I fell to the ground, praying fervently, though briefly, almost in the same words—submitting all my enjoyments, yea, my life itself, for enjoying the liberty of Gospel ordinances. And, after the third time, my great heaviness was removed, my prayer taken off my hand, and (as I conceived) granted, though I saw then no probable means how to attain the same: but the thoughts of the Lord are not as our thoughts, but as the heaven is higher than the earth, so are his thoughts above our thoughts. The means, I thought, would undo my business, to wit, the Secretary of England, was the Lord's means to do the same; but I was put to great pains and charges in following the progress to the new forest at Bewly, where I lay in the fields all night, not without danger of my life, the Lord making an Irish gentleman, who was put to the same shift with me, my guard in the night, when robbers beset us. This time and place the Lord made choice of to bear through my petition, when no bishop was with the king; yea, his majesty, perusing the draught penned by the secretary in answer to my petition, did with his own hand insert a clause which I durst not petition, viz., that, if the information made to him proved false, the informers should be punished. This caused me highly to commend the king, assuring all men to whom I had occasion to speak thereof, that there was not a more just prince in all the earth, he being rightly informed. I had occasion, many years after, of waiting upon his majesty at Newcastle, as the minister appointed by himself to his own family in Scotland,* to relate this history to him, wherein he took great satisfaction, and was thereby put from a great passion wherein he had been at something that had offended him in a book he had been reading. The secretary's servants told me that

* Mr Blair was appointed King's chaplain in Scotland, after the death of Alexander Henderson, in 1646.

their master had been put to more pains than in any particular of that kind, and that his majesty had taken more inspection thereof than of any such thing since he came to the crown: the reason whereof was this, that being at the hunting so far from London, he had no bishop with him. The first draught of the letter by the secretary was to Primate Usher;—to that he would not set his hand. The second draught was to the lord-justice;—neither would he sign this. The secretary marvelling, asked his majesty to whom it should be directed; the king answered, "To Strafford." And when that third draught was presented, then was inserted the clause formerly mentioned. When this letter was delivered to me, the Secretary Cook sent me word he was sorry that I was put to so great cost and pains in following the matter, and whereas his fees were £5 sterling, he would have none of it; yet my foolish lavishness gave to his servant two Jacobuses, having given him one before; so glad was I (having but three pieces besides) to be gone with my answer as it was: so hasting to London, and thence also with the like haste.

In my return I wronged my good gelding, riding up with an English knight towards Chester, to get intelligence from him of the Swedish success in Germany. In the afternoon my horse was so beaten with galloping so much in the morning, that I thought he was lost. Being afflicted with this, I entreated the Lord to pardon me, and to help me forward in my journey; which was no sooner done but the Lord sent rain, whereby the way was moistened, and so my horse did ride cheerfully enough. The next day, forgetting myself and the dependence I should constantly keep on the Lord, I began foolishly to dote upon the goodness of my complexion,* whereby I endured that sore travel without any trouble; but there passed not an hour when I wearied so much that I was not able to keep my cloak upon my shoulders; and when I had laid it down upon my horse, and yet was not able to sit upon my saddle, then, lighting down, I tried if walking would refresh me, and not being able to walk, my conscience did upbraid me: "What

* *Complexion*,—constitution.

is now become of thy good complexion, whereon thou wast even now doting?" Upon this rebuke I drew my horse to an advantage,* and getting up, not without some difficulty, throwing my cloak over my face, I bewailed this folly in forgetting the God of my strength, and incontinent my weariness evanished, so that I went on my way cheerfully; and meeting with a silenced minister on the way, by his conference I was not a little refreshed. Also the delivery I met with on Solway sands, when the guide cried, "The sea is upon us," was very comfortable to me, my horse outriding a nobleman and sundry gentlemen's horses, who were in the company. And, at last, coming to Dumfries, the Scottish air and diet were comfortable to me. Passing to the port, I had a desire to visit Mr Rutherford at Anwoth, and Marion M'Naught at Kirkcudbright;† and not knowing how to compass both, when I came near the parting of the way, I laid the bridle upon the horse's neck, entreating the Lord to direct the horse as he saw meet. The horse took the way to Kirkcudbright, where I did find them both whom I desired to see, and was greatly refreshed with their company. The next day being a day of humiliation in that place, I was entreated to supply the place of the aged pastor,‡ (Mr Rutherford being sick). Glad was I to hear the notion, having been silent for thirteen weeks. So did I bear the burden of that day, and was much refreshed with that labour; and thence passed to the port the next day.

One thing of importance hath escaped me which befell me. While I was at London, towards the middle of July, lying at the Strand, in the house of Thomas Livingston, about two of clock in the morning, in my sleep was represented to me my dying wife, in all the circumstances and persons that were about her, when thereafter it really came to pass. Being astonished herewith, I awakened and did leap out of my bed, putting on my clothes

* *An advantage*,—a convenient place for mounting.

† Of the celebrated Samuel Rutherford it is needless to give any notice here. Marion M'Naught is one of those good women to whom Rutherford addresses several of his well-known letters.

‡ Mr Robert Glendinning.

quickly, that I might pour out my heart in prayer, but first laid hold upon my bible, and purposing to turn to my ordinary reading to see what the Lord therein would say to me, the book opened in the Prophecy of Ezekiel, and mine eyes presently fell upon these words: "Son of man, I take from thee with a stroke the pleasure of thine eyes; but thou shalt neither weep, mourn, nor lament." And presently, shutting the book, I said, "It is enough. What the Lord showed me in my sleep, as by a vision, now, by his own Word, he speaks to me, being wakened." And presently kneeling down, I humbly craved of the Lord submission, patience, and comfort under his correcting hand; for I supposed the thing had been actually done when it was so vively * represented unto me. After prayer, my spirit was calmed, quieted, and somewhat comforted. My Lord could do me no wrong, and would do me no harm, and would make all things work together to advance my happiness. So the following of my business calling me that day to Oatlands, where the Court lay, while my horse was made ready, 'and' I got out of the city, all was kept quiet within me; but when I came to the highway, my sorrows were renewed, and the bitterness of my mind increased upon this ground, that I had made an idol of a gracious companion, and had so provoked the Lord, in removing her to himself, to smite me so grievously. When I had spent above two hours riding slowly, and mourning with a covered face, this was suggested to me as sensibly as if an audible voice had spoken: "The person thou lamentest is neither dead nor sick; but the Lord hath shown to thee what he is to do in due time. Hereby I was still and settled for the present. If any of my relations, reading these things, shall stumble, that both now and heretofore I have mentioned what hath been revealed to me of events to come, seeing revelations are now ceased, and we are to stick close to the revealed will of God in the Scriptures, for their satisfaction I answer as follows: That if an angel from heaven should reveal anything contrary to the Scriptures, or offer to add anything to that perfect rule of faith and manners, he ought to be

* *Vively*, vividly.

accursed, and much more if any man on earth should offer to do the same. This accursed way of revelation we leave to Papists and other sectaries. But, in the meantime, it ought not to be denied that the Lord is pleased sometimes, to his servants, especially in a suffering condition, to reveal some events concerning themselves and that part of the Church of God wherein they live; innumerable examples whereof might be produced, and not a few within this same land; as to the blessed martyr Wishart, Mr Knox, Mr Davidson, Mr Welsh, and Mr Patrick Simson of Stirling. This I write under protestation that I compare not myself with these I have now mentioned.

But now, to return to where I left,—passing the sea quickly and prosperously, I landed within the parish of Bangor, where I was received with great joy, especially when they heard that I had brought with me a just and favourable letter from the king's majesty. The politicians, who had censured my going as vain and to no purpose, were silent, and thought there was something in it that they understood not; but godly people were saddened for this, that he to whom the letter was directed was yet in England and not like to come over in haste; and, indeed, he came not for almost a twelvemonth. And yet this was no loss to us, but rather advantage; for this letter, though it did not take off the sentence, yet did weaken the same, putting the matter to a new trial, so that we went on teaching our people; only, *propter formam*, I went not up to the pulpit, but stood by the precentor.

At last that magnificent lord * coming over to that government,

* This was Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, who was at this time appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Stewart describes him as "a man of mighty state and wit, but exceeding perverse against all godliness and the professors thereof."—*Wodrow MSS.*, lxxv., 3. The Scottish settlers in Ireland do not appear to have been troubled for nonconformity till his time. Little did Blair know, when he applied to him for relief, the character of the man with whom he had to deal. Proud, vindictive, and tyrannical, he had now commenced those intolerant proceedings for carrying into execution the plan, formed by Laud, of crushing nonconformity, and assimilating the Church of Ireland to that of England, which issued in his being arraigned for high treason before the English Parliament, and beheaded on Towerhill, May 12, 1641, in the forty-ninth year of his age.

I went to Dublin and delivered his majesty's letter, which he utterly slighted, telling me that he had his master's mind in his bosom; he reviled the Church of Scotland, and menaced me to come to my right wits, and then I should be regarded. I, perceiving the violence and rage of the man * (which he thereafter excused to be affected, and not real, to draw forth the pride of a Puritan), came no more to him, but went to that learned man often mentioned, Primate Usher, who, when he heard how that lofty man had answered the king's letter and abused me, his eyes watered for sorrow.

I, returning, found our friends celebrating the supper of the Lord, who were exceedingly grieved that the king's letter had no other effect. Yet the hard usage I met with had some good effect; for, after some space, that wise and generous man, Sir Andrew Stewart,† making a visit to the lord-deputy, commending his other actings, convinced him that he had not done well to use so roughly a minister of the Gospel bringing his majesty's letter. Further, he inquired if that man's carriage had provoked him. The lord-deputy confessed that the man's usage had been very modest, humble and courteous. "But now," saith he, "let us help it the best way we may;" and so, according to the advice of the said noble Sir Andrew, he wrote to the Bishop of Down, That he was pleased to grant us a time, to wit, six months. This came

* "*The violence and rage of the man.*"—Wodrow has supplemented this with a curious piece of information: "Mr John M'Bride told me, that he had it from unquestionable hands, that Mr Robert Blair, after he had gone to Court, and procured the king's letter to the Deputy, Strafford, (of which see his Life), came to Strafford with it, who *stormed and rugged at it, and fell a-cursing and swearing before Mr Blair.* Mr Blair, with a great deal of authority and majesty, and a cheerful countenance, with his eyes lift up to heaven, said, 'Blessed be the name of the Lord!' which so struck the deputy, that he turned silent."—*Wod. Analect.*, i., 127.

† Sir Andrew Stewart, afterwards Lord Castlestewart, a zealous patron of the Presbyterians and Nonconformists in Ireland. Strafford writes of him to the king in 1638 as "an absolute Separatist, which moves not me to like him the better," and not far from "signing and swearing their covenant, if he were in place." "The heir-apparent of this ancient title," says Dr Reid, "has latterly embraced the Roman Catholic religion—a sad apostacy from the faith of his Irish ancestors."—*History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, i., 177.

when all our hopes were gone.* The first that told me of it, who had heard the letter read at Antrim, I thought him drunk, when the man was fasting—he used so great diligence to come to me. After this for three nights I slept not at all. The first of these nights was wholly spent in admiration; the second in praises to God, with such of my charge as used solemnly to pray with me; the third (the letter being now delivered, and we formally free to act our public ministry), I could not rest, remembering that the next day was the ordinary day of my lecture at Bangor, and I was then distant from it fourteen miles, or thereabout. So I arose, and stole away from the rest; but ere I could reach Bangor, there was there assembled a great congregation, not only of my own flock, but out of neighbouring parishes also. They all being overjoyed, the sermon I preached laid a profitable weight on their hearts, preaching on the words of Hezekiah: "What shall I say? he hath both spoken unto me, and himself hath done it: I shall go softly all my years in the bitterness of my soul."—Isa. xxxviii. 15.

I cannot here omit what Mr Josias Welsh told me as we were coming the night before from the bishop's house. "Now," says he, "I remember what your blessed wife" (for six months before that she was perfected, ending directly as was showed to me, sixteen months, at London in the Strand) "told me at Bangor, when, in your absence at London, I did visit her. After some other speeches, she uttered these words: 'Let none who call upon the name of the Lord, doubt but all of you who are now silenced shall have your full liberty to preach in your own pulpits; but (said she) it will be but for a short time.' I then (said he) was offended at her peremptory words, knowing her otherwise to be most modest; but now I perceive she knew more of the mind of God than we did." I told him that, before she sickened, she was forewarned that her end was come, and sickened the next day. This laid a weight upon me, that so fervent a supplicant had not seen the event which she foretold to him. But this I quickly corrected,

* On the margin—"May, 1634."

with the consideration of her far more glorious enjoyment. Mr Welsh did find the truth of that prediction quickly in himself; for he, preaching a few sermons in his own pulpit, 'came to his blessed rest.'*

The six months granted to us were, through God's blessing, well improven, and the people made more progress in the ways of God than ever before. What joy there was when the four silenced ministers preached together at the monthly meeting, can hardly be expressed. And when the time was well near expired, that excellent gentleman, who before was instrumental, had procured a new prorogation for other six months, the warrant whereof was come to my hands; but that violent man, Bishop Bramhall † of Derry, with all importunity extorting from me a dispute about kneeling in receiving the Lord's supper, (wherein he succumbed in the judgment of the conform clergy, denying that the Papists were idolaters in adoring the host in the mass), procured from the lord-deputy the recalling of his second letter; and so all hopes of longer liberty were cut off. We closed with solemn celebrating the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and delivered up our people to the great Bishop of our souls, from whom we had received our charge. And being convened the third time, we received a sentence of deposition; at which time I cited the Bishop 'Echlin' to appear before the tribunal of Jesus Christ to answer for that wicked deed.‡

* Row has, instead of these words, an "&c." Wodrow says: "The words which follow *came* in the original, being interlined and confused a little with the heads of other letters, and the write being old and paper bad, can hardly be read, but seem to be these: '*to his blessed rest.*'"

† Bramhall was Strafford's domestic chaplain when he came over to Ireland, but was promoted to the bishopric of Derry, in the room of the learned and pious Downham. He was a man of talents and acquirements, but such a violent Churchman, and so like Laud in his temper, that Cromwell styled him "The Canterbury of Ireland." When the venerable Bishop Bedell proposed the scheme, which lay so near his heart, of instructing the native Irish through the medium of their own tongue, Bramhall opposed the measure, maintaining that the Irish were "a barbarous and degraded people, unworthy and incapable of instruction."

‡ A full account of the proceedings will be found in Dr Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, i., 185, 186. Nothing very striking occurred till the conclusion, when, on the bishop urging him to appeal from him, Blair said: "Well, seeing ye so much urge upon appellation, I will appeal indeed; and hereby I do appeal to the tribunal of Christ my Lord, to whom I labour to be faithful; and there I cite

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To which he replied, "I appeal from justice to mercy." "But," said I, "your appellation is like to be rejected, seeing you act against the light of your conscience." Shortly thereafter he sickened; and when the physician, Dr Maxwell, came to him, and inquired what ailed him, he was long silent (as also he had been silent for many days before he took bed); and at last with great difficulty he uttered these words: "It's my conscience, man." To which the doctor replied: "I have no cure for that." This report the doctor made to the old Viscount of Airds, who discharged him to report the same to any other. But his daughter-in-law, the Lady Viscountess of Airds,* yet living, being then and there present when the doctor made the report, replied: "No man shall get that report suppressed; for I shall bear witness of it to the glory of God, who did smite that man for suppressing of Christ's witnesses."

you to appear, that you may answer for your ill deeds of this kind, and for what ye are now going to do."

* This Viscountess of Airds was Lady Jane Alexander, daughter of William Alexander, first Earl of Stirling, whom Blair mentions before as the Secretary for Scottish Affairs. After the death of her husband, the second Viscount Airds, or Lord Montgomery, she married Major-General Monro, for several years commander of the Scottish forces in Ulster, after the rebellion of 1641. She died in 1670.—*Reid's History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, i., p. 186.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONTAINING SOME ESSAYS IN ORDER TO GET LEAVE TO PREACH THE GOSPEL—HIS DISAPPOINTMENT THEREIN—AND UNDERTAKING WITH SEVERAL OTHERS A VOYAGE TO AMERICA.

HAVING thus essayed all lawful means to enjoy the liberty of the ministry in the stations wherein we had been, and all endeavours failing, I thought good to try what might be done in a more private way; and knowing that there, farther up the country, lands might be had at a very easy rate, by laying out two or three hundred pounds sterling in the hands of some landlord; and not doubting but industrious people would follow me to labour the same, I resolved to go two days' journey to try what might be done that way; and that so much the more, because even some of those who had a hand in oppressing me, sent me word, that if I would accept a benefice within the bounds of a British plantation, they would be so far from envying it, that they would be instrumental in procuring of it. To these I answered, that I was not solicitous of a benefice; that if I might be permitted in a remote place to preach to a few persons who would follow me, I hoped, through God's blessing upon my private means and industry, to subsist comfortably enough. But I heard no more of that motion from them. Yet I determined to hold on my intended journey; but the only wise God, who foresaw the murder and massacre that was to be

committed ere long, made all these parts I did look upon so despicable in my eyes (though really the land was good, and seemed so to myself, having been once there before), that if I would freely have never so much thereof I would not have accepted the same. There, where I was not known, on Saturday at night, coming where a parson had been very busy gathering in his teinds, mine host said, "I would do well to help the parson to-morrow;" to whom I answered, "If the parson himself did invite me, I would not refuse him." And so being invited by him, I promised; and hearing that they were accustomed only to one sermon, when I ended my sermon in the forenoon,* I told them that I reserved the rest of the matter till the afternoon. Both the people and parson came and heard attentively; yea, some of the people blessed God heartily. But the parson was afraid, when he heard thereafter that I was silenced; so I perceived that the Lord's design in that journey was that some souls should be edified.

After this, considering how precious a thing the public liberty of pure ordinances was, I thought it no wonder that many of the English nation were adventuring to America, and thought it a course worth the following. And opening my mind to John Livingston and Mr John M'Lellan, and some worthy persons, incontinent a considerable number appeared who offered to adventure with us; yea, John Stewart, provost of Ayr, assured us to be partner with us. The Lord also raised up the spirits of some to be at the charges of building a considerable ship, providing that I would put in for a small part thereof. While we were upon our preparations, I having the charge of three motherless children, and going to a new plantation, found it expedient to look after a wife fit for me and that undertaking, and presenting the matter before the Lord often, he made choice to me of one who was the daughter of a godly mother, having six elder sisters already married, all in reputation for godliness, herself being of good report, and no stranger

* The copy from which we have transcribed wants what follows from this to the end of the chapter. The omission is supplied from a copy among the Wodrow MSS., vol., xviii., quarto, no. 8, pp. 60-63, which was collated with the original MS.

to me, having received the word of God often from my mouth, and conferred with me privately when there was no such design or occasion. Thereafter, I found her a lover rather of the substance than show of religion, of whom I now say no more than that the Lord gave to me by her nine sons and a daughter.

About that time there came to us an English gentleman, whose name was Mr Winthrop, from New England. This understanding gentleman being the son of the governor of that plantation to which we intended to join ourselves, was a man of excellent parts, being a great traveller, not only in the west but in the eastern parts of the world also—this man, I say, did earnestly invite and greatly encourage us to prosecute our intended voyage. The godly people in these parts, as many as were hopeful possibly to follow us, were glad; but others, whom either poverty or the backwardness of the company they were tied to made utterly hopeless, were very sad. Among these a gracious woman, married to a gross churl, grieved so exceedingly that she could neither enjoy the means wherein her life was laid up, nor yet had hope to follow the same; one morning pouring out her heart to God, pathetically declared her desire to be dissolved, and was answered inwardly: "Then come away to me; thou shalt be welcome." Hereupon sending for her most familiar friends, she joyfully told them. Speaking in parables (which was her grave ordinary way of expression), she said, I am sent for to the court, the King hath sent for me; I loathe the country life, I can live no longer here away; I sent for you to take leave of you." Her gladness made them very sad; for her society was very upstirring and delectable. She set all things in order in the house, and by that time was sick enough for her bed. The hearing of this drew many to visit her; to whom she discoursed excellently, night and day. At this time I was absent, attending that rare gentleman now mentioned. The young Christians, waiting upon her that was sick of love, had no mind to restrain their speech till an ancient Christian warned them of the danger thereof, which shortly thereafter appeared. She who had been sailing with a prosperous wind and a full pressed sail, for

ordinary rejoicing in Christ, and delighting to walk in his way, having then spoken much and bled very much, did meet with such a tempest of temptation as for the present time seemed to overwhelm and overthrow her; so that for a time she was like a giddy traveller, who, mistaking the airts, turns to the west for the east; but she returned to her former stability ere I could reach her. And after that, for two days and a night, I being still with her, she had for every hour a new combat, declaring to me the assault, the wrestling against it and the victory over the same. And so I saw in that very precious person, after a constant and well-grounded peace for several years, without any considerable interruption, in end a fierce fight, in the beginning whereof the adversary, taking the advantage of her long speaking and empty brain, foiled her lamentably. But in the progress of that bickering, she obtained as many victories still, by the dint of the sword of the Spirit, the Word of God, as she lived hours, and finally was foughten into the very gates of heaven, where she obtained the full and final victory.

While the ship is a-building, my wife, big with her first child, was desirous to see the vessel, and finding a deep step as we came, we were advised to return to our lodging by another way. Passing through the river at a ford we had not tried before, we met with a type of our future voyage, and hardly escaping, obtained a great delivery. In the middle of the river, the ground proving false, the hinder part of the gelding fell down in a hole, so that she was set down upon the water, and though both the current of the river, the ebb, and the wind were all one way, yet the Lord fixed her till I spurred out the horse, leapt down from him, and so laid hold on her riding skirt, which had it been but one inch farther distant, she had gone down, and I, in rescuing, had likely followed; but the Lord brought us safely through, and no harm followed thereon.

We had sent two of our number, a minister and a gentleman, to go from the west of England to try that land, and to bring us a certain report; but the one of them trying the sea a little, and advising thereafter with a physician, was scared from pursuing the

matter any further. Yet, upon the reports they brought us, we continued our preparations. But ere the ship and all things were ready, not only the spring, the fittest time to set forth, but the most of the summer was spent; and when we set forth, a faint-hearted master did find out shifts to delay us, first affirming that we wanted some necessary cordage, for which we behoved to run over to Loch Ryan in Scotland. While we were there, we saw Bishop Sydserf coming from Wigton, where he had deposed Mr Rutherford, and fined and confined Earlston and some other gentlemen. This gave all Scotland an alarm; for now every bishop, having got up a High Commission, with a small quorum of their own creatures, could, in one harvest (for no time was excepted), fine and confine at their pleasure (no limits being set to them), in an arbitrary way, the lieges throughout the whole kingdom. This was the preamble of the great troubles that after followed.

The cordage being gotten, the faint-hearted man pretending there was a dangerous leak in the ship, prevailed with us to go to the Kyles of Bute, there to search our leak. But there we perceived the leak was in himself. The Lord's intent was that some people there, in Bute and Cowan, should hear the Word of God from us, where also we received from them the best commodities afforded—as apples, honey, and the best sort of bread they had. Our ship was here put so fast on ground that for sundry days she did not float. This being done by the treachery of the master, we therefore dismissed him, having another more experienced than he to take the charge. So at last the time being far spent, the —— day of August, we thence set forth, being in all, beside their sailors, about one hundred and forty, having beside our sea provision, two years' victual for the land. In the entry, we met with this discouragement, a deal of our bread not well baken was spoiled, so that we behoved to cast it overboard. We were so eager for our purpose, for which we had prayed so much, that we could not, or rather, would not, see the Lord crossing our designs.

Having, through calmness, hardly passed the sound of Ratchly in the Mull of Kintyre, the Lord sent us a fair and strong gale of

wind for many days. When we had passed the back of Ireland and entered the great ocean, O what mountains, not waves, of sea did we meet! The swellings of the sea did rise higher than any mountains we had seen on the earth, so that in the mid-day they hid the sun from our sight. Then fell I sick, being troubled with a great thirst, so that I could eat nothing but wasted apples, till at last some of our company persuaded me, holding me by the arms to visit all the passengers in their several quarters. In one of them I was urged to take some stomach water, which, through God's blessing, proved effectual for my health.

THE END OF BLAIR'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

SUPPLEMENT

BY

MR WILLIAM ROW.

SUPPLEMENT,

ADDED TO THAT PART OF THE HISTORY OF MR BLAIR'S LIFE WHICH WAS WRITTEN BY HIMSELF, COMPILED BY MR WILLIAM ROW, HIS SON-IN-LAW, ANNO 1676, TEN YEARS AFTER HIS DEATH, CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF HIS LIFE, (WHICH MAY BE CALLED THE HISTORY OF THE TIMES, ESPECIALLY FROM THE YEAR 1643), UNTO THE DAY OF HIS DEATH, ANNO 1666, AUGUST 27TH, WITH CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE TIMES AFTER MR BLAIR'S DEATH.

PART I.

THIS length the Author proceeded writing these brief notes, recording the most remarkable passages of divine providence, and thankfully acknowledging God's fatherly leading him in all the most difficult paths of his life and pilgrimage. But he being prevented, first by sickness, and shortly thereafter by death, in the year 1666, the only wise God thought it not meet that he should write the History of the rest of his life, but that it should be done by some of his near relations, though do it who will, it will be very unlike, yea, and evil suited to that which is written by himself, even as the writer of the Supplement, either his head or heart, is as different from the author's, as his Supplement, from that which was done by himself. Yet though the reader should cry out, this evil suited Supplement is like that of the Poet's "Humano capiti cervicem equinam jungere," &c., still in great weakness, but in some measure

of sincerity according to my information, first, and thereafter to my observation and certain knowledge, I write the History of the rest of my father-in-law his life.

He was born in the town of Irvine, in the year 1593. His father was John Blair, a gentleman living in the town of Irvine, son to Alexander Blair, the good-man of Windyedge, who was brother-german to the laird of Blair, so that Mr Blair was in near relation to the ancient and honest family of that ilk. His father had four sons, the eldest, John Blair, provost of Irvine; the second, James Blair, provost of Irvine; the third, Mr William Blair, minister of Dumbarton; the youngest was the author, Robert Blair. His mother was Bessie Muir, out of the ancient and honourable family of Rowallan, which is the cause that James Blair, her grandchild, present provost of Irvine, 1677 *

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The time of his life may be divided into six periods. The first period is from his birth, anno 1593, to the twentieth year of his age, when he was laureated in the College of Glasgow, anno 1613. In that first period is declared how the Lord very graciously, yea, early, began his good work (Phil. i. 6), in him, and how it was carried on, (moving him by his own good Spirit to communicate in the twelfth year of his age), notwithstanding of obstructions and some interruptions in that period; and surely that wit were more than ordinary weak and sinfully censorious that would carp at his observing and recording these obstructions and interruptions of the good work so early begun by his early sins and the out-breaking now and then of nature's corruption, considering how he was moved thereto by Augustine's example, and what excellent use he makes thereof for our edification.

The second period of his life is from his entering into his charge in the school of Glasgow, to his going to Ireland and entering into his ministry at Bangor, *anno* 1623. This period has many remarkable things, First, it's declared how the work of God, not only the profession, but the power of religion was spread over the

* A line and two words are here quite illegible.

north country, especially by Mr Cunningham, by the powerful preaching of the Gospel, and the Lord's inward exercising of discipline upon consciences by the work of his own Spirit backing the preaching of the Word by honest unconform and anti-prelatic men; while bishops and conformists, idle shepherds under them, did neither faithfully preach the word, nor exercise outward discipline; apostacy and persecution then growing, especially after Perth Assembly, which was *anno* 1618. Secondly, Most remarkable is that most edifying and heart-searching discourse, page 21 to page 35, which may be called one of Mr Blair's *Michtams*,* wherein is declared how the Lord carried on towards a perfection his good work in him, by gradual outbreakings of practical gospel light, and gradual outlettings of gospel grace; where, take notice (that I may gather some few of the top flowers of that rich garland, a few of the berries of that sappy cluster), *First*, How he was made to see, and humbly to acknowledge how he was strengthened with might in his inner man, to walk and go in the ways of God, according to the riches of his glory. *Secondly*, How he was taught to make use of Christ, not only as our High Priest made of God, to be our righteousness, for our justification; but also to make use of Christ as our king for sanctification, being made of God to be our sanctification as well as our righteousness. *Thirdly*, How he was led on, not only to make use of faith in order to justification, but directly to make use of faith for sanctification. *Fourthly*, Not only to make use of faith as a means† to stir up to holiness by believing these motives, that the Holy Spirit in the word makes use of for stirring us up to holiness, but to make use of faith as a mean and instrument to draw holiness out of Christ, thus to be daily perfecting holiness, Christ dwelling in our hearts by faith, we being taught of God rightly to employ and make use of Christ and to give our faith both meat and work, as is illustrate by three similes, page 34. *Fifthly*, How he was led up to a high step or pitch of practical

* The allusion is to those psalms to which the title *Michtam*, or *Golden*, is prefixed, to denote their singular excellence.

† In MS. it is "motive," evidently by mistake.

holiness, to discern how, when and wherein the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of holiness, was grieved, being slighted; and how he was instructed and learned a new practical lesson, not only not to slight and so to grieve, but to be more in craving and cherishing the Holy Spirit; and not only so, but more directly to employ the Holy Ghost, his sanctifier and comforter. Now, while I look and muse upon all thir gradual outbreakings of practical light and gradual degrees of practical growing holiness, I think they are consonant unto the gradual steps of the Apostle's climbing prayer (Eph. iii. 14, 20), as the observant reader cannot but perceive. *Lastly,* Observe how he was put to it more diligently and accurately to study Christ, his natures, his offices, especially his kingly office; and how that led him to study Christ's government of his own house, which is laid on no monarch's or parliament's shoulders but his own: where we have a most famous testimony given and left by famous Mr Blair against Episcopacy, ceremonies, and conformity; and not only against the sinful dominion and tyrannical usurpation of prelates, but against giving to them flattering and sinful titles of honour prohibited by Christ.

The third period of his life is from his demitting of his charge in the College of Glasgow, and going to Ireland, *anno* 1623, to the time of his being suspended from his ministry at Bangor, *anno* 1631, in the thirty-eighth of his age; where, mark what is set down as a proem to this period, viz., that as he had declared how and by what steps and degrees the Lord prepared him to undergo his trouble and sufferings at Glasgow, so there he declares how the Lord made that trouble, being his first apprentice, especially in public suffering, to work together for his good, the Lord thereby fitting, furnishing, and strengthening him patiently and faithfully to endure greater trouble, and more public sufferings for the name of Christ and the Word of God; and yet he humbly and self-deniedly acknowledges, that though the Lord had been preparing him, and training him up, yea, that he seemed to himself to be not a little prepared and encouraged for suffering, yet that he was surprised both in the measure and manner of his trouble; and that

even when we seem to be prepared for doing or suffering, we are far from it. But that which is most remarkable in that excellent passage, p. 49, is this,—to learn this practical lesson, namely, what use we should make of all gifts, yea, of all graces, of all experiences in ourselves, of all edifying examples in others, of all our own consolations, and being made partakers of the consolations of other sufferers; and, finally, of the diligent use of the means and ordinances of life, in order either to our support under, or comfort in, or outgate from future trouble and greater sufferings: First, negatively, that we must not make all of these, or any of them, the object of our faith for our souls to rest or rely upon them, in order either to our salvation, or sanctification, or delivery from trouble; yet positively, to make use of all these, or any of them, as motives or means to further, advance, and strengthen our faith, that so they may prove useful to our faith and patience, that gradually we may ascend to the highest class of Christ's followers, and learn there the lesson anew to bring forth fruit with patience in the time of greatest trouble, sufferings, or persecution. But, notwithstanding of all this excellent use of all, or of any of these, yet the Lord our God, even the Father in his Son and Spirit, must be the only object of our faith, our souls only resting, trusting, and relying on him for all. This is most clearly illustrate by him with this notable simile (and most happy was he in his similes): Small weak pinnings are very useful in building of a wall to strengthen it, and make it stand straight, but if they were laid for foundations they would not be able to bear the weight; even so our experiences, gifts, graces, consolations, &c., may be made use of as pinnings, but must not be laid as foundation stones; for none other foundation can be laid than that which is laid already, a sure foundation, even that tried stone, that precious corner stone, Jesus Christ.—Isa. xxviii. 16, with 1 Cor. iii. 11.

In this third period of his life, *First*, Observe several passages of providence, whereby he was heartened and encouraged for his journey to Ireland, not only by the company of godly persons, and a comfortable letter from Trochrig, but especially by the

Lord's answer to his prayer of faith in a very sensible way, and by suggestions from his Spirit, pp. 51, 52. *Secondly*, How he was encouraged and charged to settle in that charge of the ministry at Bangor, not only by the hearty call of the patron, but of the whole people after he had preached there several times; yea, being charged in the name of Christ so to do by the old man who had been in that charge, professing great repentance for his being a dean. *Thirdly*, Observe his honest and straight dealing before his admission to that ministry, not only with the patron, (who by his letter invited him over, and gave him the call), but with the bishop himself, plainly and fully declaring how opposite he was to Episcopacy, their Liturgy, and all the Ceremonies. *Fourthly*, Take notice of his honest and cleanly entry to that ministry, and withal of the bishop's humble condescension in the manner of his admission or ordination, and of Mr Blair's prudent and honest accepting thereof, having not only the advice of holy Mr Cunningham, and the rest of the adjacent brethren, but their concurrence in the action as the prime actors. *Lastly*, Observe his painfulness and diligence after his admission in that charge, and his prudent carriage in his preaching; and that his preaching might be for edification, his diligence, as previous and preparatory to public preaching, in more private, plain, and familiar instruction of persons, one by one in families, before more public catechising of sundry families together, and both these to fit and prepare people in the public congregation to understand preaching, and make use of it in their lives and conversations. Now the Lord, that directed him to use this rational and prudent method in going about the duties of his calling, did not a little bless his labours, by making his ministry, after some space of time, successful and fruitful, as appeared by that people's high estimation of the worth and usefulness of family exercise, especially of prayer.

After his settling in the ministry at Bangor, the Lord blessed him with an helper meet for him; and though he had been courted by others, yet the Lord inclined his heart to this blessed choice; for, coming over to Scotland and to Edinburgh, the Lord

directed him to make choice of a young gentlewoman, Beatrix Hamilton, then living in Edinburgh with one of her sisters. She had three sisters, all of them rare, godly, wise, and prudent women; Marion Hamilton, married first to a religious man, Bartholomew Fleming;* Bessie Hamilton, married to Mr Richard Dickson, a godly, meek, faithful minister, deposed by the bishops, imprisoned in Dumbarton Castle, thereafter minister at Kinneill, all his days faithful and honest; Barbara Hamilton, wife to John Meine, merchant, a godly zealous man, and a sufferer under the old bishops for non-conformity to Perth Articles, especially for not keeping Yule, &c. Thir four sisters (whose mother was also Hamilton) were out of an old family of that name, viz., the laird of Bardowie. Mr Blair's wife, though the youngest, and died first, yet was nothing inferior to her sisters, whereof two lived long after her. She was, by the testimony of all that knew and were acquaint with her, a very gracious, modest, wise, prudent and beautiful woman, every way meet to be a minister's spouse and helper; which Mr Blair found to his great satisfaction and comfort, as some Notes written by him mentioned, *cap.* iv. *initio*, (which by patrimony came to my hands, and are in my custody), do often testify, where he often declares, that when he was in any soul trouble, or heaviness of mind, she was most comfortable company to him, especially in secret prayer together. And, as he declares, p. 96, how he was troubled about her in his sleep, so in these Notes he declares, how when he was in any great danger of soul or body, her soul was troubled for him at home; two times especially, first in January 1626, he was in great danger riding in Holywood sands, and at that same instant her soul was troubled for him at home, and put to pray for him; secondly, when he was engaged in that single combat with the devil, mentioned p. 67. The next morning when he came home she said to him, "My heart, where

* Bartholomew Fleming was a merchant in Edinburgh. Livingston's wife was the eldest daughter of this marriage. After the death of Mr Fleming, Marion Hamilton was married secondly to Mr John Stevenson, who removed with his family to Ireland, and settled at Malone, near Belfast, in the end of the year 1633.—*Livingstone's Life in Select Biograph.*, i. 150, 151.

have you been, what have you been doing all night? All this night I was troubled for you; I thought I saw you fighting with the devil." "Well," said Mr Blair, "this night the Lord employed me as a weak instrument to bruise his head, and he has been nibbling at your heel all night."

In the 4th, 5th, and 6th chapters, the author gives you an account, especially of his more public actings and labours in the work of the ministry, and of the spreading of that good work by the joint labours of his brethren. In his Notes mentioned p. 31, and *cap.* iv. *initio*, p. 62, he records his more private actings and carriage in his family. First, How much he was in private prayer with his yokefellow; and, Secondly, That he kept family fasts for private humiliation, and how the Lord blessed that exercise, even when he was dull and deadened in secret. Particularly February 8, 1626, he says, "This being a day for private humiliation alone, I could do nothing; only I concluded the Lord worthy still to be sought. Entering with the family, exceeding dead and dull, I resolved to pass the first prayer in few words; but I could not end, my heart (honoured be thy Majesty!) melted so wonderfully. In the whole course thy Majesty graciously assisted, Jer. iii. 1. That kindness which were unlawful to be shown among men where the most entire bands should be, yet the Lord shows to us. O more than wonderful!" Thirdly, His Notes testify how much he was in secret duties and exercises, viz., in heart-searching, soul-humiliation, and self-judging meditations, observing the frame of his spirit daily, and constantly remarking the very first beginnings of declining, and all the distempers of his soul. And, if at any time he apprehended the beginning of declining, by intermitting his good course of constantly remarking and recording of his soul's estate and condition, how quickly did he recover and re-engage his soul, lamenting his intermission and loss thereby! and then presently he found the Lord restoring his soul, Ps. xxiii., 3, by these soul-rectifying, soul-restoring influences of his Spirit of adoption, whereof see two instances recorded by him: First, In the beginning of the year 1626 he says, "How easy a thing is it to fall from a good course, how

hard thereafter to recover my experience in this case is clear. O my leaving off remarking my state! What decays! How many difficulties have I found in taking it up again! Lord forgive, and now help, make up my loss for thy Christ's sake!" Secondly, In November that year: "O gross omission! O miserable backsliding! bringing sensible loss, great discouragements for myself and my flock, especially 29th of October, when I had the communion to celebrate without help, many strangers with a great appetite being present. My heart burst before I entered, and thou graciously didst assist. Thou, O Lord, madest me to preach, and effectually to feel that thy yoke is light and easy. When we are yoked by the one side, there is no kindly drawing; when the burden hangs upon the houghs, it is heavy; hoist it up, it is lighter. Thy help was sweet and sensible at entry and ending, and all honoured be Thou. More tempted shortly thereafter than for a long time before; Satan, sensible of his harm, was diligent to make up his loss.—The 27th day being appointed for a private fast; no preparation; greatly borne aback, and all the company. At night, thy Majesty graciously helped me up and held me up. I felt the lightness of thy yoke. Magnified be thou for ever!—28th day: Thou wakened me, O Lord, graciously musing in my very sleep of the power of the sacrament,—the matter that raised me up the day before. In wrestling we should strive to make use of the sacrament, whereby our communion with Christ is sealed up. Blessed be thy Majesty! When I get access to thy Majesty, my heart is enlarged for thine 'services,' and flies through them. I find it a notable help to renew daily the covenant." Many such like favours might be gathered out of his Notes.

As he was a most painful and an accurate observer in all secret duties, so especially in secret prayer. Whatever trouble, trial, or difficulty he met with, whatever duty, work, or voyage he undertook, it was with him as with David and Elias, Ps. cix., 4, "But I to prayer;" James v. 17, "In his prayer he prayed," or "With prayer he prayed." See some instances:—"Feb. 19, 1626. My Bible being lost, and sought diligently, could not be found. When

it was given over, it was casten in my mind to crave it from God, and an engagement if he would. As I was speaking this, it was brought to me. Blessed be thou who helped me! Honoured be thy Majesty in thy Christ!" Especially before the celebration of the holy communion he was a man of many prayers; and then, with Elias, "with prayer he prayed to God;" and in his prayer he prayed for his flock, family, wife, children, and for himself.

When he was to make any visit, or to undertake any journey wherein he had more special reason to apprehend danger or hazard to soul or body, before his fixing upon or undertaking it, he was much in secret prayer. See one remarkable instance, when he was thinking on his visit to Primate Usher, and on his journey to Tredaff, mentioned p. 79: "The 16th of May 1627, praying in the church alone, about supper-time, and particularly craving direction for our voyage to Trodaff, I thought I heard a voice naming me with an Irish accent, and saying somewhat more, which I understood not; and thinking that one was calling me, I arose suddenly but could find none. My Lord direct and defend me, for thy Christ's sake!"

Especially on the Lord's-day, he did most narrowly and accurately observe the various frame and posture of his spirit, according as the Lord did either reveal or let out of himself, or withdraw and hide himself. But whatever he found in secret, yet, ordinarily, he was assisted in public; for the which he always praised God. Instance:—"May 21. Sabbath. *Facilis descensus averni, sed revocare gradum*, &c. Easy intermitting of good, but hard recovery. Lord help! Lord help me to aim at the rule! Blessed be thy name for assistance from above in public! Lord help and give direction for our journey to Trodaff." See the answer of their prayers anent this journey, p. 80.

As for that fever he had in his new house at Bangor, mentioned in the end of the fourth chapter, what befell him before and in the time of that great fever, take it as it's recorded in his own Notes:—"Great distractions this summer, especially by my building, and yet thou, O Lord, didst assist me in public; but

in private, great decay. When the winter communion came, great fears of great desertion, which thou, O Lord, overcame graciously, and gave a singular measure of thy presence to me and them that were seeking the Lord; so that we all upon the Monday together drew waters out of the wells of salvation with joy. Blessed be thy great and glorious name! Some strength remained some days thereafter. When I began to decay, then thy Majesty visited me with that fever which I took, December the 5th, 1627. O Lord, when thou wast chastising me, even then thy Majesty did graciously manifest thyself to me three several times, in the last whereof, blessed be thy holy name! that song was made in Latin which begins, *Nemo me lachrimis*," &c.

After his recovery out of that dangerous fever, he prefixed this title to that song:—

CARMEN FUSUM IN IPSO ÆSTU RELAPSÆ FEBRIS, QUO SE TUM MORIRETUR, CHRISTI AMORE IN CORDE DIFFUSUM, AMICIS TESTATUM VOLUIT.

ANIMA.

Nemo me lachrimis, nemo mea funera planctu,
Misceat, emersi lachrimarum e valle profunda.
Orphanus ad patrem perveni, O patria tecta!
Tam variis cumulata bonis: ibi conspicor ulnas,
Christe, tuas pansas pro me prius in crucis ara
Mi patulas, lætus vocor: irruo, inhæreo: salve.

CHRISTUS.

Præco mei verbi, dixit, *βδελυγματα* cuncta
Quæ te mortalem cruciarunt perpete cura,
Victor conjeci, nunquam nocitura in abyssum:
Ingredere optati cœlestia guadia regni!

RESPONSIO ANIMÆ ADMIRANTIS.

Hunc ego si potui tantum sperâsse triumphum
Tene meas audisse preces spectasse labores,
Ardoresque animæ, lamentaque perrepisse.

CHRISTUS.

Vidi namque dedi: mea erant hæc nunc tua sunto *
Eu diadema, stolam, atque throni tibi largior usum,
Me sequere ex templo cernes solennia spousæ.

* The five preceding lines are omitted in the MS. from which we print. They have been supplied from a MS. belonging to J. Gibson Craig, Esq., and have been blundered in the transcription.

Responsio animæ admirantis.

Me stola lucida! me thronus aureus, aut diadema!
Istane me deceant! stygia de fæce profunda
Peccati vix elapsum! O subsellia Regis!
Ima pedum subsellia pone; ibi mi locus esto;
In soliis sedeant sancti, et qui dogmata sacra
Signarunt fidei pretioso sanguine testes.

Christus.

Cur, Deus omnipotens, vastæ qui pondera molis
Fulcio, sustinui ut vermis? pœnamque, pudoremque,
Atque iram Patris horrendam, infernique dolores?
Nonne ut vermiculos fœdos de faucibus Orci
Ereptos mihi servarem, eveheremque ad honorem
Natorum Summi Patris, indelebile regnum.
Mortalis pater optaret soboli ut, sine damno
Alterius, regno eximio unusquisque fruatur.
Hoc potis est præstare meus super omnia felix;
Hoc ego vivificus meis vult fratribus esse
Spiritus, æternum nobiscum ut regna capessent.
Annon hæc populum docuisti voce sonora?

Anima.

Ista quidem docui, ista amplexus speque fideque,
At nunc cum presens videam quanto intervallo!
In verbo promissa olim et nunc præstita distent
Victrix spes mihi victa jacet, et fracta stupore,
Jam mihi facta fides merum evanescit in actum.
Hem! quid agebamus? quid mirabamur inepti?
Quantæ nos tenebræ, O caligo quanta tegebat!
At nunc discussis umbris te sole nitente
Sim quod, Christe, velis sequar, et quo ducis, Jesu!

This song he did translate into English for the use of his wife and friends, that understood not Latin, in form of a dialogue betwixt his soul and Christ.

Soul.

Let none lament about my bier,
  Let none for sorrow shout;
Out of the dreary vale of tears,
  My soul hath swattered out.

An orphan to his father's house
  Is come, where Christ I see,
With arms stretch'd out, as on the cross,
  Me to embrace sweetly.

I'm call'd, I run with haste and joy,
To thee O Christ I cleave;
Such pleasure is thee to enjoy,
I can thee never leave.

CHRIST.
O welcome preacher of my word!
Sin that did so sore vex thee,
Triumphing on the tree as Lord
I drown'd in my death's deep sea.

Come enter now the palace pleasure,
To reign for aye with me;
Possess what thou look'd for at leisure,
In all eternity.

SOUL *(wondering.)*
Could I such triumphs once look for,
Could I forecast this case?
That my poor suits and troubles all,
Thou would'st so well embrace?

My toil and troubles manifold,
My supplications all,
My burning earnest desire of thee,
My tears that oft did fall.

CHRIST.
Did I not know what I did give?
Thereof no jott I mist;
All these were mine, and these be thine,
To make thee truly blest.

Now follow me and thou shalt see
The nuptials of my bride,
The spouse which I purchas'd to me,
With blood shed from my side.

My trophies all thine own thou'se call,
And breuk * them aye with me,—
The robe, the throne, the crown royal,
Ne'er to be tane from thee.

SOUL (*wondering.*)
A robe for me! for me a throne!
A royal crown for me!
How can it weall become such one,
Scarce out of misery.

* Enjoy.

Who in the loathsome lake of hell,
The sink of sin I mean,
Did lately stick and sink full ill,
And now outdrawn have been.

The lowest footstool of thy throne,
And worse if any were,
Might well suffice for such an one,
To have a low bench there.

Thy saints and martyrs who did seal
Thy sacred truth with bluid [blood],
Such robes and thrones would set them weall
At meeting in the cluide [cloud].

CHRIST.

What is the cause, thinks thou, that I,
The God omnipotent,
(Who by my power, right worthily,
The heaven and firmament

Of all the world's huge globes sustain'd),
As worm the Father's ire
Did bear? and feel the fearful pain
Of death and hell's hot fire?

Was't not that I to me might take
These worms and wretches vile?
Pluckt out of hell's hot fiery lake—
Poor captives and exiles.

Was't not to advance eternally
Adam's lost sons to be
Right noble heirs of God Most High,
For ay to reign with me?

A father to his children all
Right heartily could wish
That each, without another's fall,
A kingdom might possess.

They can but wish, and oft do miss,
Not so my Father shall;
I, with my spirit, do join in this,
Unto my brethren all;

That they may reign most gloriously
With us the Trinity.
Did not thou teach the same boldly
Into my chair for me?

Soul (*accepting.*)
I taught the same, indeed I know,
The same I did embrace
By faith and lively hope: but now
How altered is the case.

Whate'er before the Word did promise,
When now it's felt and seen,
Passeth by infinite degrees
All that conceived hath been.

My hope with having overcome
Is cast into a trance,
My faith now by fruition
Breuketh the whole substance.

Below what were we wretches doing,
Or what admire we thus?
What misty veil of ignorance
Did so o'ershadow us?

But now these clouds so dark and gross
Scattered, O Christ! by thee,
Call when thou wilt I'll follow close
Where'er thou leadest me.*

By this song, and the translating and enlarging of it after his recovery out of that fever, you may perceive what sweet manifestations and divine raptures he had then, and in what an excellent frame his soul was into in the time of that fever, and for some space after his recovery. But his Notes lead me to observe that ordinarily after such manifestations, divine raptures, and lifting him up on high, he met with saddest downcastings, desertions, obstructions, interruptions, occasioned especially by his intermitting his edifying exercise of remarking and recording both God's ways towards him, and his ways towards God. For, notwithstanding that God did then shed abroad his love in his heart, yea the love of Christ constrained him to sing and rejoice, and to triumph over sin, death, hell, and the grave; yet shortly thereafter see a dark cloud, some degrees of laziness and security creeping on, &c., so that his song

* The above lines, more remarkable for their piety than their poetry, are yet a fair specimen of the wretched doggrel in which almost all writers of that period indulged. The Latin, though not so lame as the translation, is also very faulty, and much inferior to similar pieces written in the days of Andrew Melville.

is turned into a lament. Yet quickly he recovers; and his soul being restored he again changes his notes. February 1629, he says, "How often shall I fall back from the profitable exercise of remarking my ways, having casten it away now long. Help me, Lord, to be humbled for it, and help me to it again for thy name's sake."

"I was in some measure prepared for thy holy table, to which I went at the spurs both in soul and body. Thy Majesty helped me in the sermon afternoon, to stir up to the new song, Psalm xcviii., wherein thou, O Lord, madest my tongue as the pen of a ready writer. The minister at the table made me as welcome as the heart-blood of Christ could make me."

Again, thereafter, Feb. 19, he laments and bemoans himself thus: "Woe is me for the idleness of my natural heart; 1. Idle, 2. Vain, 3. Wicked, 4. Exceeding stiff and strong in evil. But O, how good art thou who challenged sharply, humbled quickly, and let me find the truth of Tuesday's doctrine, making all things work together for my good. But never shall any find the good of counter-poisons until they first find the evil of it."

As this was the Lord's way with him after clearest manifestions, sweetest raptures, &c., a cloud, something of an eclipse, degrees of dullness, deadness and security; so we may see it has ever been the Lord's way with those devoted to him, admitted to most intimate communion, yea, to sweetest fellowship with himself. So with David, Psalm xxx. 1-7. But see the dark cloud, and him darkened, troubled, praying, crying, lamenting, &c., verses 7-10. But see him changing his note quickly, verses 11-12. So with Paul, 2 Cor. xii. 3-6, and verses 7-9, (and it is a certain truth, that after saddest temptations, and Satan's buffeting of Mr Blair, with most horrid temptations, he got sweetest manifestations, yea, divine raptures, which he thought not lawful for him to utter; once, especially after saddest buffeting, which he would never tell, nay not to his most intimate brother, Mr Dickson). So with the spouse, Cant. iv. 16, and v. 1, with v. 2, 3, &c. And this is a case worthy of the disquisition of casuists, when the Lord thus deals with his friends, yea, with his best beloved ones, that in a short time they

have so many changes—lifted up, casten down, shined on, overshadowed, quickened, deadened, praising, lamenting, blessing, cursing, &c. O how many changes had he in one month, Feb. 1629! as many as Jeremiah had in the 20th chapter of his Prophecies. In March that year he was visited with a sad sickness where he has this note: "Exceeding sick, then I said,

> Ad Bodium, ad Scotum et reliquos proficiscor amicos,
> Face procul qui nunc terrena.

But thou, O Lord, rebuked the sickness, and the third day I went up to the house of the Lord on the Sabbath, where thou helped me to speak in thy name, not being well able to stand."

Whenever he felt any wearying, discouragements or fainting, he was thereby stirred up to more frequent prayer, greater diligence and painfulness, and that helped him up again to a new song of praises. In May that year his note is, "Notwithstanding of thy assisting me, yet, wearying of my charge and life, fainting exceedingly, yet thereby drawn to more frequent prayer. Blessed be thou, O Lord, for ever! Thou hast been very good, and wilt be better than ever thou wast in thy Christ. Be thou magnified for ever!" O! how variously was he exercised and tossed this year, 1629, ending it as he did begin it; for in the close of it he says, "*Facilis discensus averni, sed, &c.* Help me, O Lord, to remark my estate, how thy Majesty deals with me; little fruit yet of the removing of my child Elizabeth; little preparation for Holywood communion; yet thou, O Lord, helped me to urge spiritual matter, then graciously teached my heart at thy table; but thereafter great deadness and faints, greater than almost ever I remember. I could not rejoice with the congregation in singing; yet at last thou helped me to make use of the doctrine, and to speak pertinently to the estate of sundry drooping saints." June 24. 1630, his gracious wife, (so sometimes he did call her), Beatrix Hamilton, brought forth twins, two daughters, the eldest baptized Marion, who died shortly thereafter, the younger baptized Jean.

CHAPTER IX.

1631.

The fourth period of his life was from the time of his being suspended from the exercise of his ministry at Bangor, *anno* 1631, to the time of his settling in his ministry at St Andrews, *anno* 1639, in the 46th year of his age. This period of his life was more troublesome than any before. It was a continual tract of troubles, one cross after another, and several sorts of crosses at one time. He was suspended in harvest-time, 1631. He gives you an account of the occasion and pretended cause thereof, and how immediately thereafter that erroneous censure was taken off, and how, upon the 4th of May the next year, 1632, he was deposed, p. 101.

The first censure being immediately taken off again, was only the Lord's warning-piece, to awaken and warn him to arm himself against the second censure, which proved, indeed, a wounding-piece, a very heavy cross, and great trial for two full years. And it appears evidently by his short Notes written in the interim, First, That he looked upon the first as a warning and an awakening shot; and, Secondly, That the Lord helped him rightly to improve it for preparing himself and his family, his flock, and other Christian friends for the great trial; Thirdly, More particularly, we may see his very great diligence and painfulness in secret, in private, but especially in public, in preaching, praying, catechising, visiting, and in spiritual and holy conference: and in all these

duties, the Lord furnishing and strengthening him both in the inner and outward man, the time of the interim, which was eight months, but especially the last four months.

First, As for improving the warning to awaken and arm himself against the trial, we see from his Notes, that in the time of that interim he was more than ordinarily before in secret prayer, often checking himself for swearness, laziness, and loving of his bed too well in the morning, though he did early waken, and that he prayed not only for his family, but for his flock, more particularly and earnestly (James v. 17, *orig.* "in his prayer he prayed," or "with his prayer he prayed"), than ever before. Secondly, To awaken and cheer up his heart he did in secret sing psalms to God; he did much delight in and was often refreshed with reading, meditating, and singing of psalms in secret, especially the 23d, 33d, 71st psalms. In this he found great sweetness, and that the heart was the better seasoned all the day. Thirdly, Throughout the day he aimed at living as one in covenant with God; yea, in his ordinary, common and civil actions, and affairs, he studied to have an eye to God, with whom he was in covenant. And this he records as one of his experiences, That lawful actions done without an eye to thee, O Lord, are as many steps leading away from thee. He was challenged and troubled if at any time, though in the week, he had entertained too much worldly conference either in the house or riding by the way. And then he did always strive to denounce and keep up a constant war against all sin and every lust, saying, "Lord give me amends of the body of sin. I find one lust help another. My Lord help thou me against them all," &c.

In his prayer, or with prayer, he often prayed with his wife, and for her; especially he was most fervent in his prayer (James v. 16, *orig.* "working prayer") for her in the time of her labour; and, having gotten a gracious answer, he used to say, "The prayer of faith (James v. 15) is more prevailing than any witchcraft; the one sets only Satan a-work, and the other sets God a-work." Hence Luther used to say that there was a kind of omnipotence

in prayer. As common and unedifying conference, especially with a minister, did deaden and distemper him, so spiritual edifying conference did recruit and cherish him, whether in riding or at meat. He used to say, "I love my meat the better because it comes through the hands of Christ, the mediator of the blessed bargain." Psalm iii. 5.

2. As for his very great and prudent diligence, especially in public, in preaching, praying, &c., in the time of this interim, as previous and preparatory to and for his trial, from these his Notes, we see the Lord's guiding him, and his prudence in his diligence, making a right choice of the subject-matter of his preaching, for fixing and furnishing his own and his people's hearts against any trial coming on. For having renewed and sealed up his personal covenant with God, he resolved to preach that most comprehensive doctrine of the New Covenant more largely than before, and to dwell upon that subject, which indeed is the sweet marrow of the everlasting Gospel. And as he was much in secret, wrestling with God for light, direction, furniture, a blessing upon, and acceptance for his work in public, and for a suitable walk according to the rule of the covenant; so his prayer of faith wanted not gracious returns, as appears by thir two short notes: First, upon December the 24th, 1631, "Give me light, Lord, in thy covenant, that I may teach others the same, and walk accordingly to thy honour." Secondly, on the Sabbath, December the 25th, "Thy word sweet in my heart and mouth; a lively opening up of thy blessed covenant." And in January next year, Sabbath: "My sweet Lord, blessed be thou for thy covenant which I got dwelt upon to thy glory!" O! but it became him well to preach the new covenant, and to open up the secret of the Lord to his people. All that knew him well and his peculiar gift, acknowledged that he was in his own element when he was on that subject, wherein he delighted most, and oftenest dwelt upon it, especially before, at, and after the celebration of the communion.

As for his praying, either secret, private or public, in the time of this interim, it was always the prayer of faith; and often, yea

ordinarily, a working prayer, earnest, importunate, fervent and effectual. With prayer he prayed for a sick kirk, James v. 15-17, especially in public. In his prayer he wrestled with God for the enlargement of the kingdom of Christ throughout the whole world. This is often recorded in his notes; but aye the nearer to the time of that stroke and trial his and his brethren's diligence did increase more and more, especially about the time of the celebration of the holy communion, as in other places, especially in Holywood, as appears by his Notes. "Feb. 19., Sabbath,—Holywood Communion. Neither painfulness in preparation, nor great feeling of any work in my soul. But O! what plenty of the word there. In three days ten sermons. O how kind and liberal art thou! How strengthened thou thy people by thy covenant! Blessed be thy name."—"Feb. 20. Thou wast highly, Lord, lifted up in the sanctuary. Thou hast ascended on high, &c. My soul was cheerful in thee. Praised be thy holy name! We were afraid that the number of the ministers should have marred the work; but, blessed be thy holy name, it was not so! Honoured be thou in thy Christ!"—"21. How joyfully did my soul sing in private to thee this morning!" And "March 1, Sabbath,—Thy Majesty did thy own work by sundry mouths. Thy name be blessed! Blessed are they that dwell in thy house, they will ever be praising thee. How joyful made thou thy servant with the light of thy countenance, and how comfortably helped thou me to speak on Ezekiel xvi. 60: 'Nevertheless I will remember my covenant with thee,' &c. Thy Majesty, having overcome me with thy loving kindness, has laid upon me a great conviction of laziness and unthankfulness, that if it be not helped by thy covenant, thou will discover my nakedness and emptiness to friends and foes." Where, observe, that he preaching upon the covenant, made good use of his doctrine in his walking with, before, and after God, Gen. v. 24, and xvii. 1, 2; Deut. xiii. 4; and in his more private walk, Zech. x. 12; so that all his strength and furniture against temptations and for duties came by the covenant; all misses were mended, and all wants supplied by the covenant; all deadly dangers prevented, and all favours and mercies confer-

red by the covenant. O! but it was to him, as a free, everlasting, well ordered, sure, so a soul-satisfying covenant, all his salvation, and all his desire, 2 Sam. xxiii. 5, with Song iv. 9. 10.

About the middle of March 1632, he was informed of the letter that came from the King against them, mentioned p. 91. First, He got word in general that a new storm against them was rising. The night immediately following was spent with some brethren till the break of day, for preparing and arming of them to sustain the charge, and ride out the storm. Then the next day being informed of the King's letter he said, "Then, Lord, thy Majesty must be our king, Ps. lxxxix. 18." But the third day, March 17, by the way his horse ran from him, and he was put to his feet alone, his clothes being heavy with rain. In that passage he saw a type of his approaching trial and troubles, and so was helped thereby to lay the matter better to heart. 18th March, Sabbath, the doctrine jumping* well with his matters, he was cheerful at night, blessing and praising the Lord. The next day he got spiritual liberty in prayer, the day being spent with others. On Tuesday 20th March, (which ordinarily was his week sermon day), a part of his text was Rom. xv. 23, "But now having no more place in these parts." This made him yet to lay the trial more to heart; and, on the next Tuesday, his text was Rom. xv. 30, 31. That day he was greatly refreshed to see such abundance of tears among the people, and said, "Blessed be thy name who made me to rejoice! O prepare me for the trial coming!" All the month of April, as the trial drew nearer and nearer, so the more sweetness was milked in unto his heart from the Lord, which made praises more abundantly to flow out from heart and tongue; and both these furnished and animated him to more and more painfulness and diligence, so that, for a number of days together, he preached in several parts on several texts, all very suitable, such as Acts ix. 16, "For I will shew him how great things he must suffer for my name's sake." In the end of April he celebrated the communion immediately before the trial; and after his great pains

* *Jumping*—agreeing.

and diligence in catechising the people, and preaching oftener than ordinarily at that solemn and remarkable time, he has thir notes: "My time is short; I thank thy Majesty who gives me a mind and occasion to be busy. How gracious hast thou been, O my Lord, this communion time! more afraid for it than formerly; yet because men were challenging thy work and workmen, my soul claimed the greater right to thee, and expected the greater help from thy Majesty. Also, Lord Jesus, because in thy banquet the last wine was the best, my soul claimed the performance thereof." And so it came to pass; for he having meditate on that text, John i. 29, "Behold the Lamb of God," &c., and doubted nothing of the handling thereof, yet immediately in the morning the next day he was forced to take another text, Is. lxvi., till the midst, wherein the Lord was graciously pleased to assist him, to the wonderful great satisfaction of the people; and so was he assisted in the exhortations at the table, and likewise the Monday following, &c. Thereafter, this note, "Then for the next Sabbath I was in greater fear by reason of the former assistance, for so ordinarily have I been exercised with temptations of that kind; but never spoke I so in public as that day. O what melting in the prayer with great length and liberty! what zeal gavest thou in preaching, pointing out that Lamb of God! As also, upon the Monday, altering of necessity the text I had meditate upon, and handling these words, Philip i. 27, 28, thy Majesty gave gracious assistance. O what a strange mourning was among the people! what strange trances had sundry women, and what abundance of tears were shed! Lord prepare me to bear thy sweet cross patiently and comfortably." Thus, he having preached many farewell sermons, immediately thereafter, upon the 4th of May 1632, he and other three ministers, Livingstone, Welsh and Dunbar were deposed. See p. 91. They being assured by Primate Usher and others that there was no remedy to be had but from the King himself, after earnest dealing and persuasion, Mr Blair undertakes a journey to Court to supplicate the King. The sum of the petition was this, That they might be tried in what was informed against them, and if found

guilty they refused no punishment, but otherwise; they petitioned that for simple nonconformity they might, in respect of their Scots breeding, be forborne in such a barren place as the north parts of Ireland. He gives you an account of his journey, tedious onwaiting, good success at last, and of his return, and of Strafford's slighting his Majesty's letter; and last, of their continuing deposed till May 1634, pp. 92-102.

While he is lying under this heavy load and sad public trial, being common to him with others, both ministers and people, the only wise Lord was pleased sadly to exercise him with a domestic and personal heavy rod and trial; for, about the middle of November 1633, his dearly beloved and gracious yoke-fellow was removed by death; and thus the Lord did take from him the desire of his eyes with a stroke, as He had forewarned him of it at London, July 1632, p. 96. She died, being much desired and lamented by all that knew her.*

She left behind her three children, James, Jean and Robert. His daughter was sent to be educated with her aunt, Marion Hamilton in the Strone, at the iron furnace of Milton of Belfast. Her two sons were boarded with Mr William Cockburn, schoolmaster in Bangor, married to his wife's niece, daughter to Mr Richard Dickson and Bessie Hamilton. Mr Blair at first, the wound being green, did carry pretty soberly, with a great measure of Christian patience. But thereafter, finding the smart of the wound in the want of such a gracious and faithful yoke-fellow and burden-bearer, by whose prayers and sweet Christian converse with him, he had been so often refreshed and supported, he had much ado to bear up under the load, which proved to be a load above a burden, his stroke trysting with the public burden and trial.

In February 1634, the deposed ministers, and some religious and zealous professors in that part of Ireland, having no hope to be delivered from the Bishops' tyranny, had some purpose to transport

* Here Row has introduced an epitaph on Blair's wife, written "by a rural pen." It is not considered worth while to print the doggrel lines of this rural poet.

themselves to New England, but resolved first to send a minister and a gentleman to the Governor, to try the condition of the country, and to agree for a place to settle in. They pitched upon Mr John Livingstone and William Wallace to go straight to London, that from thence they might go to New England with the first ship that went in the spring, and return with the first conveyance. But, however the Lord did accept and approve of their intentions, yet he wonderfully stopped their design. For Mr Wallace not coming at the time prefixed to Grames-port, where Mr Livingstone was waiting for him, (during which time the wind was favourable), and after his coming the wind turning contrary for fourteen days, they did not reach London before the first ships went, the first ships being gone, three being to go within fourteen days. Had they gone with the first ship that loosed, they had gone forward; but the ship wherein they were being retarded, (the skipper staying to do some business) after they had been at sea some few days a storm and contrary wind arose, so that they were forced to come to an anchor in Plymouth for the space of ten days; and then Mr Wallace fell sick, and was averse himself, and advised by physicians not to go forward; and the ministers and others in Ireland had resolved that Mr Livingstone should not go alone. It was so ordered by providence that they both returned. Not long after their return, Mr Blair and the other three deposed ministers got their liberty, and were restored in May 1634, according as his wife had foretold to Mr Welsh when he was in London, p. 100.

Shortly after, on the 23d of June that same year, the Lord called home worthy Mr Welsh, about seven months after Mrs Blair's death. Messrs Blair and Livingstone hearing of his dangerous sickness the Sabbath before, came to him to Temple-Patrick in the night time. He had many gracious and edifying expressions, as also wrestlings sometimes. One time when he had said, "O! for hypocrisy!" Mr Blair said to the great company of Christians there present, "See how Satan nibbles at his heel when he is

* Stevenson spells it Grooms-port.—*Life of Livingstone*, p. 20.

going over the threshold to heaven." A little after, Mr Livingstone being at prayer at his bed side, and the word "Victory" coming out of his mouth, he, 'Mr Welsh,' took hold of his hand and desired him to cease a little, and clapped both his hands and cried out, "Victory, victory, for evermore!" and then desired him to go on in prayer, and then within a little expired.

The six months' liberty granted by the deputy to Mr Blair and the other three (which liberty, and time of that second interim, was nobly improven to the great advantage of the people, and growth of the good work of God, in and among them) being expired; though the deputy was willing to grant other six months, yet Bishop Bramhall did depose and excommunicate them in 1634, and did hunt out his pursuivants to apprehend them. Yet notwithstanding of this hot persecution, Mr Blair did constantly preach ordinarily in his own house, which was kept and ordered by a discreet old servant, Christian Honett, and frequently in other houses, among his intimates and relations, but most often in Holywood; and sometimes he, and likewise the rest, did go into their kirks, and convene the people near unto the kirk, and as they had done when they were deposed, 4th of June 1632, so now again he prayed with the people, and after one had read a chapter, he discoursed thereon.

In the beginning of the year 1635, Mr Blair began to think of a second marriage, and after seeking the Lord his direction, leading and guiding in so important a business, the Lord inclined his mind and will, yea determined him to make choice of a well-born (as they use to phrase it) gentlewoman, Katharine Montgomerie, daughter to Hugh Montgomerie, laird of Busbie, in the west, who after the sale of these lands, went to Ireland, and there made purchase of the lands of Ballishary, and others. This gentleman had many daughters, one married to holy Mr Cunningham of Holywood, another to Mr Hamilton, minister at Killileagh in Ireland, and Ballantrae in Scotland. Her father was out of the house of Eglinton, her mother out of the house of Glencairn. Her sisters, some of them were very eminent for grace, wisdom, virtue and pru-

dence, but Mr Blair's wife excelled them all in all these and other qualifications adorning wives, 1 Peter iii. 3, 4. After the marriage was agreed upon, and they were contracted, Mr Blair came over to Scotland and was much in Edinburgh, where he acquainted his first wife's friends and relations. Albeit his purpose of marriage with his second wife in Edinburgh, Mr Blair kept many private meetings (so were these meetings called then, which now, *anno* 1676, are called Conventicles, *odioso nomine*), in private families, where some few eminent Christians convened, and spent the time mostly in prayer, with fasting and humiliation of soul, the bishops then being in their ruff,* and persecution waxing hotter; Perth Articles† being urged and other innovations plotted and much feared. Yet the persecution then was nothing so hot and violent as now; for then the bishops (especially Spottiswood) were more moderate, and dealt with the King for moderation, and did strive to keep off innovations, such as surplice, liturgy, &c., and did depose very few of the nonconformists; for in the province of Fife there were only two deposed; and then they never challenged deposed ministers for public preaching and assisting at the celebration of the communion. And that was the cause why in these times there were no meetings in the fields, yea, no great and promiscuous meetings in houses, but only private meetings of eminent Christians ordinarily; and when it could be had, they had a minister, one or more, with them as occasion served, but often private Christians convened for prayer and conference.

Mr Blair was often in William Rigg‡ of Athernie's house, and in his first wife's relations' houses. In April that year he came over to Athernie in Fife, where ordinarily William Rigg then lived. He was earnestly invited by Athernie to go with him to his uncle's house, to assist at the celebration of the communion, whereunto he condescended. The burden of the whole work was laid on him by the

* *Ruff*, or *roif*, Scot.—rest, quietness.

† Articles on ceremonies agreed to at Perth in 1618.

‡ Rigg was bailie of Edinburgh, and for some time a prisoner in Blackness for refusing to communicate kneeling.—*Livingstone's Characteristics. Select Biogr.* vol. i, 342.

honest infirm old man, Mr John Row; so he preached the Saturday's sermon on Isaiah lxiii., 15, 16, &c.; Sabbath before noon on Ephes. iii. 14, 15, 16, &c.; he served seventeen tables in the afternoon, on the 57th Psalm; so easy a thing it was for him to preach often, and that upon short advertisement, having a strong healthful body, and a good composure book. There were at that communion in Carnock very many people from Edinburgh and the east nook of Fife, for at this time kneeling was vehemently urged; and honest and godly professors that did not consent unto the apostacy, and were not involved in the national perjury of these times, they did flock unto communions where not only the minister of the place was antiprelatic and unconform, but unconform deposed ministers were employed; it being the opinion of the then bishops, that though they deposed a minister from his benefice, and discharged him the exercise of his ministry in the parish where he served, yet they did not unminister him, and therefore did not quarrel his preaching and praying in public, or assisting at the celebration of the holy communion. Shortly after the diet of this communion, Mr Blair returned to Ireland, and thereafter was married May 12, 1635. After their marriage, the first time they went to visit her father, going from his first wife's sister's house, at the iron furnace of Millon, [Malone], they both met with a remarkable passage of providence, yet they got a merciful delivery out of a most deadly danger; for, riding the water of Belfast, it being thicker than he apprehended, his horse being almost at swimming, his wife was carried off the horse and down the river, which Mr Blair knew not until he saw his wife carried down the water with the current of the stream, but the stream not being violent, being sea water, or rather the fresh water joined up with the tide, she was carried down softly floating above the superfice [surface] of the water. Mr Blair perceiving his wife in this fearful hazard and danger, immediately quitting his horse and going down the brink of the river a little, did put his life in his hand, (resolving rather to hazard his own life than to be a spectator of the loss of his newly married wife's life), by riding into the water to the shoulders, till he approached

near his wife, and putting out his staff, she gripping it, he did pull her to him, and so both were preserved, Ps. xviii. 6, 16, and xxxvi. 6.

Here I cannot but insert the laudable testimony which Mr John Livingstone, minister at Killinchie, gave unto all these famous and worthy ministers in the north of Ireland, and unto the professors there. Take it in his own words, as it is in the History of his life, written by himself:—"Among all these ministers (speaking of their monthly meeting at Antrim, mentioned by Mr Blair, p. 71), there was never any jar nor jealousy, nor among the professors, the greater part of them being Scots, and a good number of gracious English, all whose contention was to prefer others to themselves; and also the gifts of the ministers were much different, yet it was not observed that the hearers followed any to the undervaluing of others. Many of these religious professors had been profane; and for debt, and want, and worse causes, had left Scotland; yet the Lord was pleased, by his word, to work such a change. I do not think there were any more lively, experienced Christians than were these of that time, and that of good numbers, yea, and of persons of good outward condition in the world. Being but lately brought in, the lively edge was not gone off them; and the perpetual fear that the bishops would put away their ministers, made them, with great hunger, wait on the ordinances. I have known them that have come several miles from their own houses to the communions, to the Saturday's sermon, and spent the whole Saturday's night in several companies, sometimes a minister being with them, sometimes themselves alone, in conference and prayer, and waited on the public ordinances the whole Sabbath day, and spent the Sabbath night likewise, and yet, at the Monday's sermon, not troubled with sleepiness, and so not to have slept till they went home. Because of their holy and righteous carriage, they were generally reverenced, even by the multitude that they lived among. Some of them had attained such a dexterity of 'expressing' religious purposes by resemblances of worldly things, that, being at feasts and meals, they would, among themselves, entertain a spi-

ritual discourse for a long time, and the other professed that, though they spoke good English, they could not understand what they said. In these days it was no great difficulty for a minister to preach or pray in public, such was the hunger of the hearers, and it was hard to judge whether there was more of the Lord's presence in the public or in the private meetings."*

In winter 1635, the deposed and excommunicat ministers perceiving no appearance of liberty, either to preachers or professors, from the bondage of the prelates, they, with a number of the north of Ireland, and some few of Scotland, now fixedly resolved (as they had attempted before) to transport themselves to New England. Others of their friends resolved to follow them. They had gotten letters from the Governor and Council, full of kind invitation and large promises of good accommodation. They built a ship near Belfast, called Eagle Wing, (Exod. xix. 4.)† about 115 tons. They were minded to have set out in the spring 1636, but, through difficulties that use to arise in such undertakings, in preparing the ship, and their other accommodations, it was September following before they set sail. They were in all, to go passengers at that time, about 140, of whom the chief were Messrs Blair, Livingstone, Hamilton, Maclellan, Stewart, provost of Ayr, Archibald Campbell, David Garven, &c.; among whom was one Andrew Brown, of the parish of Lern, born deaf and dumb, who had been a very vicious, loose man, but when it pleased the Lord to make a change in several of that parish, a very sensible change was found on him, not only in forsaking several of his loose courses, but joining himself to religious people, and all the exercises of God's worship, both public and private, and ordinarily, morning and evening, would go alone to prayer, and used to weep at sermons, and, by such signs as those who were acquainted with him understood, would express many signs of the work of God on his spirit, so that, upon his earnest desire, with the consent of all the ministers that used to meet at Antrim, he was at last admitted to

* See Livingstone's Life, in Select Biographies, *Wod. Soc.* ed. vol. i. p. 143.

† "I bare you on *eagles' wings*, and brought you unto myself."

the ordinance of the Lord's Supper. Mr Blair (as the rest of the ministers that were to go) was abundantly clear that the Lord approved their intention and undertaking, and was as much in making of preparation as any of the rest; yea, during all that time, Mr Blair, and they that were in his first wife's sister's house, where he dwelt with his wife, spent one day of the week in fasting and prayer, for a blessing on their undertaking. Yet, not only Mr Blair, but Mr Livingstone also, before their outsetting, often said that it gave them in their mind that they would never go to New England. In August that year, 1636, all the rest of the honest ministers were deposed; * and in that same month, Mr Blair's wife brought forth her first-born child, baptised William; and, about five weeks before that, in the latter end of June, Mr Livingstone's wife brought forth her first-born child, called John. These two worthy wives and holy women married their husbands when they were deposed, and, so as to their outward condition in the world, in a suffering, sad, and desolate condition, with a resolution, notwithstanding of their desolate and needy condition, to go with their husbands, Christ's suffering servants, and his ambassadors in bonds, whithersoever the Lord called them to preach, and so to spread the gospel, though it were by sea and land, even to America.

But to return to that famous sea voyage: They had much toil in their preparation to so great a voyage, and many hindrances in their outsetting, and both sad and glad hearts in taking leave of their friends; for they found, in the midst of mutual grief, their hearts often well refreshed, both in public and private. That which grieved their friends whom they left behind was, that they could neither be ready to go with them, which was their earnest desire, neither could they heartily pray to God for a prosperous voyage to them; yea, some of them prayed that, after the Lord had caused them to go down to the sea, and tossed them a while in the depths, he would bring them back again, &c.

* These were Messrs Bryce of Broadieland, Ridge of Antrim, Cunningham of Holywood, Colvert of Oldstone, and Hamilton of Ballywater.—*Reid*, i. 188-194.

At last, on the 9th of September 1636, they loosed from Lochfergus, but with contrary winds were detained in Lochryan in Scotland, and grounded the ship to search some leaks in the Kyles of Bute; yet, thereafter, they set to sea, and, for some space, had fair weather, till they were betwixt three and four hundred leagues from Ireland, and nearer the bank of Newfoundland than any part of Europe; but if ever the Lord spoke by his winds and other dispensations, it was made evident to them that it was not his will they should go to New England. For, first, they forgathered with a mighty hurricane, out of the north-west, that broke one of the great master joists made to go cross the middle of the ship; there were no waves there, but mountains of waters, as the poet said. Well did they then understand and get experience of what is written, Psalm cvii., 23–29. They sprung a leak that gave them 700 strokes of water pumped in the half-hour glass, yet we lay at hull a long time, to beat out the storm. In the time of the vehemency of the storm, he that was at the rudder and the pilot, came wringing his hands, and with a lamentable voice cried, "Now God have mercy upon us all, for we are all gone! the ship will not answer the rudder; it's either broke or dung off* the hinges; but† heaven there's no safety for us." Mr Blair, hearing this sad alarm, and desperate lamentation, being led to the door of the cabin, where he lay, (for he was often sea-sick), and holding a tail of a tow in his hand, lest he should have been tossed to and again, did most confidently, and like another Paul, (Acts xxvii. 22), express such hopes, that rather than the Lord would suffer such a company in such sort to perish; if the ship should break, he would put wings to all their shoulders, and carry them as on "eagles' wings" (Deut. xxxii. 11) safe ashore. One of the company, a shipwright,‡ hearing Mr Blair so confidently and prophet-like express himself, to the great encouragement of all, steps out, saying, "I will venture my life for the safety of all the rest; for if some one do it

* *Dung off*, Scot.—driven off.

† *But heaven*, Scot.—without or besides heaven.

‡ In a MS. Life of Blair this person is called "Andrew Agnew, a godly passenger."

not, infallibly we are all gone." So they did tie him about the middle with clothes and ropes, as he desired and directed them, and gave him and tied to him such instruments and materials as he desired and they judged necessary and convenient for the purpose, and then did let him down to the rudder, holding in their hands a large rope tied about his middle. This man did so fix the rudder on its hinges, that it not only served them all the while till they came ashore, but, after this voyage, the ship made a Spanish voyage with that same helm. Thus the Lord delivered them out of that deadly danger.

One morning the master and company came and told them it was impossible for them to hold out any longer, and although they should beat out that storm, they would be sure to forgather with one, two or three more of that sort before they would reach New England. After prayer, when they were consulting what to do, Mr Livingston proponed an overture, wherewith he was perplexed thereafter, viz., that seeing they had the Lord's warrant for their intended voyage, however, it be presumption to propone a sign to him, yet they being in such a strait, and having stood out some days already, they might yet for twenty hours stand to it, and if, in that time, he were pleased to calm the storm and send a fair wind, they might take it for an approbation of their advancing, otherwise they should return. To this they all agreed; but that day and the next thereafter, they had the sorest storm that they had felt. So all almost began to think of returning; only Mr Blair was not yet fully resolved and clearly determined to return. Whereupon they all resolved to lay it over upon Mr Blair, that if he, after seeking of God by earnest prayer did still continue resolute to go forward, they should do so, but if he were moved to be of their mind, that they should presently turn sail. Mr Blair, hearing that the determination of so great and important a question or case was wholly devolved over upon him, to be decided by him alone, did fall into a fit of fainting or a kind of swarf, * but shortly recovering, he was determined to be of their mind. So all of them resolved and took

* *Swarf*, Scot.—swoon.

it for granted that it was the Lord's will and mind that they should return; so that the next morning, so soon as they saw day, they turned and made good way with a main cross of a little fore-top-sail; and after some tossing, they at last came to Lochfergus, whence they loosed November the third.

During all this time, amidst such fears and dangers, the most part of the passengers were most cheerful and confident. Some of them said that they never, in all their days, thought the day so short as all that while, though they slept some nights not above two hours, and some not at all, but stood most part in the gallery, astern of the great cabin where Mr Blair's and Mr Livingstone's families lay; for in the morning, by that time, every one had been some while alone, and then at prayer in their several societies, and then at public prayer in the ship, it was time to go to dinner; and after dinner they would visit their friends in the inner room, or those betwixt the decks, or any that had been sick; and then public prayer afternoon did come, and after that supper and family exercises. Mr Blair was much of the time weakly, and lay in the time of the storm. Several of those betwixt the decks were sickly; one aged person and one child died and were buried in the sea. One woman, wife of Michael Colvert, brought forth a child, whom Mr Livingston baptized the next Sabbath, and called him Seaborn. Mr Blair's wife went a-board with her young son sucking her breast, yet the Lord gave her such measure of health and strength, and a willing mind to take up the sweet cross of Christ daily, hourly, yea momently, (while she with her sucking young child were sadly exercised, and grievously tossed in the depths), that she had milk enough for the child; so that by this Mr Blair could not but evidently see, and doubtless did acknowledge God's good guiding him in his choice, wealling * out for him a second helper, very meet for him now in his sad yet sweet though suffering condition. But the child all the time they were at sea was very sick, so that his mother often feared his death; and that which occasioned the child's sickness, in all probability,

* *Wealling*, or *waling*, Scot.—choosing, selecting.

was this: When they went aboard, the child was but recovering of the small pox, so that the cold sea air had weaned the child. It pleased the only wise Lord to twist in this small ply in Mr Blair's rod. After they had turned sail, and in a short time made good way homeward, although they could not imagine what to make of such a dispensation, yet they were very confident that the Lord would let them see soon what that would abundantly satisfy them. When they came near to Ireland, they began to consult what to do for the future. The major part inclined to set to sea again the next spring, beseeming themselves that they set to sea, the winter approaching; but Mr Blair said, that though he was the last man that was induced to return, yet they having made a fair offer, not only of their service, but of themselves to God, to spread and propagate the gospel in America, and the Lord had accepted of their offer, yea, and of themselves, he thought they had done enough to testify their willing mind to glorify God; and for himself, he for the present resolved never to make a new attempt, seeing the Lord, by such speaking providences and dispensations, had made it evident to them that it was not his will they should glorify him in America, he having work for them at home. All the company of passengers hearing Mr Blair thus express himself, both ministers and others were of his mind. That which most grieved all of them almost was, that they were like to be signs and wonders, and a very mockery to the wicked, who did laugh and flout at their enterprise. But Mr Blair, after much sad exercise thereanent, at last very confidently, as he had foretold (when they were in greatest danger by the rudders being broken and dung off the hinges) their delivery and safety, so now when they were to go ashore did as confidently assure them, that, though the wicked among whom they lived did flout at their enterprise, yet that the Lord should so bow and incline their minds that they should be glad of their return, and welcome them. For he, lecturing on Psalm lxv. 7, which was their last lecture at sea, and his ordinary text for lecturing, said, "As the Lord has given us a wonderful proof of his omnipotence and kindness to us in stilling the noise of the seas and the noise

of their waves, so shall the Lord as evidently give us a proof of his sovereignty and dominion over the unruly spirits and tempers of wicked people, in stilling and calming the tumults of the wicked people to whom we are going, 'and' among whom we are to live a space." And the Lord fulfilled the word of his servant, so that not only they were not mocked but welcomed, even by the wicked; yea, the prelates and their followers were much dismayed and feared at their return. But neither the prelates and conformists, nor they themselves, knew that within a year the Lord would not only root out the prelates in Scotland, and after that out of England and Ireland, but make some of them, especially Messrs Blair, Livingstone and Maclellan, &c., to be very instrumental in the work of reformation.

Their outward means were much impaired by this sea voyage and blessed disappointment; for they had put much of their stocks in provisions for a plantation, and somewhat in merchandise, which they behoved to sell at low rates at their return, and had provided themselves with some servants for fishing and building of houses, whom they behoved to turn off; and, lastly, much of their household stuff, and many of the ministers' books were spoiled with seawater in the time of the grievous storm. They came ashore at Lochfergus, where they embarked; and that same night Mr Blair's young son, William, died, so that he was persecuted to the death by the prelates and their followers. In this the Lord heard his mother's prayers, who often prayed that he might not die at sea, nor be made meat to sea monsters. Mr Blair went and dwelt at the Strone in Belfast,* in the house of one Archibald Millar. Mr Livingstone returned to his mother-in-law's house. They both preached each Sabbath that winter as they had done before, notwithstanding the hot persecution of the prelates, by sending out their pursuivants and others, their emissaries, to apprehend them.

In February, 1637, one Frank Hill of Castlereagh, who yet used to come some Sabbaths to their meetings in Mr Blair's and Mr Livingstone's houses, being in Dublin, informed the State against

* Dr Reid thinks the correct reading is "Strand of Belfast."

Messrs Blair and Livingstone. Order was given for their apprehension. One night one Andrew Young, a servant of Mr Barr's,* who dwelt hard by Mr Livingstone's house, overheard a pursuivant calling to a stabler to provide against to-morrow morning two horses to him, and another, because they had order to go to the north and bring up two Scots deposed ministers. This Andrew immediately goes to another stabler, prepares a horse, and rode all that night, and in two days after brings them word; so that Messrs Blair and Livingstone went out of the way, and came over to Scotland. When they came to Irvine, to Mr David Dickson, they learned that some good gentlemen of that country had been with him, having heard that they were come to Scotland, and had desired him not to employ them to preach for fear of the bishops, they being then upon the urging of the Service Book, lest they should take occasion thereby to put him out of his ministry. "But," said honest Mr Dickson, "I dare not be of their opinion, nor follow their counsel, so far to discountenance these worthies, now when they are suffering for holding fast the name of Christ and every letter of that blessed name, as not to employ them as in former times; yea, I would think that my so doing would provoke the Lord so that I might upon another account be deposed, and not have so good a conscience." Upon the other hand, Messrs Blair

* The proprietor of the iron furnaces at Malone. "He was an extensive merchant, and traded under a special license between Scotland and Ireland. He was particularly obnoxious to Wentworth, who, in a letter to Laud, in the year 1637, bitterly and satirically complains of his misrepresentations. 'There is one,' says he, 'Mr Barr, a Scotchman by nation, whose person your Grace once saw before you at the Committee for Irish Affairs at my last being in England.' He then describes him as 'scarce so good as a petty chapman,' though he 'pretends to be a merchant,' and had got a special license; as 'leaping' between England and Ireland, 'like a jackanapes betwixt two stools;' 'who holds every inward intelligence with some here who wish me ill;' and as procuring access to the King in England, to whom he was whispering continually something or another to my prejudice; boasts familiarly how freely he speaks with his majesty, what he saith concerning me, '*And now, an't pleese your majesty, ea werde mare anent your debuty of Yrland.*'"—*Reid*, i. 235. We find Leslie, the bishop of Down, in a letter to the Lord-deputy of Ireland in 1638, speaking of Barr as having joined in the "conspiracy" in Scotland, as he designates the religious movement there at that time, because he was a notable nonconformist, and had been lately in Scotland, and had fled from Ireland for fear of the High Commission.

and Livingstone were very unwilling either to occasion his trouble or dissatisfy any of the gospel men of the country; but he urged them with such grounds that they could not refuse to preach in Irvine, or else where they got a call. Mr Livingstone went to Lanark to his father. Mr Blair abode at Irvine, and sometimes visited the Earl of Cassillis and others in that country, but always was employed either preaching in public or in private meetings. The 26th of March that year, 1637, the communion was celebrated at Irvine, where Messrs Blair and Livingstone were employed. Many resorted to this communion even out of Ireland, out of the parishes Bangor and Killinchie; their wives and some of their eldest children with their mothers came over.

All the rest of the honest deposed ministers were forced to flee out of Ireland. Mr Cunningham came to Irvine, and died there, 29th March, 1637. He had many gracious experiences of the Lord's goodness to him, and great peace in regard of the cause of his suffering, and spoke much and well to the Presbytery of Irvine who came to see him; and a little before he died, his wife sitting on a low bed where he lay, and having her hand upon his hand, he was in prayer commending his flock of Holywood, and his dear acquaintance and children to God: and at last he said, "O Lord I commend unto thy care this gentlewoman, who is now no more my wife;" and with that he thrust away her hand with his hand; and after a while he slept in the Lord, and was buried in the burial place at the kirk of Irvine. Mr Blair wrote his epitaph, which is engraven on his grave stone in the kirk-yard of Irvine.

Hic Cunninghami recubat Roberti
Corpus. O qualis genius latebat,
Quamque divinus fragili involutus,
Pulvere in isto!
Acrius nemo intonuit superbis;
Nemo dejectos magis erigebat;
Sed Dei laudes celebrando, vicit
Seque aliosque.*

* Some weeks after Cunningham's death, his persecutors in Ireland, either not aware of the event, or through a barbarous malignity which would wreak its vengeance on the

After Mr Blair had abode some space of time at Irvine with his two brethren, where also were many of his near relations, his wife, with the children of his first marriage, came over from Ireland to Irvine. In this short sea voyage Mr Blair got a third proof of the Lord's merciful and gracious providence in preserving his wife, and delivering her out of these deadly dangers (two whereof are mentioned before in Belfast water and the long sea-voyage); for she and his three children were in greatest hazard of being drowned at the bar of Irvine. Mr Blair, with his brethren and others, standing in the kirkyard of Irvine, did see the great hazard that the boat was in, but little knew he that his dearest wife and

dead, summoned him before the High Commission at Dublin, and fined him for not appearing. This could not touch the good man now reposing in the grave, but it proved a source of hardship to his widow and numerous children. This appears from a petition presented by his widow to the Parliament of Ireland on this subject, which is deserving of being preserved, as illustrating the intolerance exercised towards the Presbyterians in Ireland at that period. The petition is as follows: "The humble Petition of Isabel Montgomerie, relict of Mr Robert Cunningham, late preacher at Holywood in Ireland, with her eight fatherless children, To the Commissionar his Grace, and to the Honourable Court of Parliament, Most humbly shewing, That your Suppliant's late husband (a man who for his painfulness in his ministry and holy conversation, was had in estimation even by his enemies) being cited some five weeks after his death to compear before the High Commission Court at Dublin in Ireland, for his adherence to the National Covenant and Confession of the Faith of the Kirk of Scotland, was fined in twenty pounds sterling for not compearance, notwithstanding sure information given to that Court of his death; upon the which, they and their officers did lift all the cows and horses which did remain for maintenance of your Suppliant and her eight children, amounting far above the sum of twenty pounds sterling, and drove them some twenty miles away, until I found surety, under the pain of forty pounds sterling, to pay the said sum at a certain day, or else to produce an acquittance of the same from the High Commission Court, which did cost your Suppliant more charges nor my small means could well afford, and yet I am not freed of the danger thereof. As also because of your Suppliant's firm adherence to the Covenant of Scotland, warrants did lately issue out for my apprehension, and forced me to forsake the place of mine abode, together with my fatherless children, and I am now constrained to live in this kingdom without certain residence, separate from my children and all means of sustentation: Which extraordinary hard measure done to me (as to many hundreds more of our nation) for adherence to our covenant made with God, I do, in all humility, remonstrate to your Grace and this honourable Court of Parliament, entreating that such crying sins of oppression against the widow and the fatherless, and many more of this nation, may, by your Grace and Honours, be manifested to the King's Majesty for redress of your Suppliant, and others who are in like case and oppressed for the same cause; and I with my eight fatherless children shall ever and earnestly pray that his majesty may long and happily reign over us."—*Wodrow MSS.* vol. lxii. folio, no. 52.

children were in it; yet, notwithstanding, he prayed earnestly for their preservation, and "the prayer of faith saved them," James v. 17 with 15. They lay all that night at the bar, and next morning the Lord his God, to whom he prayed, brought safely to him his wife and children. For this merciful, yea wonderful, cast up providence, Mr Blair heartily blessed his good and gracious God. All this summer Mr Blair had as much preaching in public, and exercises in private, as ever before, mostly at Irvine, and partly in the country about Irvine, and in Edinburgh. For at this time the bishops were hot upon the chase urging the Service Book * upon the ministry. This occasioned many private meetings, and the godly's often speaking one to another (Mal. iii. 16,) in all the corners of the land, but especially in Edinburgh. In this summer Mrs Blair brought forth her second son, baptised David, in Irvine.

This summer several ministers in Scotland were charged to buy and receive that new infamous, I had almost said Popish Service Book, which stirred up great thoughts of the hearts of them that feared God throughout all the land, and occasioned a great tumult especially in the High Kirk of Edinburgh, by some zealous and holy women mostly, at the first attempting to read that doleful Service Book obtruded upon the Kirk of Scotland by the prelates and their followers. The true rise of that blessed reformation in Scotland began with two petitions, one from Fife and another from the west, which met together at the Secret Council's door at Edinburgh, the one not knowing of the other. After that, about the 20th of September, a great many petitions from several parts and corners of the kingdom were presented against that Service Book. These being denied, the number of the petitioners and their demands increased; for they desired not only exemption from that Service Book, (which was a great deal worse than the liturgy in

* This was the celebrated Service Book, prepared by Archbishop Laud, expressly for Scotland, and containing numerous alterations on the English Book of Common Prayer. The title of this obnoxious publication is, "The Booke of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments and other parts of Divine Service, for the use of the Church of Scotland. Edinburgh, 1637."

England), but from the five ceremonies of Perth and the High Commission Court. And these things being denied, they desired also freedom from Episcopacy, the book of canons, and of ordination, which being denied, they humbly supplicate for a free Parliament and General Assembly. When all these were still denied, the number of the petitioners so increased, that in some sort they were the whole body of the land; so that it was not only *Primores regni*, but, in effect, the collective body of the kingdom; not only the better, but the far greatest part of all ranks and degrees that did often protest against the actings and proclamations of the Council.

Matters being thus in great confusion, and no appearance of pranking * of them, or of any settling of them and harmony betwixt the Council and the petitioners, (who humbly and peaceably continued very long supplicating for a reformation), Mr Blair's old inclination for France, and his hankering after it, mentioned p. 52, began again to revive. He could not but think, "I being thrust out of Ireland, and matters being thus in Scotland, and having such an inclination to France, (p. 53), now is the time that I must at least attempt to go to France, the Lord, by these speaking dispensations, says it to me." Mr Blair, therefore, (as he thought then), following the Lord's call, did attempt to go over to France to preach the gospel there, where there are no prelates, and where he would be the better liked of, (and so in a greater capacity to glorify God in winning of souls), because he was persecute by the bishops in Ireland, and sadly threatened to be worse dealt with by the prelates in Scotland; for Bishop Spottiswood, hearing of his coming over to Irvine, vowed that he should not get leave to stay in any of the King's dominions. He had an invitation, and was earnestly dealt with to go over and to be preacher to Colonel Hepburn's regiment in France. He condescending, was shipped in Leith Road, to be carried to France with a number of soldiers that were levied in Scotland by the officers of that regiment, who came to Scotland to levy a recruit for their regiment. But, as when he did go down to sea attempting to go to America, many

* *Pranking*—arranging.

laboured to dissuade him, and many prayers were poured out to God to bring him back again; so now, all his relatives in Edinburgh were against his going to France, yea, when he was gone to the ship, prayed he might be brought back again; and it seemed their prayers of faith availed much, (James v. 15, 16).

That which occasioned his return and quitting that voyage was this:—There was embarked with him a number of soldiers, some of them Highlandmen, that were to go passengers for the recruit of Hepburn's regiment. These, especially the Highlanders, were most profligate, and desperately wicked men. Mr Blair being necessitated to be near them, (as another Lot, "was vexed with their filthy conversation, for he, dwelling for the time among them, in seeing and hearing, vexed his righteous soul from day to day"*), he thought he was in a kind of Sodom, or in a corner of hell. But at last, when he began to rebuke them for swearing and cursing, one of the Highlanders pulled out his dirk, vowing to stab him, but the Lord hindered him, as he did the other whom the devil tempted, and he undertook, to stab Mr Blair, p. 66. This made him presently resolve to go ashore, and quit this French voyage; so, calling to the skipper, or shipmaster, he desired that he might be set ashore, not imparting to him his fixed purpose of not returning. As he was coming down from the ship to the ship's boat, he was in great hazard of going down to the bottom of the sea, but mercifully preserved; for his foot sliding upon the ship's side, he did fall down. But the Lord provided one of the tows of the ship (which providentially, yet accidentally, was hanging near by the place where he was falling), to be the mean appointed of God for his preservation; for he catching hold of that tow, did hang by it upon the ship's side. I have heard Mr Blair tell that when he was hanging on the side of the ship, he had this reflection on that cast of providence, saying in his heart, "I have often read and preached that the good angels are ministering spirits sent forth by God to serve and preserve them who shall be heirs of salvation;† but though I knew that truth notionally, now as to the prac-

* 2 Pet. ii. 7, 8.

† Heb. i., last verse.

tical and experimental knowing of it, it is a new lesson to me. Now I see, and by experience find that to be true which is written, Ps. xci. 11, 12, 'For he shall give his angels charge over thee to keep thee in all thy ways; they shall bear thee up in their hands,'" &c. Without all doubt, though it cannot be proven from Scripture, that every one has a tutelar angel, yet it is certain that the good angels do many good offices to the people of God, especially to his ministers and ambassadors, which we do not see, and do not remark or know; especially when we are in hazard and dangers in our infancy and old age especially. See Isaac Ambrose, his War with Devils and Communion with Angels.*

Mr Blair being thus preserved coming ashore, came immediately from Leith to Edinburgh, and to John Mein's house, whose wife, Barbara Hamilton, was his first wife's sister. Glad were they, and all his first wife's friends and relations, of his return, and looked upon it as the answer of their prayers and a gracious cast of providence. That worthy wife, B. H. 'Barbara Hamilton,' brings to Mr Blair paper, pen and ink, saying, "Write a Supplication to the Secret Council, and humbly petition them in your own name, and in the name and behalf of others in your condition, for liberty to preach the gospel publicly, wherever ye get a call from honest ministers or people, and we that are wives shall put it in the treasurer's hand as he goes in to the Council." Whereunto Mr Blair condescended, and delivers his supplication, written with his own hand, to her. The first Council day immediately following, there convenes a great number of the religious matrons in Edinburgh, drawn up as a guard from the Council house door to the street. They agreed to put the Supplication in the hand of the oldest matron, Alison Cockburn, relict of Mr Archibald Row. When the treasurer, Traquair, perceived the old woman presenting to him a paper, suspecting that it was something that would not

* The treatise here referred to was the production of the well-known Isaac Ambrose, author of "Looking unto Jesus." The first part of it, "War with Devils," which is dedicated "To Jesus Christ the Eternal Son of God," is a practical treatise on Satan's temptations, founded on Eph. vi. 12. He was a pious and ingenious writer of the Puritan school, and at one time very popular in Scotland.

relish with the Council, he did put her by, and goes quickly from her towards the Council house door, which being perceived by B. H., she appears and pulls the paper out of the old weak woman's hand, and coming up to Traquair, did with her strong arm and big hand fast grip his gardie,* saying, "Stand, my Lord, in Christ's name I charge you, till I speak to you." He looking back, replies, "Good woman, what would you say to me?" "There is," said she, "a humble supplication of Mr Blair's. All that he petitions for is that he may have liberty to preach the gospel, &c. I charge you to befriend the matter as you would expect God to befriend you in your distress and at your death!" He replied, "I shall do my endeavour, and what I can in it." Mr Blair's supplication was granted by the Secret Council; and so he had liberty not only to stay in Scotland, but to preach the gospel to any congregation where he got an orderly call. By this narration you may perceive how the Lord in this time stirred up and animated the spirits not only of men, especially of the nobles who were *magnates et primores regni*, and of the ministers of the gospel, but even of holy and religious women, who as they first opposed the reading of that black Service Book, June 23, 1637, so the Lord made them instrumental in many good affairs for the promoting of the blessed Reformation; the Lord making use of weak, silly and contemptible instruments, that he might get all the glory and praise. See Philip iv. 3; Rom. xvi. 1, 3, 6.†

Those of all ranks and degrees that were commissionate, and did convene at Edinburgh for supplicating the Council and for protesting against the proclamations, especially the ministers, considering that the Lord's greatest controversy with them was the breach of

* *Gardie*, Scot., arm.

† The "religious matrons" of Scotland frequently appear on the stage at this eventful period of our history. Actuated by the heroic spirit which the female sex has often displayed in cases of emergency, they not only served, as on the above occasion, in the capacity of a "guard," but even ventured to resist the military. They were particularly formidable to obnoxious or renegade clergymen, whom they treated with little ceremony. A band of such heroines as Barbara Hamilton, "with her strong arm and big hand," were not such "silly and contemptible instruments," as Row has called them, or as we may suppose, judging from their representatives in these degenerate days. See note on next page.

the National Covenant, made and often renewed in King James his time, by authority of the King, Parliament, Council, and General and Provincial Assemblies, they did in March 1638, very solemnly in the Greyfriars' kirk in Edinburgh, renew that National Covenant, and thereafter throughout the kingdom most solemnly. Mr Livingstone was immediately sent post to London, with several copies of the Covenant and letters to friends that were well-wishers to the work of reformation. Mr Eleazar Borthwick was at London before him for that same end that Mr Livingstone was sent. These two informed friends and some of the English nobility how matters went in Scotland, viz., that through the whole kingdom or kirk of Scotland, except the Secret Council and some of the nobility, and except Papists and some few who for base ends adhered to the prelates, the people universally entered into Covenant with God for a reformation of religion against prelates and the ceremonies. Not long after the renewing of the National Covenant Mr Blair got a hearty and unanimous call from the town and parish of Ayr to be their minister. The place was vacant for Mr William Hanane * formerly minister there, being a conform and Episcopal man, (as the bishops, especially Spottiswood, chancellor and archprelate of St Andrews, hearing of the renewing of the Covenant, did immediately flee into England or elsewhere), so did Mr Hanane run away from his charge before he was summoned, accused or censured, his conscience, the Lord's deputy within his

* Mr Hanane, *alias* Hannay, *alias* Annan, was deposed by the General Assembly of Glasgow, 1638, Dec. 14, Sessio 21, along with four other ministers.—*Balfour's Annals*, vol. ii., p. 312. Baillie gives the following graphic account of his treatment by the women of Glasgow:—"At the outgoing of the church, about thirty or forty of our *honestest women*, in one voyce, before the bishope and magistrats, did fall in rayling, cursing, scolding with clamours on Mr William Annan; some two of the meanest were taken to the Tolbooth. All the day over, up and down the streets where he went, he got *threats* of sundry in words and *looks;* bot after supper, when needlesslie he will goe to visit the bishope, he is no sooner on the causey, at nine o'clock, in a mirk night, with three or four ministers with him, bot some hundreds of *inraged women*, of all qualities, are about him, with neaves, and staves, and peats, but *no stones:* they beat him sore; his cloake, ruffe, hatt were rent; however, upon *his cries*, and candles set out from many windows, he escaped all bloody wounds; yet he was in great danger, even of *killing*."—*Letters and Journals*, i. p. 21.

breast, accusing and condemning him. Mr Blair, finding the call clear, hearty and unanimous, accepted of it, and followed it as the Lord's call to the exercise of his ministry among that people. So Mr Blair was received there by the Presbytery and town of Ayr.

About this time Mr John Livingstone got a call from the parish of Stranraer, which he embraced. Mr Blair being minister at Ayr and Mr Livingstone at Stranraer, several of their friends in Ireland came and dwelt in Ayr and Stranraer. Ayr being one of the ports whence they sail to Ireland, and Stranraer being within four miles of Portpatrick, many of the Christians in Ireland came over to their communions in great number. At one time came five hundred. They brought over their children to be baptised. Twenty-eight children were baptised at one time in Stranraer.

After the renewing of the Covenant, the collective body of the kingdom, all ranks and degrees, entering into covenant with God for reformation of religion, and against bishops and the ceremonies, the King was pleased so far to yield to the just desires of the Covenanters, that he did, by his authority, indict a free General Assembly to convene at Glasgow, November 1638, referring all matters ecclesiastic to the Assembly, and matters civil to a parliament to be indicted. At this famous Assembly which excommunicate the bishops, and established religion according to the pattern in the mount, Mr Blair was by an act of that Assembly transported from Ayr to St Andrews, as he himself relates, p. 46. But Mr Blair, being most unwilling to remove from Ayr, where the Lord had begun to bless his labours, and to go so far from his Christian friends and acquaintance, from the west to the east sea bank, spoke, and did what he could to impede that transportation, but nothing could avail. The most discerning and judicious men of that Assembly, thought Mr Blair the meetest man to fill the vacant place at St Andrews, (Spottiswood, his archdean and doctors having run away, fearing the General Assembly's censure), where there were three colleges very corrupt, and the body of the town people addicted to prelacy and the ceremonies, it being the see of the archprelate. These reasons that moved the Assembly

to enact Mr Blair's transportation, did mostly render him unwilling to obey the act; so Mr Blair stayed at Ayr until the next General Assembly, 1639.

In that year, 1639, the King, being highly displeased with the proceedings of the Assembly 1638, did through all England declare the Covenanters rebels, against whom he would use a more powerful way, as was threatened in the last proclamation which was fully answered in a large Protestation, (see the printed paper), and instantly did levy an army to invade Scotland and subdue the Covenanters, setting up the royal standard at York. When it was certainly known that the royal army was marching towards Scotland, the King himself being in the army, accompanied with many of the nobility and gentry of England, the Covenanters thought it high time to bestir themselves, and to prepare for a defensive war. They levied an army, * came near the border, encamped on Dunselaw, the royal army lying at the Birks of Berwick on Tweed's side, a little above Berwick. The king was graciously pleased to consent unto a happy pacification; † so both armies returned without one drop of blood being shed. Mr Blair was one of the ministers of the Covenanters' army. While he was on his journey towards Dunse-law, where the King was, looking to his upper garment, he was made to remember that word which he had spoken to a bigot conformist, and which now the Lord did fulfil and confirm, Is. xliv. 26. This conformist, hearing that Mr Blair, when he was at London commissionated by his brethren that were suspended, had put on a cassock, which is a part of their canonical habit, (because he could not have access at court to the courtiers to whom he had letters of recommendation, in his own habit, which was the habit of Puritan ministers, as they were then called; the cassock being in itself a grave and suitable habit for a churchman, Mr Blair put it on,

* "A very gallant army," says Balfour, "esteemed to be between 26 and 30 thousand horse and foot, of which they made Sir Alexander Lesley of Balgoney, knight, general." He adds, that the King's army was not 12,000 men, horse and foot.—*Annals*, vol. ii. p. 324.

† The articles of pacification or treaty between the King and the Covenanters are to be found in Balfour's Annals, vol. ii., pp. 327, 328. They were signed by the King's Majesty, and then by the commissioners on both sides, June the 19th.

and by that means got access), did deride, and Ishmael-like mock and persecute Mr Blair after he returned from court, saying, "Pray, you Mr Blair, what will you now do with your canonical coat? What use will you make of it now?" Mr Blair replied, "I will keep it seven years, and every year sun it and give it the wind; and after seven years, I will make it over again in another mode, and wear it when you and the like of you will be forced to run away, not daring to appear." This word thus spoken did the Lord fulfil; for the seventh year after his return from London was 1639; and Mr Blair being to march with the army to Dunse-law, took the cassock, and made of it a long four-tailed coat, and rode in it to Dunse-law, where no bishop nor conformist durst appear. *

One of the articles of the pacification concluded at the Birks of Berwick was that armies on both sides being disbanded, all matters civil should be referred to the Parliament, and ecclesiastic to the General Assembly, which both were instantly indicted to convene at Edinburgh,† Traquair being commissioner to both. This General Assembly, 1639,‡ (Mr David Dickson being mode-

* Baillie gives a very interesting account of the Covenanters' army as they encamped on Dunse-law. "It would have done your heart good," says he, "to have casten your eyes athort our brave and rich hill, as oft I did with great contentment and joy, for I (quoth the wren) was there among the rest, being chosen preacher by the gentlemen of our shire, who came late with my Lord of Eglintoun. I furnished to half a dozen of good fellows, muskets and picks, and to my boy a broadsword. I carried myself, as the fashion was, a sword, and a couple of Dutch pistols at my saddle; but I promise for the offence of no man except a robber in the way; for it was our part alone to preach and pray for the encouragement of our countrymen, which I did to my power cheerfully." Speaking of the soldiers, he says, "the sight of the nobles and their beloved pastors daily raised their hearts; the good sermons and prayers morning and even under the roof of heaven, to which their drums did call them for bells; the remonstrances very frequent of the goodness of their cause; of their conduct hitherto, by hand clearly divine; also Leslie, his skill and fortune, made them all so resolute for battle as could be wished. We were feared that emulation among our nobles might have done harm, when they should be met in the fields; but such was the wisdom and authority of that old, little, crooked soldier, that all with an incredible submission, from the beginning to the end, gave over themselves to be guided by him, as if he had been Great Solyman."—*Letters and Journals*, vol. i. pp. 203, 211-214.

† According to the 8th article of the treaty, the General Assembly was to be indicted on the 6th of August, and the Parliament to meet on the 20th of the same month.

‡ This Assembly sat eighteen days, from the 12th of August to the 30th. The King's Commissioner, Traquair, continued with the Assembly to the end of the session.

rator), did challenge Mr Blair for not obeying the act of the Assembly of Glasgow, by transporting to St Andrews, and peremptorily command him instantly to transport to St Andrews, in obedience to the former act at Glasgow; but to encourage him cordially to obey the act, the Assembly did transport Mr Samuel Rutherford from Anwoth to St Andrews, to be principal of the New College there. But Mr Rutherford altogether refused to transport to St Andrews, to that place in the New College, unless he were also admitted to be Mr Blair's colleague in the ministry there, only receiving stipend as principal of the New College. Mr Blair came to St Andrews, August 1639, and brought with him the three children of the first marriage, and David of the second marriage, born at Irvine, April the 10th, 1639; and Mr Rutherford about that time came also. In the time of this General Assembly, 1639, there fell out a remarkable passage of providence relating to Mr Blair, and tending much to his credit and reputation. On a Lord's day, when the most part of the members of that Assembly were convened in the Great Kirk, where the Assembly sat, 'after the' ringing of the third bell, word comes that the minister appointed to preach in that kirk was not to come. The Earl of Rothes hearing this, and looking 'through' the kirk upon several of the members of the Assembly, called to Mr Blair, saying, "We are trysted with a disappointment; we are told that the minister appointed to preach here is not to come; sir, I know, if you please, you may supply the place by lecturing or preaching, or if it were but reading Scripture and praying. I entreat you, do something to keep us together, for now the third bell being rung, we will get no place in other kirks." Mr Blair replied nothing, but went to the lettren and took the Bible from the reader, and read over again the chapter that he was reading, which was the 51st of Isaiah, and lectured upon that whole chapter most pertinently, &c.

and assented to all their acts; although when he went up to the court in England, he denied with heavy oaths that he had assented to any thing, and exaggerated the proceedings of the Covenanters, representing them as tending to the destruction of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and the overthrow of monarchical government.

CHAPTER X.

1639.

THE CONTINUATION OF THE SUPPLEMENT, WHICH, FROM THE YEAR 1643, MAY BE CALLED THE HISTORY OF THE TIMES.*

THE fifth period of Mr Blair's life was from his coming to St Andrews and settling in his ministry there, 1639, to the time of his being summoned over by the Parliament, 1661, to appear and answer to these things they had to lay to his charge.

The King returning from the Birks of Berwick after the pacification with his army, but very much diminished, multitudes of them being dead, whereas there was not one of the Covenanters' army either sick or dead, (which was judged a wonderful cast of providence, that about 30,000 men, beside boys, pedies,† lackeys, &c., abiding together for some weeks, not one of them was either sick or dead); immediately after he came to London, the bishops being highly displeased that he had concluded a treaty of peace with the Covenanters, these rebels never ceased, until they forced the King to burn the Articles of the Treaty by the hand of the hangman, in the most public place of the city of London.‡ Immediately there-

* This title we give as it appears in the MS. from which we print.

† *Pedies*, foot-boys.

‡ This was done at Cheapside Cross, the King's chief advisers being Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, and the Earl of Strafford, deputy or Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

after, the clergy promising great assistance, they persuaded the King to act contrary to all the articles of the Treaty, and to think of a new war and army to invade Scotland and subdue these rebels; and so, contrary to the articles of the treaty, there was a company of English soldiers sent down to the Castle of Edinburgh, and General Ruthven made captain of the Castle. Thereafter the King began to levy another army to invade Scotland; the Covenanters resolving not aye to play after-games, and still to be wise behind the hand, (having levied a strong army, and having published to the kingdom of England the grounds, motives, and reasons of their undertaking), did prevent the King's invading of Scotland by their going in unto England. Mr Blair was sent out 1640, to go into England with the Lord Lindsay's regiment. The Covenanters' army lay some time at Chousley-wood, not far from Dunse, (where the army had leaguered * the year preceding), till the rest of the army came up. When the whole army rendezvoused, it was found that they wanted powder and provisions. This produced suspicion that the expedition might be delayed for that year. One day when the Committee of Estates and general officers, and some ministers, whereof Mr Blair was one, were met in the Castle of Dunse, (where the year preceding General Leslie had his quarter), and were with prayer poured out to God consulting what to do, an officer of the guard comes and knocks rudely at the door of the room where they were consulting and seeking God by earnest prayer, and told that there was treachery discovered; "for I going," said he, "to a big cellar in the bottom of the house to seek something, have found some barrels of powder, which I apprehend is laid there to blow us all up." After search, it was found that that powder had been laid there the year before, when the army decamped from Dunse-law, after the paci-

Balfour justly remarks on this flagrant breach of good faith, that "his Majesty's honour never received a greater wound than it did by his assenting to so unworthy and dishonourable an act, as in so scurvy a way to disclaim and disown his own concessions, signed by his own hand, before so many famous witnesses of both nations." —*Annals*, ii. 328.

* *Leaguered*—encamped.

fication at the Birks of Berwick. Now the Lord having provided the army with powder, by causing them find treasure in their own sacks, Gen. xliii. 23; the Earl of Rothes, (who was honoured of the Lord to be one of the prime instruments of the work of reformation), Lord Loudon, Mr Alexander Henderson, and Mr Archibald Johnstone * returned to Edinburgh, and within few days brought back with them meal and cloth to be tents, by the gift of the well-affected people there, which sufficed the whole army. The 20th of August 1640, the Covenanters' army passed Tweed and were in English ground. They met with no opposition till they came to Newburn, where there is a ford of Tyne above Newcastle. On the south side of Tyne the English army had made fortifications and entrenched themselves to impede our army's passing Tyne; but our cannon being planted on the other side did quickly beat them from their trenches. The English running confusedly out of their fortifications, emboldened our army to cross the river. The first troop that crossed and drew up on the other side was rencountered with a troop of coriassiers, † armed cap-a-pie, that appeared like a brazen wall, against them that had no arms save their swords, carabines, and pistols. Yet, O wonderful! it pleased the Lord of hosts to strike these so well armed and mounted Englishmen with such a panic fear that the very first charge made them all run. Some of them did not halt till they came to Durham. They running who were judged the strength and pith of their army, the whole army was quickly put to a most confused and shameful rout. There did the Lord evidently demonstrate himself to be the Lord of hosts. The English army being routed, Newcastle immediately is rendered to the Covenanters.

The Covenanters' army having seated themselves in Newcastle as their head-quarter, the Committee of Estates, with the army, sent an humble petition to the King, and, after another petition, followed the treaty at Rippon, and thereafter the calling of the English Parliament in November. The Committee of Estates,

* Afterwards Lord Warriston.

† *Coriassiers*—Cuirassiers, horsemen armed with a cuirass.

with the army, now quartered in and about Newcastle, did send up to London Mr Blair, to attend and wait upon the Commissioners of the great treaty, (p. 47), when the large treaty was concluded. The Covenanters' army, now in and about Newcastle, as they were orderly, so they were devout. It was refreshful to hear and see them; for upon their march, when they came to their quarters at night, there was nothing to be heard almost through the whole army but singing of psalms, and praying or reading of Scriptures, in their tents and huts; and though this army was much in this, yet the army at Dunse-law, the year preceding, was more in it, whereof I myself was an eye and ear witness; there being with the army many ministers and probationers, and a multitude of devout, yea religious persons.* In the army 1640, was Captain Ellis'† company, who were all come from Ireland. They were all water lappers, Judges vii. 5-7, and bible bearers. I believe since the days of the reforming kings of Judah there was never such two armies. And, indeed, in all our meetings, both within doors and in the fields, always nearer the beginning of the work there was more dependence on God, and more tenderness in worship and in walking; but through process of time thereafter we still declined more and more. That day the Covenanters came to Newburn, General Leslie and some others stepped aside to Haddon on the Wall; where old Mrs Finnick came out and met them, and burst out saying,

* This account is confirmed by Baillie, who was present with the army. "Had ye lent your ear," says he, "in the morning, or especially at even, and heard in the tents the sound of some singing psalms, some praying, and some reading Scripture, ye would have been refreshed.....For myself, I never found my mind in better temper than it was all the time frae I came from home till my head was again homeward; for I was as a man who had taken my leave from the world, and was resolved to die in that service without return."

† "Captain Fulk Ellis was eldest son of Edmond Ellis of Carrickfergus, an English colonist. He and his company joined the Scottish forces in resisting the arms of Charles in 1640, and were at the battle of Newburn. He shared in the supplies forwarded to the different companies of the army from their respective parishes in Scotland. He returned to Ireland after the rebellion; and was Captain and Major in Sir John Clotworthy's regiment of foot, and is believed to have fallen in action near Desertmartin, in the county of Derry, in September 1643. His descendants, of the same name, still reside at Carrickfergus."—*Reid's History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, i., 254.

"And is it so that God will not come to England to reform abuses but with an army of 22,000 men at his back!" The army was well accommodated and provided for. In England they got meat, and in all the parishes of Scotland whence they were sent, there were voluntary contributions, money collected and sent to them to buy their clothes; so tender were they and unwilling to oppress the English where they had their quarters. *

It was at this time, while the army lay in and about Newcastle, that the Earl of Montrose kept secret correspondence with the King by letters, contrary to an act of the Committee of Estates and Council of War, with the army; which, when it was found out, he deserted their meetings, vowing to cause Scotland swim in blood if he were not avenged on the Lord Lindsay; for he defended his writing to the King, alleging he did but what the Lord Lindsay did, in writing to the Marquis of Hamilton, his brother-in-law. But Lindsay replied, That what he wrote he did, (according to the act of the Council of War, shew his letters to the General, and sent them, they being allowed), not in a clandestine way, as Montrose did, but avowedly. This did so stir and enrage the proud spirit † of Montrose, that he proved *transfuga*, ‡ and in end a most cruel and bloody enemy to his mother kirk and country.

The large treaty being concluded, the King, now the third time, grants a free General Assembly and Parliament to Scotland for settling of all matters, as well ecclesiastic as civil. The General Assembly did sit in summer 1641. They convened at St Andrews July 20. The Earl of Wemyss was the King's Commissioner. Mr Blair did preach at the opening up of this Assembly. The King did write to the Assembly a gracious and comfortable letter;

* In a letter written by the General and Committee of War of the Covenanters' army at Newcastle to the Earl of Lanerick, lately made Secretary for Scottish Affairs in the room of the Earl of Stirling, lately deceased, they say, "Our behaviour to those that are in Newcastle can witness our intentions, which is to live at peace with all, and rather suffer than offend. We bought all with our money, and they extortion us to the triple value."—*Balfour's Annals*, ii., 392, 393.

† Row had originally written "the devilishly proud spirit;" but upon farther reflection he appears to have considered the word "devilishly" would scarcely do, as it is cancelled in the MS.

‡ *Transfuga*, a turncoat, a deserter.

unto the which the Assembly returned a suitable answer. The Assembly was transferred to Edinburgh, July 27. Thereafter our army came home from England in a most peaceable manner. Shortly thereafter the King came down to Scotland in September, and was present in the Parliament, and ratified all the preceding work of reformation.

In October 1641, while the King was in Scotland, the Irish rebellion broke out. Many of the religious people in the north of Ireland, where Mr Blair served in the ministry, had left Ireland that same year when the deposed ministers were forced out of it by pursuivants hunted out to apprehend them. Others left it 1639, when the Deputy urged upon all the Scots in Ireland an abjuring of the National Covenant of Scotland (which commonly was called the black oath), * and so they were free of that stroke of the rebellion. Many who took that black oath were murdered by the rebels. They that lived nearest the coast, over against Scotland, escaped for the most part, and sundry fled elsewhere from these parts. It was observed that the stroke on the north of Ireland increased by degrees. At first they thought it a hard case that they were not sure to enjoy their ministers. But thereafter, when their

* The following is a copy of this oath: "I, ——— do faithfully swear, profess, and promise, that I will honour and obey my sovereign lord, King Charles, and will bear faithful and true allegiance unto him, and defend and maintain his royal power and authority; and that I will not bear arms, or do any rebellious or hostile act against him, or protest against any his royal commands, but submit myself in all due obedience thereunto; and that I will not enter into any covenant, oath, or band of mutual defence and assistance against any persons whatsoever by force, without his majesty's sovereign and regal authority. And I do renounce and abjure all covenants, oaths and bands whatsoever, contrary to what I have herein sworn, professed and promised. So help me God, in Jesus Christ." In May 1639, by a proclamation from the Lord Deputy and Council, all the Scottish residents in Ulster, above the age of sixteen years, were required to take this oath, upon "the most severe punishments which may be inflicted according to the laws of this realm on contemners of sovereign authority;" and magistrates received commissions to administer the oath in their respective districts, and were directed to proceed in the most summary manner. Those who refused to swear it were treated with every kind of severity short of death; and the the Lord Deputy declared that he would prosecute all who refused to take it "to the blood," and drive them "root and branch," out of the kingdom. The consequence was that many fled to Scotland, and so many of the labouring population left the country, that it was difficult to obtain a sufficient number to reap the harvest.—*Reid's History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, i., 244-249, 257.

ministers were deposed, that was found hard to be borne. But then the ministers were forced to flee the country, and hirelings were thrust upon them; and when that had continued some time, and they thought hardly a worse could come, the black and bloody oath comes; and after all, the bloody sword of the rebels; and yet after all this, they complained that they thought the oppression and insolence of the Scots army, that came over for their aid, was worse nor the rebellion. That army from Scotland for suppressing of the Irish rebels came over to Ireland in April 1642, being commanded by General-Major Monro.

Those of the north in Ireland sent over Commissioners to the General Assembly 1642, petitioning for ministers to be sent to them. The Assembly thought it not fit to loose any from their charge, but for four or five years thereafter ordered eight ministers in the year to go over for visiting them, two together for three months, &c.; and in the meantime some godly and able young men to be dealt with to go over for settling there; and that these ministers might establish elderships, and with the ministers of the army that went over with Monro, try and admit ministers. These ministers that were sent over by the General Assembly used for most part to separate themselves for diverse parishes in several parts of the country, there being such a great number of vacant parishes, yet so as the one would visit the places where the other had been. Mr Blair was appointed by that Assembly 1642, to go for Ireland to visit his parishioners in Bangor, and others in the north of Ireland, and in obedience to the appointment did go. He found a great alteration and change to the worse in Ireland; many that were civil before having become exceeding loose; yea sundry who, for any thing could be perceived, had true grace declined much in their tenderness; so that it seems the sword openeth a gap and makes every body worse than before—an inward plague coming with the outward. Yet some few were in a very lively condition. For the most part of all these three months he preached every day once, and twice on the Sabbath. The destitute parishes were many. The hunger of the people was

become great, and the Lord was pleased extraordinarily to furnish and assist him. Often they met in the fields; the confluence of people was so great that no house nor kirk could contain them. One day Mr Blair preaching, a great multitude convened, and knowing that many among them had taken that black oath, he did very pithily and pathetically lay out the guiltiness of taking that oath, and their hazard and danger by reason thereof. Thereafter he charged them whose conscience accused and condemned them, to separate themselves from among those that were not involved in that grievous provocation; which the people willingly and immediately did. The guilty, separating themselves, stood on his left hand; and after he had again thundered and threatened them, and exhorted them to repentance, 'he' did hold out mercy and pardon upon the terms of the covenant. And after the guilty had willingly, and with great expressions of grief and sorrow, confessed the same, Mr Blair did receive them as sincere penitents to be admitted to the communion. Some old experienced Christians yet alive (*anno* 1677) declared that in all their lifetime they never heard the gospel so powerfully preached and pertinently applied—threatenings, promises, exhortations, motives, means, conserves and cordials;—and that they never saw such commotion and heart-melting, with greatest abundance of tears among hearers, both guilty and innocent, so that it may be truly said that they gathered together to that place and drew water and poured it out before the Lord, and said, "We have sinned before the Lord, yea against the Lord", 1 Sam. vii. 6. Such hyperbolic expressions of greatest abundance of tears drawn out of the fountain of contrite hearts you have, Psalm vi. 6, and cxix. 136.

Mr Blair came, ordinarily, the night before, to the place where he was to preach the next day, and commonly lodged in some religious person's house, where they were often well refreshed and comforted with their family exercise. Usually he got no more time but before he went to bed, to fix upon and make sure the place of Scripture he was to preach on the next day. Then rising in the morning early, being alone, either in a chamber or in the

fields, at the appointed time they went either to a kirk or the fields; sometime thereafter, dined, and rode some five or six miles more or less, to another parish. Sometimes there would be four or five communions in the three months' time. They, both ministers and professors, had many sweet and soul-refreshing days of the gospel then and there, and some solemn and high Sabbath days, the like whereof Mr Blair seldom had in St Andrews. Likest to these days were some communion Sabbaths on the north side of Fife, in those parishes where Mr Blair assisted at the celebration of the holy communion, especially betwixt 1650 and 1660 years. After the Assembly 1647, the Assembly sent no more for visits to Ireland, because, by that time, several godly ministers were settled in the north of Ireland.

Mr Blair, at his very first coming to St Andrews, and settling there, finds the burden of that congregation very ponderous, and only not bone-crushing; for, besides that it was very numerous, the common people, in the landward round about the town, were very ignorant, and the gentry and citizens were not only profane and dissolute, but very superstitious and highly prelatical; and no wonder it was so, they dwelling even where Satan's seat was, and where Satan dwelleth, (Rev. ii. 13). After Mr Blair had for some time wrestled with his unsupportable burden, he began to think what way he might be eased at least of a part of the burden. This set him upon a contrivement of getting a part of the spacious and numerous landward parish, (viz. that part lying south-west from the town, namely, the two Ladornies, Lathones, Lathober, Civigstown, Vicarsgrange, Craigtown, Dinnork, &c.), erected in a new parish, quitting some vicarages that belonged to the Archdean's stipend, (Mr Blair contenting himself with the modified stipend, never meddling with what properly belonged to the Archdeanrie, such as entries of those that were the Archdean's vassals, or other casualties, that made the Archdean's stipend a considerable rent), and evicting, by law, some teinds and vicarages of these lands within that new parish, and of some lands lying in the east end of the parish of Ceres, which formerly were of the

landward parish of St Andrews. Having thus gotten some stipend allotted to, and legally ratified by Act of Parliament for that new parish, Mr Blair resolved (following the practice of others, both ministers and religious heritors), to deal with all the rest of the heritors of the parish of St Andrews, and with the citizens and all the heritors in the east neuk of Fife, or elsewhere, for a voluntary contribution for building of a new kirk and a manse. He made choice of John Martin of Lathoness, (a forward and zealous man for the late reformation, and so good a work), to go along with him to receive, keep, and be accountable for what was gotten. Mr Blair did contribute, but would neither keep nor meddle with the moneys contributed and collected. After the kirk was builded at Cameron, and the glebe bought, Mr George Nairn was ordained minister of the parish of Cameron in the year 1646. Mr Blair preached at that ordination, and moderate the whole action. Thus Mr Blair got himself eased and disburdened of a considerable part of the weighty burden of that landward parish.

The actings and affairs of kirk and estate in the years 1643 and 1644, &c., were many, various, and weighty, in Scotland and England, and Mr Blair much concerned and employed therein in both kingdoms. In the beginning of August 1643, the General Assembly convened, unto the which, and Convention of Estates, Commissioners were sent from the two houses of the Parliament of England, namely, John, earl of Rutland, Sir William Armine, baronet, Sir Henry Vane, younger, Thomas Hatcher, and Henry Darley, esquires; and from the Assembly of Divines, Messrs Stephen Marshall, and Philip Nye, ministers.* Their earnest de-

* Of these commissioners, the most distinguished were Sir Henry Vane, Mr Stephen Marshall, and Mr Nye. Sir Henry Vane is described by Baillie as "one of the greatest and ablest of the English nation."—(*Letters and Journals*, ii. 89). He was active in procuring the framing of the Solemn League and Covenant, and afterwards became a leader of the Independents. Subsequent to the Restoration, having been excepted from the general indemnity granted to such as had been concerned in the civil war against Charles I., he was publicly tried and executed. On the scaffold he behaved with the utmost intrepidity, entertaining the confident persuasion that death would prove to him a passage to eternal felicity.

sires to the Convention and Assembly, respective, were thir especially:—First, that the two nations may be strictly united for

Mr Stephen Marshall, who was at this time lecturer at St Margaret's, Westminster, is described by Baillie as "the best preacher in England," ii., 148. The same author, in a letter to Mr Simeon Ashe, minister at London, dated December 31, 1655, thus writes:—"I am sorry Mr Marshall is a-dying: he was ever, in my heart, a very eminent man. His many sermons on that verse of John viii. 36, 'If the Son make you free, you shall be free indeed,' I have oft pressed him to make public. He was the preacher now living who ordinarily most affected my heart. I wish you pressed him to let so many of his papers be published as may . . . Mr Marshall long ago lost the hearts of our nation. He was the main instrument of that National Covenant with God and among ourselves, which wont to hing on the walls of your churches: It will hing ever before the eye of God, the prime Covenanter."—*Letters and Journals*, iii. 302. Mr Marshall died in November 1655, and was interred in the south aisle of Henry VII.'s chapel. But, in 1661, his body was taken up, along with many others, by express command of his Majesty, for the part he acted in the time of Charles I. and Cromwell, and buried in the churchyard adjacent.—*Wood's Fasti Oxonien.* part i. p. 371. Marshall does not appear to have renounced his Presbyterian principles; but he employed his influence in the Westminster Assembly to obtain the consent of the Assembly to the legal toleration of the Independents. "The Independents," says Baillie, "with Mr Marshall's help were very near to have carried, by canny conveyance of some propositions in the matter of church censure, a fair and legal toleration of their way."—(*Letters and Journals*, ii. 260.) Again he says, "At last they did give us a paper, requiring expressly a full toleration of congregations in their way everywhere, separate from ours. In our answer, we did flatly deny such a vast liberty. . . . . Here Mr Marshall, our chairman, has been their most diligent agent to draw too many of us to grant them much more than my heart can yield to, and which, to my power, I oppose."—(*Ibid.*, ii. 343.)

Philip Nye, who was related to Stephen Marshall, having been married to his daughter, was also a distinguished nonconformist. After having entered into holy orders, his nonconformity exposing him to the censure of his Episcopal superiors, he retired to Holland about 1633. Returning in 1640, he became soon after minister at Kimbolton, in Huntingdonshire. Upon his return to London from the mission on which he was on this occasion sent, both houses of Parliament took the Covenant, of which he was the zealous assertor; and at the taking of it he addressed the audience on its nature and warrantableness. About this time he became rector of Acton, near London. In the Westminster Assembly he was at the head of the Independent party. He appears to have been no favourite of Baillie's, who, in a letter to Mr Spang, dated September 22, 1643, thus writes:—"20. The Sabbath, before noon, in the New Church, we heard Mr Marshall preach with great contentment. But, in the afternoon, in the Grey-Friars, Mr Nye did not please; his voice was clamorous; he touched, neither in prayer nor preaching, the common business; he read much out of his paper book: all his sermon was on the common head of a spiritual life, wherein he ran out, above all our understandings, upon a knowledge of God, as God, without the Scripture, without grace, without Christ. They say he amended it somewhat next Sabbath."—*Letters and Journals*, ii. 97. He died in the parish of St Michael, Cornhill, or near it, in London, in September 1672, and was buried in the upper vault under part of the Church of St Michael.—*Wood's Ath. Ox.*, iii. 966.

their mutual defence against the Papists and prelatical faction, and their adherents, in both kingdoms. 2. That both churches, in the two kingdoms, may be brought into a more near union and conjunction, in one form of church government, one directory of worship, one catechism, &c., and the foundation laid of the utter extirpation of popery and prelacy. 3. They desired (as an effectual mean hereunto) their brethren of Scotland to raise a considerable force of horse and foot, for their aid and assistance, to be sent presently against the papists, prelatical faction, and malignants, &c. 4. For the more firm settlement of the union, and as the most ready and effectual means thereunto, they desired that both nations enter into a strict union and league, by way of a solemn covenant, to be sworn by both nations.

The result of the debates and consultations betwixt thir Commissioners and the Committee of Assembly, whereof Mr Blair was one, was the Solemn League and Covenant; and when the draught thereof, at last agreed unto, was read in open audience of the whole Assembly, our smoking desires for a more strict union and uniformity in religion betwixt both the nations, did break forth into a vehement flame; for it was so unanimously and heartily embraced (so sincere was the kirk of Scotland in this grand affair), with such a torrent of most affectionate expressions as none but eye and ear witnesses (whereof the writer was one) can conceive. Some of the oldest ministers, when their vote was asked, their joy was so great that tears did interrupt their expressions. Mr Blair, among other things, said that when he sometimes pleased himself in his hypothetic reveries, a solemn covenant for reformation of, and uniformity in, religion, in the three kingdoms, was to him *mensura voti.**

Dr Calamy says that Nye had a complete history of *The Old Puritan Dissenters* in MS., which was burnt at the fire of London.—*(Calamy's Ejected Ministers*, ii., 29, 30).

* *Mensura voti*—the height of his wishes.—The English Commissioners were at first for a civil league, and the Committee of the General Assembly for a religious one. But a draught of the Solemn League embracing both objects was submitted for consideration by Alexander Henderson. Having been unanimously agreed to by the three committees,—one from the State, one from the General Assembly, and one from the Parliament of

When the Convention of Estates got the army raised, which was earnestly desired for the aid and assistance of the Parliament, and when in the end of the year 1643 they marched into England, Mr Blair was appointed by the commission of the Assembly (whereof he was one), to go with the army and to be minister to the Earl of Crawford's regiment. After the conjunction of our forces with the Parliament's, Mr Blair diligently attended his charge, performing all ministerial duties to that regiment, until the month of July 1644, he came home to his charge at St Andrews, shortly after that wonderful victory obtained over Prince Rupert and his numerous army in Long Marston-moor. * He came to St Andrews late at night, and that same night his wife was brought to bed of a son. July 28, there was a solemn thanksgiving in Fife for the victory at Long Marston. † Mr Blair being an eye and ear witness of that battle and confused conflict, (for at one time both the armies were fleeing), and being in no small hazard and danger while he exhorted some of them that fled to stand, he did pertinently and patheti-

England,—it was immediately brought to the General Assembly. Row's account of the manner in which it was there received is confirmed by the statement of Baillie. "From that meeting," says he, "it came immediately to our Assembly, in the which at the first reading, being well prefaced with Mr Henderson's most grave oration, it was received with the greatest applause, that ever I saw any thing, with so hearty affections, expressed in the tears of pity and joy by very many grave, wise, and old men. It was read distinctly the second time by the Moderator. The mind of the most part was speared, both of ministers and elders; where in a long hour's space, every man as he was by the Moderator named, did express his sense as he was able. After all considerable men were heard, the catalogue was read and all unanimously did assent."—*Letters and Journals*, ii. 90. It was also very favourably received in England. When it reached London "it was so well liked, that, Friday the 1st of September, being sent to the Assembly of Divines, it was there allowed by all, only Dr Burgess did doubt for one night. On Saturday it passed the House of Commons, on Monday the House of Peers."—*Ibid.*, ii. 99. It was sworn and subscribed by the Westminster Assembly and House of Commons; but "the little House of Lords did delay for sake of honour, as they said, till they found our nation willing to swear it as it was formed."—*Ibid.*, ii. 102.

* In Yorkshire.

† After this victory obtained over Prince Rupert's army, a letter was addressed by the Earl of Lindsay, dated from the Leaguer before York, July 6, to the Committee of Parliament, conveying the intelligence, and earnestly desiring that Scotland would unite in solemn thanksgiving to God. The Parliament on hearing this letter read, ordained it to be sent to the Commissioners of the General Assembly, and that there should be a general thanksgiving to God for so great a victory.—*Balfour's Annals*, ii. 214, 215.

cally preach at St Andrews on that day appointed to be kept as a day of solemn thanksgiving.

In August that year, the Earl of Montrose, (of whom before, p. 164), after his imprisonment in the castle of Edinburgh, and enlargement upon hopes of better carriage, did gather together a handful of cursed cut-throats. The most part of them were bloody Irishes, come over from Ireland, under the command of that bloodthirsty monster, Alester Mackdonald.* With these and some few unnatural countrymen, he advances towards Perth. To oppose and resist him, there were hastily and confusedly gathered together out of Fife, Angus and Strathern, multitudes both of horse and foot. These he routed Sept. 1. Many were killed in the flight in the common moor of St Johnston. It was both fearful and terrible to see the flight and fear of all sorts. The Lord's angry countenance might have been seen in making his own Israel to flee and fall before these Irish rebels, nothwithstanding of many and great advantages of horses, cannon, number far exceeding the enemy. Thereafter, September 13, at Aberdeen there was a hot conflict, but at last ours were put to the rout, and many killed near and within the town of Aberdeen. In this very sad time, October 1, the Synod of Fife convened at Cupar. Mr Blair was appointed to preach before the sitting down of the Synod, though he was not Moderator of the preceding Synod, as the fittest minister to speak a word in season both to ministers and people, in a time of so much wrath, and the Lord's hot displeasure against his covenanted people. His text was Job xvii. 8, 9; he had both a thundering and comfortable sermon, wherein he was Boanerges to hypocrites, backsliders, apostates and covenant breakers, and Barjona to the upright, innocent, righteous and those that in a time of defection have clean hands,

* Alester or Alexander Mackdonald Macgillespic, the son of Col. Archibald Macgillespic, was Major-General to the Earl of Antrim; he was a devoted adherent to the Marquis of Montrose, and by his zeal and activity in his service rendered himself obnoxious to the Scottish Parliament, which on March 8, 1645, ratified an act of Council for apprehending and detaining Col. Macgillespic and his sons. Alester had come over to Scotland about this time with 2500 renegades from Ireland.—*Baillie's Letters and Journals*, ii. 217.

and have not defiled their garments in a defiling time. O! but that was true of him which he wrote of holy Mr Cunningham,

Acrius nemo intonuit superbis;
Nemo dejectos magis erigebat. *

Mr Blair was chosen Moderator of that Synod; there was drawn up by that Provincial Assembly overtures for humiliation and reformation of the shire of Fife; also that Assembly ordained, October 20, the Lord's-day, and Tuesday and Thursday following to be kept as days of solemn fasting and humiliation. October 19, our army in England being separated from the Parliament's forces after the battle at Long Marston took in the town of Newcastle.

After that Montrose's forces, being much increased, had beat ours several times, (Feb. 2, 1645, at Inverlochy they beat Argyle's army; May 9, at Alderne, after a hot conflict, wherein many of the Irishes were killed, our forces were routed by the treachery of Hurrie †; July 2, at Alford, a party of ours, commanded by Baillie was routed); a Parliament was called. They first sat at Stirling, ‡ and ordained a great levy. July 24, the Parliament sat down in Perth, our army being much increased, being near the town. The Commission of the Kirk also convened at Perth; Mr Blair was chosen by the Commission, and ordained to preach at the opening up of that session of the Parliament. July 26 and 27 being the Lord's-day, were kept as days of solemn humiliation by the members of Parliament and Commission of the Kirk in the town of Perth, and by the whole army lying at Forgandenny. All the army, both horsemen and foot, had sermons in the fields in twelve or thirteen several places. On the Sabbath day, July 27, Mr Blair, after he had preached in Perth in the forenoon, the members of Parliament and Commission being hearers, he came out in the afternoon to the army, and preached to Crawford's and Maitland's regiments, to whom he had been minister in England, they being now recalled and joined with other forces at home. In his sermon he told that

* "None thundered more terribly against the proud; none more sweetly comforted those that were cast down."—See p. 148.

† Colonel Sir John Hurrie.

‡ They sat down on the 8th of July.—*Balfour's Annals*, iii. 292.

brigade that he had learned that they were become very dissolute and profane; he assured them that unless they repented, and that very speedily, there was a sore stroke ordained for them, and that though the Lord had honoured them to stand at Long Marston, when many fled, and then covered their head in the day of battle, so that though they were often charged, yet very few of them were killed, not above three of Crawford's regiment, yet now they should not be able to stand before their enemy, yea they should be routed and killed. He said that he expected that they would like well of his freedom with them because that they knew that he loved them, and that when he was with them in England he had a care both of their souls and bodies. This sad threatening and commination was shortly thereafter fulfilled, August 15, at Kilsyth; for at that woeful battle Crawford's whole regiment was cut off almost wholly; all the officers were killed except Crawford, who wonderfully escaped their bloody hands, and the major who served on horse. Mr Blair at that time was at home in St Andrews with a trembling heart (1 Sam. iv. 13). When the company of the new levied regiment, commanded by the laird of Cambo, marched out of St Andrews to join with the standing forces, some few days before the fatal day at Kilsyth, Mr Blair desired them to wait for him at the West Port, that he might pray to God for them and with them. But when he came as soon as he could, finding that they were gone, he thought it was *malum omen*. Many of that regiment were killed with Cambo their commander.*

After that sad defeat of all our forces in Scotland at Kilsyth, there was great fear, consternation and confusion in Fife. There were several meetings of the heritors of the shire, and all the ministers at Cupar and Kennoway. At last they resolved to have a rendezvous, September 4, at the Thorn in the moor, above

* The Scotch army, both at Tippermuir and Kilsyth, was to a large extent composed of levies from Fifeshire. Accordingly, we find that in an act of the Scottish Parliament, passed Feb. 1846, anent recruiting the army in England with 10,000 foot, Fifeshire is expressly excepted from the act, on the ground of the great loss which that part of the country sustained at Tippermuir and Kilsyth, and the former great levies made from it.—*Balfour's Annals*, iii. 372.

Kirkaldy, of all the well affected noble and gentlemen in the shire, to see what could be done for the defence of the shire. Some few ministers were appointed to attend upon them for their advice in cases of conscience. Mr Blair was one of those ministers who did attend that meeting, who did freely declare his judgment that it was unlawful, because sinful, to treat with Montrose, or to send commissioners to him upon any pretext never so specious. While thir matters were in agitation, word came that a party of the enemy were approaching near Dunfermline. That meeting concluding nothing for the defence of the shire, nay, not against a small straggling party, Mr Blair, with almost all the ministers in the east end of Fife, went over to Dundee. The inhabitants of that town, in April, did most gallantly resist Montrose's forces, who unexpectedly fell on them with fire and sword, until a party of ours came to their aid. Thereafter they fortified their town. Thither did sundry gentlemen and ministers, with their families, in this saddest time resort, expecting and longing for that strong party of our cavalry from England, who were sent for and commanded by David Leslie. Mr Blair abode at Dundee but some few days. After he had preached in Dundee on the Lord's-day, leaving his wife and children there, he came over to St Andrews to visit his flock, resolving to stay with them for their comfort and encouragement in so sad a time of greatest hazard and danger. About this time, September 11, the Lord of hosts began to look on his own people in Scotland with pity and compassion, "his soul being grieved for their misery,"* and hearing that the enemy had reproached him. For, when Montrose heard that David Leslie with 4000 horse and 1000 dragoons were on their march for our aid and recovery of the kingdom, he said, "Though God should rain Leslies from heaven he would fight them,"—nothing doubting of the victory; which being reported to Mr Blair, he said, he nothing doubted of the victory, Montrose having in a manner reproached and defied God himself, the Lord of hosts.† Neither did his hope

* Judges x. 15, 16.

† It is allowed by all parties, that success had so infatuated Montrose, as to lead him, through the flattering imagination that nothing could withstand his military skill and

make him ashamed, for, September 13, our forces, commanded by General-Major David Leslie, in a misty morning, were near Montrose's forces, leaguered in Philiphaugh, ere they were discovered. The enemies' leaguer,* being on advantageous ground, compassed with dikes and ditches, Montrose resolved to fight our forces in that same ground. When our forces approached the enemy, that Lord of hosts that sent that mist and fog to hide and cover our forces as with a cloud from the enemy's scouts, until they had passed them, that same Lord did dispel and scatter the fog and mist, so that David Leslie and the rest of the commanders, with our noblemen that escaped at Kilsyth, resolved presently to charge them, which they did with such courage and resolution, that, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the ground, they routed the enemy, killing many of them, and pursuing them ten or twelve miles to Peebles. Many were killed in the rout. Prisoners taken of note were, Sir Robert Spottiswood, president, Sir John Hay, lord register, Sir William Rollock, Nathaniel Gordon, &c. Montrose himself escaped with 200 horse to Athole. Not above ten of ours were killed.†

prowess, to neglect that prudence and those precautions which the uncertainty of continued success in military operations renders so necessary. "It seems Montrose," says Baillie, "shall prove fatal to the King; his victories hitherto have been powerful snares to his hard heart. A little more continuance in this disposition is like to undo him."—*Public Letter of Baillie*, London, Aug. 10. 1645, in his *Let. and Journ.* ii. 305. Gordon in his "Britane's Distemper," writing the same year, says, "This was the greatest error that Montrose had committed from the beginning of the war, that he proceeded after the victory with too much confidence, and trusted too much, as it seems, to his happy fortune, and the more to bring his careful vigilance asleep."—(P. 156.)

* *Leaguer*, i. e. encampment.

† Baillie states, that "above a thousand were buried in the place; whereof scarce fifteen were ours."—*Letters and Journals*, ii. 321. Gordon, in his "Britane's Distemper," (p. 160,) draws a dark picture of the severity with which the Covenanters' army, on this occasion, treated their enemies; but he admits that the Irish, to whom no quarter was shown, "were too cruel, for it was everywhere observed that they did ordinarily kill all they could be master of, without any motion of pity, or any consideration of humanity; nay, it seemed to them there was no distinction betwixt a man and a beast, for they killed men ordinarily with no more feeling of compassion, and with the same careless neglect that they kill a hen or capone for their supper. And they were also without all shame, most brutishly given to uncleanness and filthy lust. As for excessive drinking, when they came where it might be had, there were no limits to their beastly appetites; as for godless avarice and merciless oppression, and plundering of the poor labourer."—*Ibidem*, 161. Gordon alleges

After this most sweet and seasonable cast of providence,* the Committee of Estates did meet in several places, namely, at Perth, September 26, at Dunse in the beginning of October, at St Andrews, October 14, to consult about the affairs of the state, and ordering of their forces, Montrose beginning again to gather new forces in the north. Also, the Commission of the Kirk convened at Perth and St Andrews, to consult about the affairs of the Kirk, especially taking order with malignants that had complied and joined with Montrose. The Committee of Estates convened at Glasgow, October 20, especially because that was the day and place, which, by proclamation, Montrose had appointed for holding of the Parliament, which he had indicted, and which he had vowed to keep. Our forces were gathered to Glasgow then, when some of the prisoners taken at Philiphaugh, viz. Sir William Rollock, Sir Philip Nisbet, &c. were executed. The Committee of Estates at Glasgow did indict a Parliament to be holden at St Andrews the last Wednesday of November. The Committee of Estates came again to St Andrews, November 13, to prepare for the Parliament's sitting there.

November 26, the Parliament sat down in St Andrews, the pest at this time and some months before, being in Edinburgh, Leith, and several parts of Lothian, the Lord smiting at one time both by sword and pestilence, Amos iv. 10. The Commission of the Kirk did also sit there at that diet. Several prisoners taken at Philiphaugh were brought to St Andrews before and in the time of the Parliament, and kept in the Castle to be judged by the Parliament. Mr Blair did often preach before the members of Parliament, and did pray in the Parliament House at their several sessions. He did take much pains to take away the differences betwixt the two parties or factions, viz., the Hamiltons and Camp-

that quarter was promised to such of them as surrendered their arms; but Sir James Turner, who was on the spot, affirms that no quarter was promised to the prisoners.—*Memoirs*, p. 74. They had all been active in the Irish massacre.

* It is impossible to sympathise in this sentiment, without placing ourselves in the circumstances of our Scottish ancestors at this trying period, when all that was dear to them as men, and sacred to them as Christians, was at stake.

bells, and to reconcile those of them that were members of that Parliament, viz., Argyle, Crawford, Lanerick, &c. He brought them together in his lodgings and did effectually deal and mediate betwixt them at several meetings, but still they parted in worse terms.

He did often visit the prisoners in the Castle. Of them all he was best pleased with Nathaniel Gordon, who, besides that he was deeply engaged in that wicked way with Montrose, was very vicious and profane otherwise. The Lord so blessed Mr Blair's dealing with him that he was much convinced and humbled for his wicked ways, professing very seriously repentance for the same. After many debates in Parliament about the prisoners, and the escape of the Lord Ogilvy * out of the Castle, January 7, 1646; upon the 17th of January three of the prisoners were beheaded at the cross of St Andrews; first, Nathaniel Gordon, who, after he had subscribed a paper, (wherein was contained his earnest desire to be relaxed from the sentence of excommunication, together with his confession of his sins, especially of shedding innocent bloods, and joining in that wicked course, &c.), was by Mr Blair relaxed and received as a member of the Kirk. Thereafter upon the scaffold he gave great satisfaction, not only to Mr Blair, (whom the writer did hear say that he hoped his soul was in heaven), but to all good and godly men, by confession of his sins, and especially of that wherefore he was condemned; and when he was to lay down his head, he left his worst wishes to his friends if they should strive to revenge his death. The second was Sir Robert Spottiswood, who died far otherwise. In his railing discourse to the people on the scaffold, among other things he said that the saddest judgment of God upon people at this time was, that the

* Gordon thus describes the manner of Lord Ogilvy's escape: "By the help of his mother and his sister, the Lady Lethendy, being of a witty and masculine spirit, he escapes the danger; for this young lady, leaving her mother in the other room, to hold the keepers in discourse, desires leave to go in and see her brother, who feigned himself sick, and in her habit he came forth, leaving her to represent the person till he were out of danger; by which means he was conveyed away and set at liberty."—*Britane's Distemper*, p. 168.

Lord had sent out a lying spirit in the mouths of the prophets, and that their ministers that should lead them to heaven were leading them the high way to hell. Mr Blair standing by him (as he was appointed by the commission of the Kirk) in answer to this, only said, "It's no wonder to hear the son of a false prophet speak so of the faithful and honest servants of Jesus Christ;" which did so enrage the proud and impenitent spirit of Spottiswood, that he died raging and railing against Christ's honest and faithful ministers and his covenanted people. The third was Mr Andrew Guthrie, who died stupidly and impenitently. These two were bishop's sons; *mali corvi malum ovum.**

February 4, the Parliament closed. All the members of the Parliament staid in the town, partly because the next day was appointed to be kept as a day of solemn humiliation through the whole kingdom, and partly because the Lady Lindsay, thereafter Lady Boyd,† was to be buried, February 6. All the members of Parliament, especially the noblemen and gentlemen, were invited to the burial. Mr Blair (who was well acquaint with that eminent Christian), came to her burial and wrote two epitaphs, one in Latin, and another in English; for as he was eminent in all literature so he was one of the best poets in his time. But he did not delight in poetry, neither did he nourish his vein; but it will be worth the while to make a collection of his few poems.

In March this year, there was presented to the Committee of Estates a dangerous and seditious bond under the name of a Humble Remonstrance, &c., framed by the Earl of Seaforth and his adherents in the north, containing seven articles; the first whereof contained an invitation to the King to come to Scotland, &c. The Commissioners of the General Assembly, whereof Mr Blair was one, did emit a declaration against this bond, March 30. See the

* "Birds of an ill nest."

† The maiden name of this lady was Christian Hamilton, being the eldest daughter of Thomas, first Earl of Haddington. She was first married to Robert, ninth Lord Lindsay of Byres, and after his death to Robert, sixth Lord Boyd. She is one of those eminent Christians of his acquaintance, whose memory Livingstone has preserved in his *Memorable Characteristics.*

printed paper. Meanwhile Seaforth had an army of five thousand for to effectuate the ends contained in his Remonstrance. He did not join Montrose, (who all this while, since the victory at Philiphaugh, was raging and ranging in the north, on Speyside, about Inverness, &c.; M'Donald with the Irishes infested Argyle's bounds; Ogilvy with the Atholers, and other highlanders, infested the Stormont; the Gordons, with Lanerick and Lindsay infested the north,) partly because he thought to get the whole praise of the work to himself, as also because proud Montrose did but slight him when he joined with him the year before, being puffed up with so many victories.

David Leslie, in the end of the preceding year, returned to our army in England, leaving considerable forces under the command of Middleton, whom the Parliament at St Andrews made general over all the forces in Scotland, he being then looked upon as a religious, honest and valiant commander. In this spring time Middleton took the fields and divided his forces, for the suppression of the several parties of the enemies. He himself marched to the north to regain those strongholds which the Gordons had possessed themselves of, which he quickly did, and routed the Gordons in the fields. About this time the house of Kincardine, Montrose's own house, was taken in with several other strongholds.

Our forces thus prevailing in Scotland over several parties of several sorts of enemies at home, the Parliament's forces in England did so far prevail over the King's army, that they being often beaten in the fields, the King had no standing army to keep the fields, so that he was forced to betake himself to Oxford, where he was hardly besieged by the Parliament's forces. The Parliament thus prevailing, began to quarrel with our Commissioners at London, and to speak far otherwise than their Commissioners did at Edinburgh 1643; for they would not only reserve to themselves the ultimate appeal from General Assemblies, but were altogether unwilling to settle Presbyterian government, except in a way of their own, which indeed was not Presbyterian government.* Likewise,

* This is nothing more than what might have been expected from the character and

they were very highflown in their demands in reference to the King. They would have the militia absolutely taken from the King and his posterity; and though he had offered to come in with his ordinary train to treat with them himself, they refused to accept of him till first he should subscribe such articles as should be sent to him, and then render himself as a prisoner. Our Commissioners did not agree with them in these and other particulars. During the time of thir and other debates betwixt the Parliament and our Commissioners, the King is still besieged in Oxford by the Parliament's forces, (our forces all this while lying in and about Newcastle, Durham, and the northern parts of Yorkshire), so that at

sentiments of the parties who composed the Parliament. Baillie, speaking of the setting up of the Presbyterian form of Church government, thus describes them: "The Independent party, albeit their numbers in the Parliament be very small, yet being prime men, active and diligent, and making it their great work to retard all till they be first secured of a toleration for their separate congregations; and the body of the lawyers, who are another strong party in the House, believing all Church government to be a part of the civil and Parliamentary power which nature and Scripture has placed in them, and to be derived from them to the ministers only so far as they think expedient; a third party of worldly profane men, who are extremely affrighted to come under the yoke of ecclesiastical discipline; these three kinds making up two parts at least of the Parliament, there is no hopes that ever they will settle the government according to our mind, if they were left to themselves."—*Letters and Journals*, ii. 336. The "way of their own" in which they were willing to establish the Presbyterian Government, was simply by subjecting the Church Courts to the review of the Civil. "The Parliament will have a court of Civil Commissioners erected in every shire, on pretence to make report to the houses in every new case of scandal, but really to keep down the power of the Presbyteries for ever, and hold up the head of Sectaries."—*Ibid.* ii. 348. In a letter dated London, March 6, 1646, the same writer remarks, "They [the House of Commons] have passed an ordinance not only for appeal from the General Assembly to the Parliament, for two ruling elders, for one minister in every church meeting, for no censure except in such particular offences as they have enumerate; but also, which vexes us most, and against which we have been labouring this month bygone, a court of Civil Commissioners in every county, to whom the congregational elderships must bring all cases not enumerated, to be reported by them, with their judgment to the Parliament or their committee."—*Ibid.* ii. 357. He says again, "The Pope and the King were never more earnest for the headship of the Church than the plurality of this Parliament."—*Ibid.* ii. 360. It is thus evident, that neither principle nor inclination would have led the Parliament to establish free presbytery. They might have been overawed to establish it, but they would never have voluntarily done it. There is much truth in what Baillie states, with great simplicity. "Had our army been but 15,000 men in England, our advice would have been followed quickly in all things; but our lamentable posture at home, and our weakness here, makes our desires contemptible."

last, fearing to be taken, he resolved to make an escape out of Oxford and to come in to the Scottish army; and so, April 27, in a disguise he escaped out of Oxford, riding before a gentleman, Ashburnham, in his servant's garb, with his portmanteau behind him. He came directly to our army at Newark of Trent. When his near approach was known, the Earl of Dunfermline was sent by the General to convey him to the army. When the King came the General Leslie, and General-Major David Leslie, upon their knees received him. He told them that he would concreditt himself to them, hoping that the Scots had no mind to prejudge him of his royal prerogative, and were not against monarchical government, and that they only desired to have religion established, and that he had been misinformed anent their desires and intentions, &c. Upon the 6th of May he was conveyed to Newcastle with great joy of the whole army; and the Laird of Garthland was presently sent to Edinburgh to acquaint the Committee of Estates with the King's coming in to our army and his coming to Newcastle. Shortly thereafter commissioners were sent to him from Edinburgh—Callender, Lanerick, Balmerinoch, and Humbie, and Mr Robert Douglas; and the King sent to London for some of our commissioners, viz., for Chancellor Campbell and Mr Alexander Henderson to come to him. It was then hoped that the King would be moved to consent to all the articles of the treaty at Uxbridge.*

* To settle the difference between the King and the Parliament of England, and his Scottish subjects, sixteen commissioners from the King met at Uxbridge with twelve appointed by the Parliament, attended by the Scottish commissioners, on the 30th of January 1645. The Scottish and Parliamentary Commissioners gave in their demands, which related to religion, to militia, and Ireland. But the King's Commissioners not satisfying them with regard to any of these points, it was found impracticable to come to any agreement. Lord London, in a letter to Lord Warriston, dated London, February 25, 1645, explains the difficulties which prevented that treaty from being brought to a successful issue, and which, indeed, rendered all negotiation between the King and the Covenanters so utterly hopeless. "The treaty at Uxbridge was broken off on Saturday last without any agreement. That which was chiefly intended by those who did treat for the King was to make objections and cast in questions to divide the two kingdoms, as will appear by the papers passed between us, which are not yet transcribed, and are to be sent by the Earl of Lauderdale's servant, who is to go from home to-morrow or next day. The propositions for religion stick

The King sent from Newcastle a proclamation, which, May 24, was proclaimed at Edinburgh. With it came a letter from the King to the Committee of Estates. The sum of both was, that after so long an interruption, he would heartily apply himself to the counsels and advices of the Parliaments of both kingdoms, and study to settle religion according to the advice of the divines of both kingdoms; also, that he had written to all, both at home and abroad, by sea or land, having commission from him to lay down their arms, disband and render their garrisons. After this proclamation, and the King's letters to Montrose, Seaforth, the Gordons and M'Donald, there was a cessation. But before the proclamation, yea, even after the King's coming to Newcastle, Montrose did assault Inverness, and the Gordons fell in upon Aberdeen and killed many of our forces whom Middleton left there, when he marched north for the relief of Inverness. Middleton killed many of them, and chased them all to the hills. It was observed, that the place where Montrose was defeated was the same place where the year before he had killed so many brave gentlemen. (Isaiah xxxvii. 29.)* Now, after the proclamation, Middleton was prohibited to attempt any thing against the enemies. The Gordons presently did lay down their arms. Mon-

most, and were most vehemently opposed, and the greatest length they will come to was, a pretended limitation of bishops, of whom they are so tender as they were scarcely content 'to pare' their nails, so as the bill for removing Episcopacy, 'and for' the Covenants, the Directory, and Presbyterial government, are all flatly refused; nor is there any satisfaction given to our other demands concerning the militia and Ireland." He then adds: "The present posture of the Parliament's armies betwixt the old and the new model, and the news of Montrose's success in Scotland, have been no furtherance to our agreement; for the counsels at Oxford depend no less on success (although a very uncertain ground to build on) than the justness of what is demanded, and till both kingdoms be in a right posture for war, it is not to be expected we shall obtain a happy and well grounded peace, and, therefore, our next care here 'should be' to use all possible speed to strengthen our armies, remove differences betwixt the houses and members of Parliament, that being united amongst ourselves, all may go on the more cheerfully and unanimously for carrying on of the cause wherein I entered, God willing, to employ my utmost endeavours, and improve my interest and credit with both parties; for I find our common enemies have no less confidence in our divisions, than in their own strength."—*Wodrow MSS.* vol. lxvii. folio, no. 32.

* The passage here referred to is; "Because thy rage against me, and thy tumult is come up to mine ears, therefore will I put my hook in thy nose, and my bridle in thy lips, and I will turn thee back by the way by which thou camest."

trose kept himself within the quarter assigned to him by Middleton.

In the beginning of June 1646, the General Assembly convened at Edinburgh. Mr Blair was chosen moderator. This Assembly appointed three ministers, viz., Mr Blair, the moderator, Mr Robert Douglas,* and Mr Andrew Cant,† to repair to the King at

* Robert Douglas was one of the most eminent ministers of his day, and the leader of the Church of Scotland after the death of Alexander Henderson in 1646. He acted for some time as chaplain in the army of the celebrated Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, by whom his character and talents were held in high estimation. Upon his return to Scotland he was admitted second minister of Kirkaldy in 1630, and thence was transported to Edinburgh in 1641.—(*Extracts from Records of Synod of Fife*, 232). At the coronation of Charles II. at Scoone, he preached and conducted the religious part of that ceremony. In 1669 he became indulged minister at Pencaitland, where he died at an advanced age in 1674, and was buried in Edinburgh. Douglas was a Resolutioner in sentiment, but, being a man of moderation, was less disposed to push his own views than some others of that party. "I have known you," says Baillie, in a letter to him about the Western Remonstrance, "keep the Commission from going the way of some peremptory men; howsoever I have been grieved, at other times, to see you let things go with them which I supposed was contrary to your mind. If at this time you suffer yourself to be drawn over, or to connive at such an insolent passage, I think you will contribute to give our Kirk and State a wound which in haste will not be gotten remedied."—*Letters and Journals*, iii. 110. Wodrow describes him a "truly great man, who for his prudence, solidity and research, was equalled by very few in his time."—*History*, i. p. 225.

† Andrew Cant was born in the year 1584. He was educated in King's College, Aberdeen, where he became a teacher of Latin in 1614. Soon after, he was appointed minister of Alford; whence he was translated to the church of Pitsligo. In 1639 he was removed to Newbottle, and in 1640 to the New Town of Aberdeen, where he became professor of theology in Marischal College. Here he continued until the restoration of Charles II. Baillie informs us, that when in 1661 "Rutherfurd's *Lex Rex* was burnt by the hand of the hangman at the cross of Edinburgh and St Andrews, himself confined to his chamber, his stipend sequestrated, and himself cited before Parliament, Mr Andrew Cant, preaching against Mr Rutherford's hard usage, was accused before the magistrates of treason. He demitted his ministry, and came to his son at Liberton."—*Letters and Journals*, iii. 447. In 1663 he was formally deposed from his charge by the Bishop and Synod of Aberdeen; and died not long after, aged 79. He was interred beside the west wall of the churchyard of St Nicholas in Aberdeen, where his tombstone yet remains.—(*Gordon's Scots Affairs*, ii. 165). Cant was a zealous Covenanter, and held in no small estimation by his party. In 1638 he, with Mr Dickson and Mr Henderson, were sent by the Tables on a mission to Aberdeen to promote the cause of the Covenant, on which account they were termed by their opponents, "the apostles of the Covenant." Speaking of this deputation, Gordon says, "The most part of the Presbytery of Deer, by Mr Andrew Cant's painstaking, (who was then a member thereof), had subscribed before, so had the most part of the Presbytery of Alford done, (from which Presbytery Mr Andrew had been not many years before transplanted), by his means and influence being fetched in to the Covenant."

Newcastle, to concur with Mr Alexander Henderson and others there to treat with the King; for as yet he was little changed from what he was, not laying to heart the blood shed within his kingdoms by himself, and wicked men clothed with his commissions, refusing to subscribe our covenants, nor willing to settle Presbyterian government in England, &c. When these three ministers got access to the King in that large room of his lodging where he did eat and hear sermon, which they called The Presence, the room was presently filled with several sorts of people, Scots and English, to hear and see their reception. Mr Andrew Cant being the oldest of the three, and aye very forward and zealous, being of a fiery temper, did take upon him first to speak to the King, and, beginning very briskly, insinuating a challenge against the King as favouring Popery, was interrupted by Mr Blair saying to the King, "Sir, we judge this neither a fit time nor place to speak to your Majesty." The King, looking earnestly to him, said, "That honest man speaks wisely and discreetly; therefore I appoint you three to attend me to-morrow at ten o'clock in the forenoon in my bed-chamber." When they came to the King at the time appointed in his bed-chamber, the King resolved first to speak to them, but beginning, as Mr Andrew Cant conceived, to speak favourably of Papists, was interrupted by him saying, "I tell you that we have often heard that ye favoured Papists and Popery, and now we hear it from yourself." The King's passion was so stirred, that he pursued Mr Andrew Cant to a corner of the room with a stern countenance, saying, "I hope to stand to the Protestant religion when it may be Mr Cant will flinch from it." Mr Blair again interposes, saying to the King, "Sir, are there not abominations in Popery that your soul hates and abhors?" The King replied, (taking off his hat), "I take God to witness that there are abominations in Popery which I so much abhor, that ere I con-

—*Ibid.* i. 85. Besides what he wrote against these learned doctors, he published a treatise on "The Titles of our blessed Saviour." His son Andrew, minister of Liberton, conformed to prelacy, and was afterwards translated to Edinburgh, and made Principal of the College.—*Account of the Learned Men and Writers in Aberdeen, Wodrow MSS.* vol. lii. 4to, no. 3, p. 24.

sented to them, I rather would quit my crowns, yea I would rather lay down my life." Mr Blair replied, "Sir, that is enough to us as to that."

In the beginning of July our army in England emitted a declaration for clearing of themselves, especially to the Parliament in England, being suspected by reason of some letters intercepted, written by the King to the Earl of Ormond, shewing that he was to come in to the Scots army, and that they and Montrose in Scotland would join with him against the Parliament. Also the army did supplicate the King for subscribing the Covenant; to the which the King returned a general fair answer, but nothing anent his subscribing of the Covenant. All the month of July was spent in treating with Montrose and the rest of the rebels. That treaty was carried on against the mind of the greatest part of the honest ministers in Scotland. None was more against it than Mr Blair. Notwithstanding, it was concluded that Montrose, and some others that were excepted out of the pardon, should depart out of the country, their forces being disbanded, 'and' that M'Donald should return to Ireland. Montrose got till the first of September to prepare himself to go to France. In the meanwhile he, even he that had shed so much blood of the Lord's covenanted people, was permitted to live peaceably in the bosom of the kingdom at Old Monross [Montrose], many of the Malignants * and profane people flocking to him.

All this while Mr Blair, with the assistance of Mr Henderson, (for these two the King liked best), did most earnestly and pressingly deal with the King to satisfy the just desires of the Kirk and Estate of Scotland, and to agree to the articles sent to him from the Parliament of England; but he obstinately refused both. In the beginning of August some noblemen, with others of the English Parliament, did come to the King with the propositions of peace agreed upon by the commissioners of both kingdoms, en-

* The *Malignants* or *Prelatists*, were those who favoured the measures of the Court, whose object was to supplant Presbytery by Prelacy, and, at the same time, to invest the Crown with absolute power.

treating the King to sign the same; but, notwithstanding of the most earnest request of our commissioners, Argyle and Loudon, and a supplication from the magistrates of Edinburgh, with Messrs Blair and Henderson, and some others upon their knees, with tears falling from their eyes, entreating and beseeching him, yet did he refuse. This made no small stir. Argyle, Loudon, with the Earl of Dunfermline, returned to London.

August 18, the Committee of Estates convened at Edinburgh. To them some queries from our army were proponed. 1. If the Parliament shall require the King, what shall be our carriage? 2. If an army come from the Parliament to the north of England what shall be our carriage? 3. What shall be done anent the removal of our army out of England? At this time the Commission of the Kirk gave in a Remonstrance to the Estates, insinuating their dislike of the agreement made with Montrose. In this Remonstrance they did entreat the Estates to keep fast the union with England. The Convention of Estates dissolved, not answering the queries. They sent nine commissioners to the King, three noblemen, Duke Hamilton, (who the day before the sitting down of the Commission of the Kirk was received to the Covenant by Mr Andrew Ramsay), the Treasurer, and Cassillis, three barons, and three burgesses, yet again to desire the King to sign the propositions of peace. He still refusing, Mr Blair returned to Scotland with thir nine commissioners.

August 11, Alexander Henderson being sick and over-burdened with sorrow and grief, came to Edinburgh and died there, August the 19th. No sooner did the King hear of the death of worthy Mr Henderson, who was his chaplain in Scotland, but he resolved to confer that pension on Mr Blair, saying to his secretary, the Earl of Lanerick, "I know I will be importuned to confer this pension on some one whom it may be I like not very well, therefore presently draw a patent in favours of Mr Blair, for I think, he is pious, prudent, learned, and of a meek and moderate calm temper." News hereof first came to Mr Blair attending his charge at St Andrews, by James Snoide, provost of St Andrews. His news was

not very acceptable to Mr Blair; but when his patent came to him and he was invited to come to Newcastle to attend the King, and to officiate at court as the King's chaplain, he had some scruples that made him demur and delay to return any answer, or to repair to Newcastle, resolving to do nothing in that most important affair until he had by prayers and supplications wrestled with the Hearer of prayers, to know the Lord's mind in the thing, and until he had advised with some honest ministers thereanent. After some space consulting with Mr David Dickson, (who for many years had known him, and with whom he had been most intimate, see p. 12), he encouraged him to accept of the employment, and to repair to Newcastle. Among other things, he said to him, "When ye attempted to go to America to preach the gospel there, ye did thereby hazard the loss of all, and did indeed lose much of your worldly means, (see p. 146). Now the Lord, by this cast of providence, is saying to you, Ye shall lose nothing at my hand; the way to save your life or means is to lose them." Mr Blair being thus encouraged, and considering how honest and straight a man Mr Henderson was, (with whom he grew very familiar and intimate at Newcastle), who had accepted of that place and employment before him, notwithstanding that it was a place of many snares and temptations, did after some considerable space of time repair to that weighty charge at Newcastle, whom the writer of the Supplement found at Newcastle when he came there minister to the governor, Sir James Lauiselles [Lascelles], his regiment, about the middle of October.

Mr Blair was faithful, and very diligent, and painful in this weighty charge and difficult time. For family exercise, he prayed twice every day in the King's house, before dinner and supper in the Presence, the King and all the court attending the diets. On the Lord's-day he lectured and preached twice before and after noon in the Presence, besides his earnest dealing with the King, (with whom he had many debates anent prelacy, liturgy and set forms, ceremonies, &c.,) in secret, to condescend to the just desires of his Parliaments. In his public preaching at court, he was abundantly free, plain and particular, though he used no apostrophe, nor point-

ed out the King with his finger as some others did, which did irritate the King, whereas he confessed that Mr Blair by his way gained ground on him. One day after prayer, the King asked Mr Blair, If it was warrantable or right in prayer to determine a controversy? He replied, that he thought he had determined no controversy in that prayer. "Yes," said the King, "you have, for you know it's a controversy amongst orthodox divines, whether the Pope, the bishop of Rome, be the great Antichrist or not, and in your prayer you have determined the controversy, praying against him," (as ordinarily he did), "as the great antichrist." To this Mr Blair answered, "Sir, to me it is no controversy, and I am sorry that it should be a controversy to you. Sure it was no controversy to your father of happy memory, the learnedest of princes, who wrote against the Pope as antichrist." This silenced the King, for he was a great defender of his father's opinions, and his testimony had more weight with him (as Mr Blair knew well) than the testimony of any divine. Besides his constant preaching at court on the Lord's-day, on some week-days he preached in the town in St Nicholas' church, at the desire of the ministers in the garrison, and of the magistrates of the town, some whereof were devout and well inclined, but some of them favoured too much the Independent way; others in that town were led aside with the Arminian errors. Mr Blair did labour in his preaching and praying to reclaim them from both these ways. After much debating with the King, anent the government and liturgy of the Church of England, he got the King's promise that he should read *Jus Divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici*, &c., penned by the London ministers.*

In the beginning of September, some articles were condescended upon by the Estates, to be sent up to our commissioners at London: 1. That Presbyterian government be settled before our army

* The title of this treatise is, "*Jus Divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici;* or, the Divine Right of Church Government Asserted and Evidenced by the Holy Scriptures. By sundry ministers of Christ within the city of London." It must be distinguished from another treatise entitled, "*Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelii;* or, the Divine Right of the Gospel Ministry. Published by the Provincial Assembly of London 1654."

remove out of England. 2. That the Parliament do nothing in prejudice of our King his lawful authority or posterity. 3. That our army be paid of all their arrears before they remove. But before thir articles came to our commissioners they had agreed with the Parliament, anent the removing of our army and rendering of the garrison towns, and that for the payment of the arrears due to the army, the one half thereof, viz., £200,000 sterling, should be presently paid to the army, and that they should have the public faith of England for as much. September 17, there was a Convention of the Estates. Little was done there because of the approaching session of the Parliament in Edinburgh, in November.

The grand debate and controversy at this time betwixt the Parliament of England and our commissioners there, was anent the disposal of the King's person, our commissioners craving and pleading a joint interest in him as King of Scotland, and consequently a vote in his disposal, they by their vote of Parliament denying the same. The question was accurately disputed on both sides, both by word and in print. Many pamphlets came abroad anent this debate. Some of the English were full of acrimony and invective, but disallowed by the Parliament. In end, the Parliament of England did pass a vote, that when our army removed, the King should come from Newcastle to Holmby-house, fifty-five miles on this side London. All that our commissioners could obtain was, that the King should be with them in honour, freedom and safety. This unreasonable vote, denying unto Scotland a joint interest or vote in the disposal of their King's person, made all honest and right hearted men, noblemen, ministers and others, jealous of the bad designs of the Parliament and of their army, especially against religion and the King; and this did not a little commove them that attended the King at Newcastle, and stirred them up yet to deal most effectually with the King to subscribe the covenant, to secure religion according to the National and Solemn League and Covenant, and to subscribe the propositions of peace agreed upon by commissioners of both kingdoms, &c. None was more ear-

nest and instant, and did more rationally and effectually deal with the King to condescend to the most earnest entreaties of those that loved him best, than Mr Blair; but still he continued as before, being obfirmed and principled * against any thing that could be spoken or preached unto him. About this time, Mr Blair despairing of prevailing with the King, and weighed and bound in spirit, came home to Scotland, to visit his flock and family at St Andrews, about the convening of the Parliament.

In the beginning of November the Parliament did sit down at Edinburgh. At this time there were great thoughts and impressions of heart, yea, and great searchings of heart, for the divisions of this Parliament. There were two great factions in it, viz., the Hamiltons and Campbells. The *duces factionum* were the Duke of Hamilton (who, lately, to strengthen their faction, was received to the Covenant) and Argyle. The Ham. [Hamiltonians] endeavoured, at least seemed so, to get our army to stay still in England, until Presbyterian government were fully settled there; or, if our army came home, that the King should come home with the army. The Commission of the Kirk at that same time convened. The designs of the Hamiltonian faction were looked on, by the plurality of the commissioners of the Kirk, and the other faction, as most dangerous, yea, destructive to religion, the King, and both kingdoms. At the first down-sitting of the Parliament, all things threatened danger to religion, and a breach betwixt the kingdoms, imbruing them again in blood, which moved some sincere, honest members of Parliament to make a motion for a fast, or day of humiliation, to be kept by the Parliament. It was (though with a difficulty) obtained that they should spend half a day (they that were not cordial for it, pretending they could spare no more time) in preaching, praying, &c.; which being accepted of by the Commission of the Kirk, since no more could be obtained, they set about it cordially and sincerely. They appointed Messrs Blair (moderator of the Commission) and Douglas to preach the very night before the diet. After this, the Lord so ordered business in the Parliament

* *Obfirmed*, Lat. *obfirmatus*, resolved, obdurate; *Principled*, i. e. fixed in his tenets.

that honest and right-hearted men, that wished well to religion, King, and both kingdoms, were encouraged, and plotters and politicians were disappointed. In end, the Parliament assented to the votes of the English Parliament, anent the removal of our army out of England, anent the payment of their arrears, and (in case the King still continued to refuse to satisfy the just desires of his Parliaments, for the security of religion and the peace of the kingdoms) anent the King's going to Holmby-house. They resolved that, if the King would not subscribe the Covenant and propositions, that the kingdom should be governed as these six years bypast.

The Commission of the Kirk first gave in to the Parliament a Remonstrance, and thereafter emitted a Warning which was read in all pulpits, both tending to the holding fast our Covenant and League with England, and showing the danger of bringing the King to Scotland unless he secured religion and the peace of both kingdoms.

All business being thus accorded and ordered, in January 1647 our Parliament did yet again send up commissioners to the King, viz., Lothian, Balcarras, Frieland, Garthland, and William Glendinning. The Chancellor being come from London did join with them at Newcastle. Their commission was, that the King would yet be pleased (so sincerely desirous were all honest men of his welfare and happiness) to subscribe the Covenant and propositions, and heartily join with his Parliaments for the advancement of the work of reformation of religion in his kingdoms. The King, as oft before, refused either to subscribe the Covenant or propositions. He was desirous to have come to Scotland with the army, hoping to make a strong party there for his designs. But both Parliaments having concluded his going to Holmby-house, he intended, in a disguise, to make an escape (as was thought), but could not get it done. Being challenged by the first guard he came towards, he retired again into his bed-chamber.

About this time Mr Blair returns again to Newcastle, especially yet further to deal with the King; and, though the courtiers at

Newcastle thought that the King would never give him his countenance, he not only being a leading man, but moderator, in the Commission where such votes passed, especially anent the King's going to Holmby-house; yet the King, when he came to court, not only gave him access, but received him very pleasantly; and though the room rushed full to hear and see, &c., yet they were much disappointed, for, at that time, the King was not serious with Mr Blair, but did heartily laugh at some things that passed betwixt them; so that they wondered both at the King's calm temper, patience, and condescension, and at Mr Blair's moderation, wisdom, and prudence. But shortly thereafter, the King calling Mr Blair to his bed-chamber, they did at length debate all business. Mr Blair laboured to convince the King that he, still refusing to satisfy the desires of his Parliaments, and the most earnest entreaties and requests of honest men and his most loyal subjects that loved him best, and the Parliament of England having passed such votes in reference to him,—matters standing as they were (*hic et nunc*), his Parliament in Scotland, and the Commission of the Kirk, could do no otherwise than they had done, unless they would have endangered, not only religion and his person, but made an open breach betwixt the kingdoms, and imbrued them both in blood again. "Now, therefore," said Mr Blair, "seeing there is yet an open door, as you love the honour and glory of God, the settling and security of religion, your own safety and welfare, and the good and peace of your kingdoms, hearken to the desires of thir Commissioners that now last are sent unto you." Especially Mr Blair urged the King with all earnestness, arguments, and motives that he could, that he would subscribe the Covenant and abolish Episcopacy out of England, and then he doubted not but that our army and all honest men would espouse his quarrel against his enemies in England, and venture their lives and fortunes in his quarrel. The King to all this answered, That he could neither subscribe the Covenant nor abolish Episcopacy, the liturgy, nor the ceremonies of the Church of England, because, at his coronation in England, by his great oath,

he was bound to defend all these in England. In end, he said, ere he wronged his conscience by violating his coronation oath he would rather lose his crowns, yea his life. Mr Blair asked what was the tenor and form of his oath. The King said, That he swore to the utmost of his power to defend and maintain, in England, Episcopacy, &c. Mr Blair replied, That he had maintained and defended all these to the uttermost of his power, yea so long and so far that now he had no power. "Yea," said Mr Blair, "I think the surviving Bishops in England, if they have any true love to you or to your honour and re-establishment on your throne, should liberate you of your oath."

The time prefixed for the removal of our army and the surrendering of the garrisons approaching, the Parliament of England sent to Newcastle some commissioners, viz., Pembroke, Danby, Monteagle, Mr Harrison, &c. with some ministers, Messrs Marshall, Caryll, &c., to attend the King in his journey to Holmby-house. Likewise the Parliament of Scotland appointed Lothian and Garthland to wait on the King until he came to Holmby-house. With these English commissioners, Mr Blair had many conferences and debates, especially with the ministers; for at this time there were many and great presumptions of the deceitful and double dealing of the English in the matter and grand business of the Solemn League and Covenant, and though there was an honest Presbyterian party in England that wished well to religion, King, and both kingdoms, yet the leading party in the Parliament, and especially in the army, had no mind to settle Presbyterian government, nor the other parts of uniformity; and that the army designed no good for the King, though they had engaged that he should be with them in honour, freedom, and safety. Yea, Mr Blair had great fears and strong jealousies, especially of the bad and wicked designs of the English army against religion, the King, and the peace of the kingdoms; which made Mr Blair yet again, at last shortly before the removal of our army, most urgently and affectionately deal with the King, that yet (after his second, yea third, &c. thoughts, after his more serious and deliberate pondering

and weighing all things) he would subscribe the Covenant, abolish Episcopacy in England, that so he might march to Scotland attended by our army, &c. The King still refusing, and Mr Blair upon his knees, with tears entreating and pressing him, at last the King said to him, "Mr Robert Blair, I know you love me, and earnestly desire my soul's salvation, and my welfare and happiness, which makes you so earnest, but this I will say, if ever I grant that to any man which you so earnestly now entreat for, you shall say that I am not an honest man." Mr Blair entreated the King not to speak so, wishing that some others might have more power with him, and better success; and so Mr Blair took leave of the King with a sad and sorrowful heart, his heart trembling for religion, King, and the peace of the kingdoms.

January 30, all our army was on the north side of the Tyne, according to the articles of agreement, for the fulfilling whereof six hostages were given by us. In the forenoon, our cavalry marched through the town of Newcastle, estimated to be 6000, in view of the English commissioners. In the afternoon, General-major Skippon, appointed by the Parliament governor of Newcastle, entered the town with a troop of horse. Shortly thereafter, two foot regiments entered the town and relieved our guards at their several posts, and the King's house in the head of Pilgrim Street. So our army, according to the articles of agreement, rendered up the King and the garrison of Newcastle. Upon the morrow, being the Lord's day, the King refused to hear sermon, because the English ministers refused to read the Book of Common Prayers. While our army is on their march homeward, the garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle were rendered up, the fortifications whereof the English promised to slight, that they might be no ground of jealousy betwixt the kingdoms. The King took journey to Holmby the 3d of February, conveyed with 200 horse. Our army were all in Scots ground about the 10th of February. The army was disbanded at several places most fitting. Only five foot regiments and fifteen troops were kept a-foot, commanded by General Leslie, Lieutenant-general David Leslie, Middleton, Hep-

burn, for the subduing of the Gordons, (who all this while, though it was given out that Robert Leslie was sent from the King, with a commission to cause them lay down arms), kept themselves together, and committed acts of hostility in the north; and M'Donald's bloody Irishes who infested Argyle's lands. The new modelled army mustered in Leith sands, February 18. Shortly thereafter, they march north against the Gordons, who, upon the report of our army's approach, betook themselves to their houses and strongholds, which, in a short time, with little pains or expense, either of blood or treasure, were all taken in. After business thus settled in the north, Middleton is left there with a considerable party and garrisons in the strongholds. The rest of our army marches to Argyle's bounds in May, against M'Donald, where they had the like success, that, by the blessing of God, they had in the north. In August, the body of our army returns to their winter quarters be-south Forth, where they were to be quartered so long as they were to stand.

Mr Blair after his return to Scotland, and his flock and family at St Andrews, in the beginning of May did take journey to Aberdeen, where the Commission of the Kirk was to sit. At that session of the Commission (whereof Mr Blair was moderator) several scandalous ministers were censured; and as the army a little before had ordered civil and military affairs, and procured peace in the north, so now the Commissioners of the Kirk ordered and settled ecclesiastic affairs there. When Mr Blair left St Andrews there were some fears, yea beginning of the infection of the pestilence, one or two dead in the town. But when he returned he found his family removed out of the town, and though his family was in great hazard and danger of being infected, yet it pleased the Lord to preserve them. Mr Blair preached to the people that were judged free of the infection upon the street at the market-cross, and did visit, and preach to the people that were infected or suspected in the fields. But it pleased the Lord so to rebuke that sad rod, that there did not many die either in the town or

fields.* After his family were freed of their fears, in the beginning of August he went to Edinburgh to the General Assembly. Mr Blair did preach at the opening up of that Assembly on 1 Cor. xi. 17, 18. Matters thus ordered and settled in Scotland, the face of affairs is far altered in England. Sir Thomas Fairfax declares himself general of the independent army—takes the King out of Holmby-house, and carries him along with the army; and in a short time that independent sectarian army overawes, yea commands not only the King but the Parliament and city of London, and ruled all as they pleased. All that summer and winter following they carried the King from place to place, till at last he was brought to the isle of Wight and there made prisoner; and it was ordained by Act of Parliament that no more addresses should be made to him. As that sectarian perfidious army defaced all in the Kirk, so also in the Estate; for they turned enemies to monarchical government. This winter, in the Committee of Estates, there were great debates betwixt the two factions. The Hamiltons would have had our little army disbanded, and a new modelled army levied for the relief of the King. The other faction carried it by plurality of voices, that the army should stand till the 10th of March 1648, and for ease of the country the officers did quit the third part of their pay.

In the beginning of the year 1648 there was great diversity of judgments in Scotland, concerning the managment of affairs in Estate and Kirk. Some thought that, seeing the army and Parliament of England had so used the King and favoured the independent

* As one evidence, among others, that might be given of the alarm which the pestilence created in this country in former times, the following extract from the Records of the Kirk Session of Montrose may be quoted:—

"Because of ane fearfull pestilence, entered into the citie, inlarging and spreading itself daylie, destroying and cutting down many, which occasioned ane scattering and outgoing of all the members of the Sessione to landward for their saiftie: Thairfore, There was no Sessions nor collections, in this our burgh of Montrose, betwixt the last of May 1648, and the first of February 1649.

Which Session was keeped in church yeard, everie ane standing ane distance from ane other.

sectarian party, an army should be levied to relieve the King and suppress the independent sectarian party. Others were against any levy in the mean time. Our commissioners at London being slighted by the Parliament, after they had gone to the Isle of Wight and spoken with the King, in the beginning of the year came to Edinburgh.

In February there was a frequent meeting of the Committee of Estates and Commission of the Kirk. In the Committee of Estates the question was debated anent a levy. Our Commissioners (of whom the Chancellor Campbell * was one who went to the Isle of Wight, and, as was suspected, there undertook to the King that an army should be levied for his relief), and the Hamiltons were very forward for an army for the relief of the King and the suppressing of the sectaries. This question, as a case of conscience, being propounded to the Commission of the Kirk, where, with the ministers, there were several noblemen and others as elders, their judgment was, that as yet there should be no breach with England, nor any engagement till first several articles of agreement betwixt the two kingdoms were looked to and kept, and till first religion were secured by the King, and some malignants at home taken order with; but the Parliament being to sit down in March nothing was concluded.

The Chancellor was selected preses of the Parliament that convened in March. He and the rest of our commissioners, with the Hamiltonian faction, were still earnest for an army to be levied. Argyle, with other noblemen and gentlemen were against them and their courses, fearing hazard and danger to religion. The Commission of the Kirk sitting at this time did emit a Declaration, shewing, That all that the King had granted to our Commissioners, at their conference with him at the Isle of Wight, was destructive to the Covenant and welfare of religion; that still he thought himself bound to defend Episcopacy, &c. The Parliament, after much debating, concluded, that not only the kingdom should be put in a posture of war, but that there should be a

* John Campbell, first Earl of Loudoun, Lord Chancellor of Scotland.

strong army presently levied. There was a considerable party in the Parliament of noblemen, viz., Argyle, Cassillis, &c., gentlemen, commissioners from shires, and some burgesses, that did protest against their courses. The Parliament did emit a Declaration, shewing, That the present levy and engagement was in pursuance of all the ends of the Covenant, the suppression of sectaries, as well as for the relief of the King. But, in the meantime, known malignants and enemies of the Covenant were countenanced and employed, yea, the greatest malignants that had been with Prince Rupert, viz., Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Thomas Glenham, &c. These two were privately advised by some that were most forward for the engagement, to surprise and take the towns of Berwick and Carlisle, (contrary to the articles of agreement betwixt the two kingdoms,) which they did with the assistance of some of our forces, and yet the Parliament, in the printed act of levy, did make the taking in of these towns by the malignants of England one of the causes of that levy. The Commission of the General Assembly answered the Parliament's Declaration by a large Representation, shewing, That they were not satisfied anent the grounds and causes of the war, &c., and wrote letters to all the Presbyteries that they should not anyways countenance or concur with that engagement, nor do anything to advance the same.* The Parliament did elect the Duke of Hamilton general

* This meeting of the Commission, was a little before the election of Commissioners by the Presbyteries to the General Assembly. "It was moved by some in the Commission that something might be written to Presbyteries, requiring them to choose none but such as were against the engagement; but this was opposed and refused by the Commission as savouring of a prelimitation of the Assembly, and all that was done was a letter written to Presbyteries, giving them an account of the Commission's proceeding, and exhorting them to their duty, and to choose able and faithful men."—*Wodrow MSS.* vol. xxxii. 4to, no. 13, p. 1. The grounds upon which this Kirk objected to this engagement, as stated in the Parliament's Declaration, were, 1. That the object of it was to rescue the King from his imprisonment, and restore him to the exercise of his royal power, *without so much as asking from him any security for religion*, although he declared himself as much for Episcopacy, and as strongly opposed as ever to the Solemn League, which the Church regarded as the palladium of her liberties. 2. That the conducting of this war had been committed chiefly to those who were indifferent or hostile to the securing of religion. As loyal subjects, and warmly attached to monarchical government, they were anxious for the safety of their

to the army, and, in the beginning of May, did direct a letter to the several Presbyteries conjuring them to think well of their proceedings, and to preach and pray for the army. Thereafter adjourned the Parliament to the first of June.

In the latter end of March Mr Blair was called over to Fife, upon an occasion, even in the time of the hottest debates betwixt the Parliament and Commission of the Kirk anent the present engagement. His judgment and opinion thereanent was moderate. For whereas some few were altogether against any engagement upon any terms, and others were altogether for the present engagement, as it was stated, Mr Blair did steer a steady and even course betwixt these two dangerous extremes; for he was for an engagement for the relief of the King, suppressing of the sectaries, &c., but first all other ways of treating and friendly dealing being used with the Parliament of England, and especially religion being secured by the King, according to our Covenant, and the Kirk getting satisfaction anent the lawfulness of the war, the causes thereof being cleared. The Parliament did sit down again in June. Many supplications from presbyteries and several shires against the engagement were read in Parliament, together with several answers from some presbyteries to the Parliament's letter, and supplications from some burghs; but no answer returned, but orders given out to obey the act of levy, and all threatened that seemed to dislike their courses. In the close of this session an act was made that any minister that should be suspended or deposed for preaching or praying for their engagement or army, should be secured of his stipend; and the Parliament adjourned to 1650; and for the governing of the kingdom in the meanwhile, the Parliament chose a Committee of Estates, giving them the power of the Parliament.

The Parliament being up, they carry on their engagement more actively and vigorously, levying horse and foot. They that did

King, and his restoration to the exercise of his government; as religious men, and agreeably to the tenor and spirit of the Solemn League, they wished security for the settlement of religion first.—*Baillie's Letters and Journals*, iii. 42.

not give ready obedience to the act of levy were quartered on, until by themselves or others, their proportions were put out. Thus many honest men in Fife and Lothian did sadly suffer. In the west where there was greater opposition, honest ministers and some gentlemen with many of the commons, were pitifully abused, and suffered most sadly by the forces in the west, commanded by Middleton (now far changed from what he was), and Hurrie. The opposition against the levy in the west being quashed by the routing of a small party that skirmished with Middleton's troops in Mauchline Moor, their levy goes on in the west without opposition; so that in July, having gotten an army together, they marched into England upon the south-west border towards Carlisle, where Sir Marmaduke Langdale with some forces joins with them. The Committee of Estates sitting at Edinburgh did emit a Declaration to the Houses of Parliament and their brethren of England, concerning the necessity, grounds and ends of their engagement.

The General Assembly convened at Edinburgh July 12. The Committee of Estates then sitting, laboured by all means possible to hinder the Assembly to approve the proceedings of the Commission of the former Assembly against the engagement, but all in vain; for the Assembly having examined the proceedings of the Commission, especially their Declarations, Remonstrances, Representations, Petitions, Vindication, and other papers relating to the present engagement, did unanimously find that in all their proceedings they had been zealous, diligent, and faithful in discharge of the trust committed to them; ratifying and approving the whole proceedings, acts and conclusions of the said Commission, and particularly all their papers relating to the said engagement, and their judgment of the unlawfulness thereof.* The

* From an apprehension that those who had been instrumental in leading the Parliament to enter upon this engagement, would use their utmost endeavours to procure such Commissioners to the General Assembly as would support their measures, great care was taken in Presbyteries throughout the Church to choose for members such as were the most zealous supporters of the Covenant, and who approved of the proceedings of the Commission. "So that," as Baillie states, "this Assembly did consist of

General Assembly (beside other papers relating to the engagement), did emit a declaration concerning the present dangers of religion, and especially the unlawful engagement in war against the kingdom of England, together with many necessary exhortations and directions to all the members of the Kirk of Scotland. Also they did emit a Declaration and Exhortation of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to their brethren in England; though they were desired by the Committee of Estates not to emit any papers.* The King's army now in England still increases; regiments from Scotland and some English coming in to them. After a skirmish at Apleby, betwixt some of the Duke's army and Lambert's troops, and beating them from a bridge, Lambert retiring southwards, the Duke's army advancing southwards, fearing no enemy, grew too secure; for they divided their forces for their more commodious quarterings, and sent Middleton with a strong party for the relief of Colchester, whether Cromwell had driven some malignants in England, that had gathered together in hopes to join with Duke Hamilton. Cromwell having suppressed these that intended to join with the Duke, did join his with Lambert's forces, and with all expedition and long marches advancing, falls first upon Sir Marmaduke's forces (who quartered ten miles from the Duke's army), and routed them before the regiments whom the Duke had sent for his aid came to them. Thereafter at Preston they routed the Duke's army, and last they routed Middleton's party. All this was upon the 17th and 18th of August. The

such whose mind carried them most against the present engagement, which was the great and only question for the time."—*Letters and Journals*, iii. 54. In their opposition to the Engagement, the Assembly, however, represented the sentiments of the great body of the ministers throughout the country. "The whole churches in Scotland, almost in all the Presbyteries and Synods thereof, had declared themselves unsatisfied in conscience with the engagement, excepting a very few ministers scattered here and there in Presbyteries, which few were also known to have been either opposers of the work of God, or neutral and indifferent therein from the beginning."—*Wodrow MSS.* vol. xxxii. 4to, no. 13, p. 2.

* This Assembly received a letter from the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and Mr Blair was employed to draw up an answer to it. "Mr Blair's answer," says Baillie, "was good and uncontroverted."—*Letters and Journals*, iii., 62.

Duke with the chief officers that escaped, fled to North Wales.* Some came home. This woeful defeat of the engagers in England made a great change on the face of affairs, and no small revolution in Scotland; for all that were not satisfied in point of conscience with the engagement, and had suffered upon that account, made use of the opportunity offered for shaking off the yoke laid upon them by the engagers. Those in the west did first bestir themselves; for immediately after the news of the defeat at Preston, they, with the Chancellor (who before the rising of the Parliament deserted the engagers), gathered together about a thousand horsemen.

The Committee of Estates did elect the Lord Lanerick general to the forces in Scotland. Also they sent letters to George Monro, (who came from Ireland with some forces, intending to join with the Duke's army), desiring him in all haste to march homewards for suppressing of the people in the west, who, in this meantime, were flocking together, horse and foot. They disarmed some troops in the west. In the beginning of September there was a meeting of all the ministers in Fife, at Dysart, to consult what were fitting to be done in this nick of time. The Lords Burley and Elcho (to whom the Chancellor had written that the anti-engagers in the west were speedily marching eastward, desiring them to advertise all well affected in Fife to meet and join with them), did write to the meeting at Dysart that there was a rendezvous of the shire appointed at Inverkeithing, September 6, desiring some ministers to come thither. Likewise the Chancellor did advertise the Lord Burley, that Cassillis and Kirkcudbright were coming to him with the forces of Carrick and Galloway, and that Argyle was advancing with his forces. All thir anti-engagers were moving towards Edinburgh against the engagers, to hinder their prosecuting of the engagement; for, in this meantime, Lanerick their general is gathering forces in East Lothian, and Monro with his forces advancing towards him, and gathering whom he could get

* The Duke of Hamilton was, however, soon taken prisoner, carried to London and there executed.

together, some of the runaways and stragglers that escaped after Preston fight. September 5, the Chancellor with his forces entered Edinburgh. He did write to the meeting at Inverkeithing, desiring the gentlemen presently to come over to Edinburgh, and that the anti-engagers that were on the Committee of Estates should come over that they might meet; for the engaging committee upon the approach of the Chancellor's forces fled out of the town to Lanerick, who about that time had a rendezvous in Gladsmuir. A quorum of the anti-engagers did meet in the Committee of Estates. They ordained General Leslie (as before) to be general of their army, and the rest of the staff officers as before. September 11 was appointed to be a day of rendezvous of their army in the Links of Leith. September 1, the forces with the Chancellor were mustered in Leith Links, and lay there in leaguer. Lanerick having joined with Monro's forces, advances towards Musselburgh. The Chancellor's forces leaguered upon the craigs at the foot of Leith Wynd, expecting the rest that were advancing eastward to join with them. September 10, being the Lord's day, was appointed by the General Assembly to be kept throughout the kingdom as a day of solemn humiliation. This fast was kept in Edinburgh and the leaguer. There were many ministers with the army, especially from the west. September 9 and 10, the Commission of the Kirk (whereof Mr Blair was one) did sit in the leaguer. They sent a pithy exhortation to the Committee of Estates that did also sit there. Also they sent a short Declaration to the Earl of Crawford, and some others in the engaging army; showing them that their undertaking was to secure religion, to hinder any farther prosecuting of the engagement, and to shake off that yoke under which the people of God groaned in the land, &c. This Declaration was occasioned by a letter sent by the Earl of Crawford and some others to the Commission of the Kirk, asking their advice what should be their carriage. Thereafter Lanerick, and others with him, sent in to the anti-engaging army some propositions, which being agreed unto, they would desist. The sum of them was, that all that was done by the Parliament

and Committee of Estates should be allowed as lawful; that they should still have the ruling of the kingdom; that Monro should be paid of all that the Parliament had promised him; that they should bruik their honours and offices. These propositions were rejected. Meantime some acts of hostility were committed by the skirmishing of parties.

September 11, Lanerick and Monro marched westwards be-south Edinburgh, which occasioned the Chancellor's army to march after them. Lanerick leaguered that night near about Linlithgow, the other army about Corstorfen [Corstorphin.] The engaging army used all possible expedition to gain the pass at Stirling, which Argyle with his forces was ordained to keep, to hinder them to cross the bridge of Stirling, and so from joining with Athol and other engagers be-north Tay. That same day Cassillis and Kirkcudbright did join with a considerable number of horse and foot with the anti-engagers. At this time the engagers made the report go that the anti-engagers had invited a party of Cromwell's horse to come in to Scotland and help them against the engagers, who should be commanded by one Major Strachan, a Scotsman, who, fearing to be evil used by the Duke's army, went in to the English army with Cromwell, when the Duke entered England. It was certain that Major Strachan, at this nick of time, came alone to Edinburgh, and told the noblemen, anti-engagers, that Cromwell and Lambert were upon the borders, and that they were willing, if they were desired and invited, either by Kirk or Estate, to send help to repress the engaging army now in Scotland, but that they would not enter the kingdom uninvited, lest it should be thought a breach, &c. That same day, viz., September 11, there was an appointment betwixt the two armies that there should be a conference upon the morrow. Some ministers were desired to be present, viz., Messrs David Dickson, Robert Blair, Robert Douglas, and James Guthrie. Some noblemen and these ministers did meet with some appointed by Lanerick and Crawford, September 12. The engagers gave in some new propositions much more reasonable than the first; but this conference

was broken off suddenly, because the anti-engagers alleged that the engagers had not kept their promise to them, viz., that they should not march during the time of the conference, whereas they marched before the conference began, that they might gain the pass at Stirling, which they did very easily, for they came to Stirling shortly after Argyle with his forces came there, whom Lanerick surprised, lying securely, and routed. Argyle himself came to the North Queensferry, and crossed there and joined with the anti-engagers.

The engagers having gained the pass at Stirling (the other army lying about Falkirk), and expecting assistance from the North, waxed prouder and were more high-flown in their demands. Meanwhile their parties infested and plundered the west end of Fife, the length of Falkland and Monkland. The English army upon the borders, hearing that the engagers had gained the pass at Stirling, and that they were waxed a great deal prouder than before, and being acquainted with their demands, (one whereof was, that Scotland should secure them, yea fight for them against England, in defence of the engagement), did enter the kingdom of Scotland minding either to force the engagers to agree upon reasonable terms or otherwise to subdue them. And, lest their entering the kingdom should be misconstructed, Cromwell did write to the Chancellor and other anti-engagers in arms, that he was entered the kingdom to pursue his enemies and the enemies of both kingdoms, protesting and taking God witness of his sincerity, and vowing, that so soon as he had subdued them, or they had amicably agreed with them, to depart out of the kingdom again; and that, in the meantime, he should be more tender of Scotland, in point of charges, than he would be of England. So they came in and lay in the Merse.

The anti-engagers' army (the pass at Stirling being gained) removed eastwards, be-east Edinburgh. The engagers enlarge their quarters on both sides of Forth. They convened a quorum of the Committee of Estates at Stirling, and wrote a commanding letter to Fife, commanding them not to stir or join with Leslie, &c.

September 26, the Synod of Fife should have convened, but by reason of the forces in Dunfermline and Kirkaldy Presbyteries, none of them came, and Mr Blair and some others of the other two Presbyteries being with the army, the Synod was adjourned.

On this meantime and juncture of ticklish affairs, three armies lying near other, Mr Blair did deal most affectionately and effectually with some of the engagers, especially with the ingenuous and noble earl of Crawford, that there might be another conference to make way for a treaty of peace, and that he would be a good instrument, yea as a mediator betwixt the two parties that were in extremes, to bring them to some good mediocrity and moderation. And though Mr Blair gained not what he wished, yet his labour and dealing with Crawford was not in vain, for a conference was appointed. Mr Blair riding west towards Falkirk to attend that meeting, the day being tempestuous, his cloak, though a strong cloth one, was blown asunder, divided in the middle—*malum omen.* The engagers, hearing of the English army's entering the kingdom, became a great deal more calm, and a great deal more reasonable in their demands, which (after some conferences betwixt Crawford, and some others of them that were more moderate and reasonable than some others of them, and Mr Blair) made the treaty to go on the better, till at last, September 28, the treaty closed, and peace being concluded, the chief articles of the agreement were :—

"1. That all forces upon both sides should be disbanded; only the anti-engagers were to keep on foot a thousand foot and five hundred horse till all forces that were levied or gathering be-north Tay should be disbanded, and until the kingdom should be in a right posture again.

"2. That all matters concerning religion should be referred to the General Assembly and their Commissioners, and all matters civil to a Parliament which was to sit down on the 10th of January 1649.

"3. That until the Parliament none of those that had been assisting or concurring with the engagement should be upon the

Committee of Estates, or manage the public affairs of the kingdom, and that the Officers of Estate that had assisted the engagement should, in the meantime, forbear the meddling with their offices, and refer the disposing of these places to the Parliament.

"4. That all prisoners upon both sides should be relieved presently."

As Mr Blair was most instrumental in drawing the two extremes to some good mediocrity, so it is certain that the Earl of Crawford was most willing, and dealt with others to be content with these articles of the treaty, yea he did deal a round sum of money among Monro and some other officers of his stamp, and some of the soldiers, to persuade them to lay down their arms, &c. In the time of the treaty the English army lay about Dunbar and Haddington. Some of their officers came to Edinburgh with Lambert. They carried most civilly and were expected to return, a peace being concluded. Shortly after the pacification Cromwell came in to Edinburgh, and was kindly entertained and feasted by the Committee of Estates and by General Leslie in the Castle, he being keeper of the Castle of Edinburgh. He gave in a paper to the Committee of Estates, showing how far the late engagement had tended to the detriment of the kingdom of England, and withal desiring that none that had hand in it might be permitted to carry office in Scotland, either in judicatories or armies, which desire was granted by the Committee of Estates. So the act was framed that was called The Act of Classes,* debarring engagers, or any having accession to it, [viz., the Engagement], from places of trust in judicatories or armies, &c. In this meantime the Commission of the Kirk sent three of their number, viz., Messrs David Dickson, Robert Blair and James Guthrie to speak with Cromwell, &c. It was by the other two laid upon Mr Blair to speak to him, be-

* This act was passed on the 23d of January 1649. It was called "The Act of Classes," because it divided such as had been connected with the Engagement into four classes, corresponding to the degree in which they were implicated. Mr Blair considered this act in some respects too rigorous. "I was not satisfied with sundry things in it. . . . The rigour and selfynes vented therein I never liked."—*Letter to Robert Douglas. Baillie's Letters and Journals*, iii. 557.

cause he had some knowledge of him, having conversed with him before and after the victory at Long Marston.

When they came to Cromwell he had a long discourse to them, with a fair flourish of words, and sometimes with tears, taking God to be witness of their sincerity and good intentions, &c. Thereafter Mr Blair (as ordinarily he used) spoke much to him in few words. Among other things he said, that he and his brethren (the ministers of the Kirk of Scotland) saw no party or power that now hindered the reformation of religion in England and the work of uniformity but only their army. Thereafter Mr Blair did put three queries to Cromwell: 1. What was his opinion of monarchical government; to which Cromwell answered, That he was for monarchical government, and that in the person of this King and his posterity. 2. What was his opinion anent the toleration? Answered, That he was altogether against toleration. 3. What was his opinion anent the government of the Kirk. To this Cromwell answered, "O now, Mr Blair, you article me too severely, you must pardon me that I give you not a present answer to this; I must have some time to deliberate." Thus he shifted to answer that query, because he had often professed to Mr Blair that he was for Independency. After they came out from Cromwell, Mr Dickson, rubbing his elbow, said, "I am very glad to hear this man speak as he does." Mr Blair replied, "And do you believe him? If you knew him as well as I do, you would not believe one word he says. He is an egregious dissembler, and a great liar. Away with him, he is a greeting devil!"* About October the 7th Cromwell returned again to England with his whole army, except two regiments of horse and two troops of dragoons, whom the Committee of Estates desired to abide until the small army they intended to levy were up.

* *Greeting*, Scot. weeping, blubbering.—This summary and unceremonious estimate of Cromwell's character, whatever may be now thought of its foundation in truth, deserves some attention, as formed by one who had frequent personal intercourse with the usurper, who was well qualified by his shrewdness to judge of men's characters, and who would not be swayed, at all events, by indiscriminate disgust at the high professions of piety made by Cromwell,—professions which were too common in his day to be viewed as, of themselves, indicative of hypocrisy.

October 17, the Synod of Fife did meet at Cupar. Mr Samuel Rutherford was elected Moderator. About this time Mr Blair was sent from the Commission of the Kirk to London for promoting the work of reformation, &c. There were sent with him from the Committee of Estates, Lothian, William Glendinning and Sir John Chiesley unto the Parliament, as Mr Blair was sent to the Assembly of Divines, and to attend these three Commissioners, &c. About this time the Committee of Estates sent David Carmichael to the King with a missive letter, which was occasioned by the King's writing to them to send up to him some lords and others, that he might learn of them the estate of affairs in Scotland. The Committee not being willing to send these, also the English refusing to give them a safe conduct, they sent Daniel Carmichael with the foresaid letter. The appointed forces being levied, the English forces left with Lambert returned again to England.

In the time that Cromwell and his army were in Scotland the Parliament * began a treaty with the King at the isle of Wight. They gave him more liberty than formerly, and taking the opportunity of the army's absence, the real, sincere and honest party in the Parliament carried on the treaty with the King, and it was generally thought that there would be a peaceable and happy close of the treaty; for at this time the Parliament, by their ordinance, established Presbyterian government by the law of the land, not as it was 1645, only for three years, unless the Houses thought fit to order otherwise, but did now order and ordain this form of Church government to be used in the Churches of England and Ireland without limitation of time for its duration. Also they passed another act for establishing of monarchical government. And, upon the other hand, the King became more condescending, for he was content that Presbyterian government should be tried for three years, &c. But still it was feared that Cromwell and the army would not condescend to the treaty, as it came to pass; for while they are hasting to close the treaty Cromwell sends a Colonel [Joyse] who had taken the King from Holmby-house. This Joyse

* The English Parliament.

takes the King out of the Isle of Wight and carries him to a castle, called Hurst Castle, where the army keeps him in close prison.

While affairs are thus carried in England, the Commission of the General Assembly taking to their consideration the great apostacy and backsliding in the land among all degrees, (for even some ministers had backslidden, and dealt deceitfully in the matter of the Covenant and in the business of the late Engagement, endeavouring in the time of the last Assembly to get the Engagement approven; for which subdolous plots Mr Henry Guthrie, *dux factionis*, with some others, were deposed), thought that there was an inevitable necessity laid on them, forcing them at this time to renew the Solemn League and Covenant, which was done December 17, the Thursday before being spent in humiliation and fasting, according to the directory for humiliation, printed and sent to several Presbyteries, together with several acts concerning the debarring of several persons from the Covenant.

Affairs in Scotland thus being ordered, matters in England are in a woeful confusion; for the army having put the King in Hurst Castle comes to London, and takes up their head quarters at Westminster. A little before their coming to the city they gave in to the Parliament a Remonstrance, and after they came a Declaration, wherein they desire:

"1. That King Charles, as the capital grand author of the late troubles, may be speedily brought to justice.

"2. That Prince Charles and the Duke of York may be summoned to come in and render themselves.

"3. That this Parliament may have a speedy period put to it, and another Parliament to be called, and delinquents not to elect or be elected.

"4. That there may be an agreement for all the kingdom to sign, which shall be above law, and all to be disfranchised that will not sign it."

After the giving in of these papers to the Parliament, the army, by orders from the General, did apprehend all the members of Parliament that were any ways affected for Presbyterian government

or the King, to the number of forty-one. They were put in prison and accused of many things, whereof this was one, that they had hand in bringing in the Scots the last summer into England. Thereafter, in the midst of December, they gave in their agreement to be approven by the Parliament, Fairfax and Cromwell now sitting as members, and the army guarding the Parliament, having discharged the train bands of the city. That agreement did overturn all in the estate, like as their demanding liberty of conscience for all men and opinions, excepting only Popery, did overturn all in the Kirk.

The army thus ruling all at their pleasure, did pass some votes in the House of Commons for trial of the King, and doing justice upon him; which being sent to the House of Peers, and they not joining with them presently, the House of Commons did vote and conclude that what was done by the House of Commons was to be obeyed as done by the only supreme lawful authority in the kingdom of England, and that, under God, the Commons of England was the subject of all supreme authority. Thus did they reject both King and Lords. Mr Blair all this while being in London attending the commissioners, seeing and considering the most illegal, irreligious and wicked proceedings and actings of the sectarian army, did from day to day vex his soul with their unlawful deeds. Perceiving that their desperately wicked designs were—to ruin religion by their toleration, the King and all government by their agreement and votes that they had passed in the House of Commons, and knowing the deep dissimulation and crafty fox-like wickedness, especially of Cromwell, he did by all means shun to speak with him; for Cromwell coming to his lodging to visit him, Mr Blair hearing of it went abroad. Thereafter Cromwell sent to him, and appointed time and place where they might meet; but Mr Blair coming at the precise appointed time, (*dedita opera* to shun meeting with him), and Cromwell not being come, he refused to stay until Cromwell was advertised. So Cromwell perceiving that Mr Blair, being unwilling to meet with him, still shifted him, did not thereafter trouble him. So Mr Blair all the while he was at

London did not converse nor speak with Cromwell; but still as Cromwell went on, yea desperately drove on his most pernicious and wicked designs, Mr Blair's sorrow and grief was augmented; for he being nearer them, yea, seeing them, had worse thoughts of their wicked ways than other honest ministers that were at home in Scotland. And this was the reason that he was not well pleased with a paper sent up to London by the Commission of the Kirk, called "A Solemn Testimony against Toleration and the Present Proceedings of Sectaries in England, in reference to Religion and Government, with an Admonition to their Brethren there." Likewise, he thought that their censure of the King's concessions in the treaty with him in the Isle of Wight was too rigid, and gave too great advantage to the sectaries to proceed in their most ungodly, wicked, and devilish designs against him; which was the reason why Mr Blair advised the Commissioners to change some words in that paper, and to insert other words, which they thought would greatly tend to the King's advantage and his safety.

But nothing could stop or hinder these treacherous and covenant-breaking king-murderers in their dreadful and desperate career of wickedness; for in January a High Court of Justice was by them constituted, consisting of officers of the army, and some Parliament men of the House of Commons, to try the King, to accuse him of treason, murder, tyranny, &c., and to judge him as the Parliament's prisoner. For that purpose a long charge containing many things against the King was drawn up. The King being convened before that mock court, (O, strange! that the King did so far condescend and submit to that unparalleled usurpation and villany as to come before them), still refused to answer their charge, because they could not satisfy him of the lawfulness of their authority. He being convened before them the fourth time, and still refusing to answer the charge, and likewise being denied of all he required, yea, even of those things that tended merely to the good and welfare of his soul, was, upon Saturday the 27th of January 1649, condemned to be executed and put to death, by severing his head from his body; which unparalleled murder and devilish wicked-

ness was acted by that king-murdering and covenant-breaking, hellish crew, upon January the 30th. In this meantime, while these active agents of Satan, that old murderer and liar, are thus, contrary to all reason, humanity, law, equity, and conscience, proceeding against the King, Mr Blair, with our Commissioners then at London, did still upon all occasions dissent from, and at last protest against all these unlawful, ungodly, and treacherous proceedings against the King.*

The King being refused the benefit of having the company of, and converse with, his own chaplains during the time of his close imprisonment, did at last, shortly before his death, earnestly desire that Mr Blair might be permitted to come to him and be with him at his death; which desire of the King being made known to Mr Blair, he used all means to obtain liberty to go unto the King and be with him so long as he desired his company, but it was flatly refused; which devilish cruelty and hellish design, even against the good and welfare of the King's soul, cannot be enough admired.† But in this they did the deeds of their father the devil, who was a murderer both of soul and body from the beginning. Mr Blair regretted that he could not obtain liberty, nay, not so much as to speak with the King; but thereafter, did often profess, that if he had been permitted to have gone to the King, and to have been with him at his death, he would never have advised him so far to submit to that most illegal and wicked sentence of death, as to go upon his own feet to a scaffold, and that he was resolved so to speak and carry on the scaffold, testifying against that horrid murder, that he laid his account to die with the King, and that he would have as willingly laid down his head to the hatchet as ever he laid his head to a pillow.‡

* It became the policy of the Cavalier party after the Restoration, with the view of ousting the Presbyterians from the Church, to represent them as accessory to the death of Charles I.; and ever since, this charge, so ridiculously opposed to historical facts, has been repeated by writers of that party. The above may be regarded as a fair expression of the sentiments then held by the Presbyterians of England and Scotland on this point.

† *Admired*, wondered at.

‡ As Blair had always been in principle favourable to monarchical government,

Report of the King's death coming to Scotland, seeing he was proceeded against, and in end murdered contrary to the dissent and protestation of their commissioners, both of Kirk and Estate, then at London, the Committee of Estates did presently proclaim the prince King of Britain, &c., and resolved to make addresses to him as their King. Shortly thereafter the Committee of Estates did write to the young King, Charles the Second, then living at the Hague in Holland, showing him of the more than lamentable death of his father, and their proclaiming of him King, as the undoubted successor to his father's crown, hoping that he would apply himself to the counsels of his Parliament in Scotland, and of the General Assembly or their Commission. The letter was sent with Sir Joseph Douglas, who had no other commission save only to deliver the letter to the king.

Shortly thereafter, the Committee of Estates resolved to send their Commissioners to the young King, together with some ministers and an elder from the kirk, and it was thought fit that the Commissioners* at London, together with Mr Blair, should go from London to Holland to the King, and that a minister and an elder from the commission of the Kirk should meet them at the Hague, with a commission, articles and instructions. Advertisement hereof was sent up to the three commissioners and Mr Blair very secretly, which they

so he had ever been a warm friend of the Stuart family, notwithstanding their attempts to crush the liberties of their subjects, and to introduce prelacy and arbitrary power. Still this did not prevent some from accusing him as an enemy to monarchy. Dr Balcanqual, as we have already seen, (p. 47), brought against him this charge. Balfour treats him with similar injustice. "Mr Robert Blair," says he, "was, *Reg. Ja.* VI., banished the University of Glasgow (for his anti-monarchical tenets) to Ireland, where he lurked till these unhappy troubles began in Scotland; and scarce was he well returned, but 'he was' preferred by those that favoured him 'to Ayr, and' then preferred to be minister of St Andrews, thereby setting him in a place where he could most diffuse his venom," [his anti-monarchical principles].—*Annals*, iii. 412, 413. He again affirms, that "it is to be noted, that in every college, Blair, Rutherford and Wood have their emissaries and dilaters," and "that thir three men have, with their abettors," resolved, "to displace and defame all that affects monarchy or kingly government."—*Ib.* iii. 412. Blair's own statements of his principles on kingly government, as well as the deep interest he uniformly took in the royal family, completely prove the falsity of these charges.

* Namely, the Earl of Lothian, Sir John Chiesly, and William Glendinning.—*Balfour's Annals*, vol. iii. p. 388.

resolved to obey, and having put themselves in deep mourning,* they agreed with a ship to transport them. But before they parted from London, they gave in some papers to the Parliament, witnessing their dislike and dissent from all their proceedings against the King, and protesting against the same; likewise showing them that his son was proclaimed in Scotland, being the undoubted heir of his father's three crowns, &c. Presently after the ingiving of these papers, they repaired to Gravesend, to ship in there for Holland, but they were stopped by a party of horse sent after them by the Parliament, who did bring them back again. The Parliament detained them until they sent down to Scotland to see if the Parliament there would own these papers that they had given in to them by their Commissioners and Mr Blair, Commissioner from the Kirk. So the Commissioners of Estate and Kirk, that were in a readiness to repair to the King being detained, others were appointed and commissionate to go to the King, viz., the Earl of Cassilis, Laird of Brodie,† and Alexander Jaffray,‡ from the three Estates, and Messrs James Wood, § Robert Baillie and Liberton from the

* For the King's death.

† Alexander Brodie of Brodie, who was soon after raised by Cromwell to the Bench as Judge in the Supreme Court.

‡ Alexander Jaffray, provost of Aberdeen, who afterwards became a Quaker, and whose memoirs have lately been published.—*Jaffray and the Friends of Scotland*, by John Barclay; London, 1833.

§ James Wood was admitted minister of Deninno in 1641, and in July 1645 was translated from that parish to be professor of Ecclesiastical History in St Marys or New College, St Andrews, of which Mr Samuel Rutherford was Principal.—(*Records of the Synod of Fife*, pp. 205, 215.) But, according to Baillie, the differences between him and Rutherford on the subject of the Public Resolutions rendering his situation very uncomfortable, he was desirous of being removed, and, in 1657, was translated to be Principal of St Salvadors, or the old College of St Andrews. His appointment to this office by the University was owing to Cromwell's government, which, by the advice of James, afterwards Archbishop Sharp, wrote a letter to the ministers of St Andrews, and the masters of the University, requiring them to admit Wood as Principal of the Old College without delay.—(*Baillie's Letters and Journals*, iii. 216, 376.) Baillie in recording this appointment says, "I am glad he is in it, or any other 'charge' where he is contented; for indeed he is the most serviceable man our church now has." On the establishment of Prelacy after the restoration of Charles II., Sharp did all he could to induce Wood to conform; and finding his efforts utterly ineffectual, he soon effected his removal from St Andrews. By his instigation Wood was summoned before the Privy Council in July 1663; and appearing, his place was

Kirk, who did presently repair to the King, with propositions to be presented to him.* After that these papers given in by the Commissioners of Estate and Kirk at London were owned by the Committee of Estates, and Commission of the Kirk sitting at Edinburgh, our Commissioners were dismissed. But the then Parliament of England, fearing lest they should again attempt to go straight to the King, did send them down as prisoners, a guard attending them until they came to Berwick. These two last journeys into England did not a little wrong Mr Blair's health. His going in with the army in winter 1643, and sometimes lying in the open air in time of frost and snow did much injure him, and draw upon him the gout, and whereas before he was of a good constitution and strong body, able to endure toil and travel, thereafter he became crazy, and more unable for journeying; which was one, but not the chief reason why Mr Blair was so unwilling to undertake the journey, October 1648. But his journey down again from London in the spring 1649, did quite break his health; for he was pained with the gout all the way, and after he came to Edinburgh lay a space there, and thereafter did take physic from Doctor Cunningham. After this Mr Blair being troubled with the gout, and sometimes more pained with the gravel, (his two twins as he used to call them), came not so much abroad to kirk judicatories as in former times.

While our Commissioners are with the King at the Hague, the

declared vacant, while he was ordered to confine himself within the city of Edinburgh. He was, however, afterwards permitted to return to St Andrews to visit his father who had fallen sick.—(*Wodrow's Hist.* i. 370.) He died about the beginning of the year 1664. Sharp visited him once or twice on his death-bed in St Andrews; and, though Wood spoke very little to him, and never at all about the introduced ecclesiastical changes, he circulated a report, that, in the prospect of eternity, Wood professed an entire indifference as to the subject of Church government, and that it might be altered according to the will of the magistrate. Wood, deeply grieved on hearing this report, dictated and subscribed a solemn testimony, before two witnesses and a notary, in which he declares it as his dying conviction, that Presbyterian government was the ordinance of God, appointed by Jesus Christ for governing and ordering his visible Church.—(*Ibid.* i. 403, 404.)

* George Winram of Liberton, who was, after his return from Holland, raised to the Bench. He was admitted, June 22, 1649. At the battle of Dunbar, September 3, 1650, he was so severely wounded that he died within a few days.

malignants in the north begin again to stir. They surprised Inverness, and begin to gather to a head; but they were quickly suppressed and quieted. But they being as the troubled sea, did again stir in April and gather to a head, even all the malignants in the north,—the chief of them was the Lord Ray;—but it pleased the Lord, by a small party commanded by General Ker, to defeat the whole strength of the malignants in the north in the beginning of May at Balveny. For the which victory, as well as other causes contained in the printed paper, was kept a solemn thanksgiving upon the 25th of May; which day was kept by Mr Blair at St Andrews.

The malignants being repressed in Scotland, they begin to stir in Ireland. The Lord Airds treacherously joins with George Monro, Ormond, Inchiquin, &c. They command all in the north of Ireland. The Presbyterians in these bounds (who all before had declared both against sectaries and malignants) are now put to the worse and hardly used; so that honest men, especially ministers, were forced to come over to Scotland. Cromwell having settled matters in England to his mind, with a strong party came over to Ireland, who did quickly scatter the malignants and regain the strongholds. But all this while honest men are in no better condition, but rather worse. Sundry ministers came over to Scotland, and entered for the interim to vacant kirks. In June our Commissioners returned from the King with his answers to the propositions, which were judged, both by the Committee of Estates and General Assembly, unsatisfactory. All that passed betwixt the King and our Commissioners was printed.* See the printed paper.

* The young King made a highly favourable impression upon the Commissioners, and they ascribed the unsatisfactory result of their negotiations to the evil counsellors by whom he was surrounded. "His Majesty," "says Baillie, in a letter to the Commission, April 3, 1649, "is of a very sweet and courteous disposition: it were all the pities in the world but he were in good company. We hope he is not so far rooted in any principles contrary to us, but that, by God's blessing or our friends' labours, he may be gotten to do us reason, whatsoever our fears may be for the present. There is a very evil generation both of English and Scots here, who vomit out all their evil humours against all our proceedings."—*Letters and Journals*, iii. 87. Quite enraptured

The General Assembly convened, (whereof Mr Blair was a member,) in Edinburgh in the beginning of July, Mr Douglas being chosen moderator. After the approbation of the Commissioners of the preceding Assembly, follows the approbation of the Commissioners sent to the King, and an act concerning the receiving of engagers to public satisfaction, with the declaration and acknowledgment to be subscribed by them ;* also a seasonable and necessary warning and declaration concerning danger and duties, &c. ; last, a letter to the King's Majesty ; all in print.

At this time some things did pass betwixt our Parliament and the sectaries, and their pretended Parliament or Representative. They did send down a Commissioner demanding the kingdom of Scotland to send their Commissioners to treat with them anent some wrongs they had received from Scotland and some other things. Our Parliament returned a very sharp and bold answer, declaring that they would not treat with them nor acknowledge them, a commonwealth as they called themselves, challenging them of the King's death and of other things. This Parliament was judged by honest ministers, that did hate both the black and white devil-malignants and sectaries, a very good and honest Parliament. They abolished patronages, for the which they were commended

with his good dispositions and princely qualities, Baillie, in a letter to Robert Douglas, April 3, 1649, thus eulogises Charles : "He is one of the most gentle, innocent, well-inclined princes, so far as yet appears, that lives in the world ; a trim person and of a manly carriage ; understands pretty well ; speaks not much ; would God he were amongst us." And, in another letter to Douglas, he thus writes, "If God would send him among us, without some of his present counsellors, I think he might make, by God's blessing, as good a king as Britain saw these hundred years." He, however, at the same time, acknowledges, that he was "firm to the tenets his education and company had planted in him."—*Ibidem*, iii. 88, 89.

* "1649, July 4, the General Assembly of this kingdom sat at Edinburgh. There was an act made declaring the way of receiving the officers that had an hand in the engagement against England, 1648. All those that were above lieutenants were to come before the Commission of the Kirk that sat at Edinburgh, and to be received by them; and those that were beneath lieutenants were referred to the several presbyteries wherein they lived, to give satisfaction there. At the close of this foresaid act there was a declaration printed that was appointed to be subscribed by them all under the pain of excommunication." . . . . "At this meeting there were several noblemen of this kingdom that did supplicate to be received to the Covenant, as the Lords Ogilvy, Queensberry, Kenmure," &c.—*Lamont's Diary*, p. 7.

by the General Assembly, as a necessary point of reformation. They gave a commission for plantation of kirks, settling of ministers' stipends, &c. There was a sweet harmony betwixt this Parliament and General Assembly, which was comfortable to both in this time of sad troubles and distress to both. This Assembly, as also the preceding, appointed sundry commissions for visiting sundry parts of the kingdom for purging of the house of God in the land. They did much good, for many profane, scandalous, insufficient and unfaithful ministers were deposed, especially in Angus and Mearns* and Stirlingshire.

In the latter end of October, the Committee of Estates sent another Commissioner, with new propositions to the King, who then was in the isle of Jersey, having returned from France. The Lord Liberton was sent Commissioner. The sum of what passed at that time was—The King declared his willingness to give all satisfaction to his ancient kingdom of Scotland, and for that effect did appoint a treaty to be betwixt him, and Commissioners to be sent from Scotland, to meet him at Breadhall [Breda] in Holland, upon the 15th of March 1650. He wrote a very discreet letter to the Estates, directed to the Committee of Estates, desiring them to send Commissioners to him against the day foresaid, and promising all satisfaction. Also he wrote to the Commission of the

* The Committee appointed to visit Angus and Mearns in September this year, deprived in these bounds eighteen ministers; silenced two expectants; suspended five ministers, and ordained that two churches which had old infirm ministers should be provided with new ministers.—*Balfour's Annals*, iii. 430. "The causes of these depositions," says Lamont, "were insufficiency for the ministry; famishing of congregations; silence in the time of the late engagement against England; corruptions in life and doctrine; malignancy; drunkenness; and subscribing of a divisive bond, and such like."—*Diary*, 10. Mr Andrew Cant was moderator of this meeting. "The visitors appointed to several actual ministers texts that they might hear them, some of which had been in the ministry for the space of twenty or twenty-four years."—*Ibidem*, p. 10. Speaking of these commissions Baillie says, "There had been diverse commissions, east, west, south, and north, who had deposed many ministers, to the pity and grief of my heart; for sundry of them I thought might have been for more advantage every way, with a rebuke kept in their places; but there were few durst profess so much; and I for my ingenuous freedom lost much of my reputation as one who was inclined to malignancy."—*Letters and Journals*, iii. 91. He farther states that "these commissions were appointed for deposing such ministers as Presbyteries and Synods did spare."—*Ibidem*, iii. 97.

General Assembly, desiring them to send their Commissioners, &c. Liberton came home in the beginning of February 1650.

The Commission of the Kirk convened February 13. There was a Committee of the Estates and some ministers chosen to consult about the King's letters. The result of the consultation and debates was the choosing of Commissioners to be sent to the King, to treat with him at Breda. For the Kirk, Messrs John Livingstone, James Wood, and George Hutcheson,* ministers, and Cassillis and Brodie, elders, were chosen by the Commission of the Kirk. For the Estates, Cassilis, Lothian, Liberton, Brodie, Sir John Smith, Alexander Jaffray were chosen by the Committee of Estates. The Parliament did convene March 6, where their commission was approven, and so March 8, they took ship for Holland to meet the King at Breda. Before these Commissioners went to sea there came from London a letter, alleged to be written by the King to Montrose, encouraging him to go on in his service for his restoration to his kingdoms, promising that nothing shall be in his treaty with Scotland to his prejudice. Also the last summer report did go abroad that the King was to send over forces with Montrose. None came; but in harvest the Earl of Kinnoul with sundry officers, landed in Orkney, expecting forces to follow them, whom the gentlemen and country people of Orkney, after some skirmishing with them, did scatter and expel out of the kingdom. These things made many think that the King was but tampering with Scotland, and that there were small hopes of a good agreement; for about the time of our Commissioners' departure for Holland did Montrose arrive in Orkney with some officers of his own stamp, viz., Sir John Hurrie,†

* Mr George Hutcheson was first minister at Colmonel in Ayrshire, and was afterwards translated to Edinburgh. He was ejected from his charge in 1662 for refusing to conform to Prelacy; but afterwards became indulged minister at Irvine, where he died of apoplexy in 1674, being about fifty-nine years of age. Hutcheson was a man of distinguished talents, and was accounted in his time one of the greatest expositors of Scripture which Scotland had ever produced. His commentaries on the minor Prophets, the book of Job, and the gospel of John have been published, and have been highly valued. Forty-four of his sermons on the 130th Psalm were published at Edinburgh from his MSS. in 1698.

† Sir John Hurrie was taken prisoner on the defeat of Montrose's army at the battle

Lord Frendroth, Spottiswood,* &c., and a considerable party of Danes and other strangers. From Orkney they came to Caithness; from that farther into the country. They pretended to have the King's Commission, set up the King's standard, and pressed all the country where they came to join with them for the King's service. After they had taken in the house of Dunbeath (where they got store of victuals and a considerable sum of money), they advance till they come to Ross.

At this time our forces are marching north to rencounter them, and to put a stop to the enemy's advance. Lieutenant General Strachan was sent before, to command the troops in Ross and about Inverness. The commanders of these few troops (viz. General Ker, Lieutenant General Hacket, &c.) resolved presently to fight the enemy; fearing lest, upon the advance of more forces, the enemy, after his accustomed manner, should flee and escape to the hills; and so, April 27, they advanced towards the enemy, being at Corbiesdale. The enemy drew up in a plain near a wood, to the which, upon the advance of our horses, they did retire. Yet they pursued them into the woods, and at the very first charge made them all to run. The Lord did strike such a terror into their hearts, that their most resolute commanders had neither hands nor hearts to fight nor feet to flee. So our forces, without opposition, did execution upon them. Sundry of their chief commanders were killed, the rest taken; 386 taken prisoners; the king's standard, with four others, were taken. Montrose escaped, but his sword and cloak, with the star, were found upon the place. But the hand of God still pursuing him, he was shortly

of Kerbester or Corbiesdale, in Ross, April 27, 1650, recorded by Row in the next paragraph. He was beheaded at Edinburgh, May 29, 1650, according to the sentence of the Parliament. "Sir John Hurrie," "was penitent, and confessed that his great and manifold sins against God had brought him to that so public an end."—*Balfour's Annals*, iv. 32.

* Captain John Spottiswood was son to the Laird of Darsie, and grandchild to Archbishop Spottiswood of St Andrews. He was also taken at the battle of Corbiesdale. Having been found guilty of treason, he was sentenced by the Parliament on Tuesday, 29th May, to be beheaded at the cross of Edinburgh the following day. "John Spottiswood" says Balfour, "died in a fury and rage, almost distracted of his wits, and would confess nothing.—*Annals*, iv. 11, 28, 32.

thereafter taken in the Laird of Assen's bounds, and brought to David Leslie.* Thereafter he was conveyed by Lawer's regiment to Edinburgh. May 18, in the afternoon, he was brought to the Watergate; from that he was, in too ignominious a way, drawn up the street in a cart to the Tolbooth.† Presently there were three sent from the Estates, then sitting in Parliament, to examine him.‡ He ever justified all his proceedings, alleging that he had commissions from the King for all that he did.§ He did also most loftily reflect upon some persons of quality. Upon Monday, May 20, he was brought before the Parliament, where, after all his treachery and wickedness was laid to his charge by the Chancellor, he received his sentence, viz., that upon Tuesday, May 21, he should be hanged at the cross, and, after three hours, cut down and headed and quartered; his head put upon the west

* Nicol's account of Montrose's apprehension is as follows:—"Within four days after this victory this bloody traitor was taken and apprehended. After he had fled to the hills, and remained there in great misery and famine, he came to a house and family whose master was called M'Cloyd, looking for protection at his hands, being one of his old acquaintances, and complier with him in his former plots and bloody courses; but this man's son, called Neill M'Cloyd, fearing the danger of the laws if he should conceal him, and hearing of the large promises of money to the revealers and apprehenders of him, he was induced thereby to seize him and take him prisoner in his own house, and rendered him to the commanders of this army."—*Diary*, p. 11. On hearing of Montrose's apprehension, the Commissioners of the Kirk and General Assembly appointed a day of solemn thanksgiving, which was observed in all the kirks of Edinburgh, and adjoining churches, upon the 15th of May 1560. On Thursday, May 30, 1560, the Parliament appointed that the Laird of Assen, who apprehended Montrose, should receive that reward of 25,000 lbs. Scots.—*Balfour's Annals*, iv., 35.

† This was done according to an Act of Parliament passed on Friday, May 17, Session 1, at Edinburgh, "ordaining James Graham to be brought from the Water-gate, on a cart, bareheaded, the hangman in his livery, covered, riding on the horse that draws the cart, (the prisoner to be bound to the cart with a rope), to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and from thence to be brought to the Parliament House, and there, in the place of delinquents, on his knees, to receive his sentence. On Saturday the 18th of May, he entered Edinburgh, according to the ordinance of Parliament of the 17th, with twenty-three prisoners, all commanders, and Sir John Hurrie, his Major-general, all of whom were committed to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh.—(*Ibid.*, iv., 13.)

‡ The persons sent were Robert, Lord Burlie, Sir James Hope of Hopeton, George Porterfield of Glasgow, Mr James Durham and Mr James Hamilton, ministers. They brought his answers in write to the Parliament.—*Balfour's Annals*, iv. 13, 14.

§ He even avowed this in his last speech on the scaffold: "That I am under the censure of the Church," he said, "it is not my fault, seeing I but obeyed my lawful prince."—(*Ibid.*, iv. 20.) See p. 222.

end of the Tolbooth, his two arms and legs to be sent to Perth, Aberdeen, Stirling, and Glasgow; and the trunk of his body, if he died penitent, to be buried among the execute persons in the Greyfriars; if otherwise, to be buried at the foot of the gallows in the Burrow-moor.* To bring him to some conviction of his bloodshed and abominable wickedness, some ministers were sent from the Commission of the Kirk then sitting at Edinburgh. Mr Blair did deal much with him, especially that he would lay to heart his grievous wickedness by shedding so much blood in the years 1644 and 1645. But still he justified all that he had done, and, when his blood-guiltiness was aggravated, he said to Mr Blair that it was as sore against his will as if all that blood had run out of his own veins. To whom Mr Blair replied, "If that had been true you had not accepted of a new commission, and made such haste to come again to shed more blood in this land, and even at that very time when our commissioners were treating with the King." Mr Blair, and others that spoke with him, declared that he still remained most obdured [obdurate] and impenitent.

* Balfour, who states some particulars here omitted, observes that Montrose's sentence was, that he should be "hanged on a gibbet at the cross of Edinburgh, with his Book and Declaration tied in a rope about his neck, and there to hang for the space of three hours, until he were dead; and thereafter to be cut down by the hangman; his head, hands, and legs to be cut off, and distributed as follows: viz., his head to be affixed on an iron pin, and set on a pinnacle on the west gavel of the new prison of Edinburgh; one hand to be set on the port of Perth, the other on the port of Stirling; one leg and foot on the port of Aberdeen, the other on the port of Glasgow. If he was, at his death, penitent, and relaxed from excommunication, then the trunk of his body to be interred by pioners in the Greyfriars; otherwise, to be interred in the Burrow-moor, by the hangman's men, under the gallows."—*Balfour's Annals*, iv., 12, 13. The "book" to be hung about his neck at his execution was his Memoirs, published by Bishop Wishart in 1647, which arrested the attention of Europe, and in which the proceedings of the Covenanters were branded as rebellion, while his wars were celebrated as noble attempts to stem the tide of rebellion. The Declaration also hung about his neck appears to have been the Declaration which he issued in 1649, in which he charged his own nation, besides other crimes, with hatching a rebellion in this kingdom, with promoting the like in England, with the sale and murder of their native king, and with robbing his son of all right.—(*Nicoll's Diary*, 3.) Lamont informs us that Montrose's "gallows was made higher, on purpose, than the ordinary gibbets."—*Diary*, p. 18. Let it be remarked that, in the estimation of some at least of the Presbyterians, Montrose was treated "in too ignominious a way."—*See before*, p. 224.

The sentence of death given out against him by the Parliament was, in all the points of it, executed May 21, the trunk of his body being buried in the Burrow-moor.

While the Lord is thus working for his own cause and people in Scotland, in the meantime our Commissioners of Estate and Kirk are treating with the King at Breda, in Holland. The treaty went on slowly the first three or four weeks, so that there was little appearance of agreement, which was rather the fault of those about the King than his, he being of a courteous and tractable disposition. But it was perceived that there were two factions at court,—the one being the Queen's faction, who were for the close of the treaty; the other, Prince Rupert's faction, who were against the treaty. And then it was regretted by the ministers that some of the Commissioners of the Estate did not deal so freely, earnestly, and honestly with the King at first as they ought to have done, and that they found by conference and debate with the King about Episcopacy and ceremonies, that he had been poisoned with bad principles by those that had been with him. And last, they regretted that, at the time of the treaty at Breda, the King continued the use of the Service Book and of his chaplains, and that many nights there was balling and dancing till near day. These things, and many other, were grievous to the Commissioners of the Kirk, both ministers and elders, and made them think that the treaty would break off. But when it drew near the last day allowed them for the treaty by the Parliament, (which was the fortieth day), all possible haste was made for closing of the treaty; and so, upon the very last day, the King gave in his concessions, which were accepted by the Commissioners of the Estate, (the Commissioners of the Kirk having no vote), and they gave an invitation to the King to come home to Scotland, which he accepted of very kindly. The treaty was closed about the very time of the happy victory over Montrose, the King supposing that he was in Scotland with a powerful army for his service; but after his concessions to the Commissioners' propositions, he sent Sir William Fleming, commanding the Marquis of Montrose to dis-

band. Thereafter Mr James Dalrymple, secretary to the Commissioners, was sent home to the Parliament with the King's concessions, and the treaty as it was then closed; but the ministers were forbidden by the Commissioners to write home their sense of the treaty, or to divulge any thing of it.

The Saturday before the King left Breda to go to Scotland, the Commissioners of the Kirk got notice that the King was to communicate kneeling to-morrow. They did what they could, both by a paper given to him, and by conference and debate, to dissuade him from it, shewing that, beside the sin and provocation, and what inconvenience it might bring upon his business, &c., it was against that he had granted in his concessions. Yet, notwithstanding, after a second conference with him, and more earnest dealing, they could not dissuade him, and so he did communicate kneeling; and, beside some disorder committed by the chaplain, the Bishop of Derry* did give the blessing after the action. This did much offend and discourage the Commissioners of the Kirk. The King's concessions coming to the Parliament in the end of May, they declared their dissatisfaction with the treaty, and ordained some other things to be obtained, declaring otherwise the treaty to be void, and, therefore, they explained some things more fully in their propositions, and set down the names of those lords that were with the King, and intending to come to Scotland with him; who were ordained to stay behind in Holland. Anent these things, new letters and instructions were sent from the Parliament and Commission of the Kirk to our Commissioners of Estate and Kirk in Holland by one Edward Gillespie. And

* Dr John Bramhall, bishop of Derry, and afterwards archbishop of Armagh, formerly noticed, (p. 101), was at this time at the Hague, and was blamed by the Scottish Commissioners as having no small share in prejudicing the King against the Church of Scotland. In 1649 he published, at Delft, a pamphlet, entitled, "A Fair Warning to take heed of the Scottish Discipline, &c." Baillie characterises it as a "a wicked pamphlet against our Church," and says, "I fear I must engage with Dr Bramhall; for his Warning, it does so much ill to the King and all about him."—*Letters and Journals*, iii. 87, 90. Baillie published an answer to it, entitled, "A Review of Doctor Bramble, late Bishop of Londonderry, his Faire Warning against the Scots Disciplin. By R. B. G. Printed at Delf, 1649." 4to.

because possibly the King might be on the sea coming to Scotland, the Parliament sent Scotscraig and Mr Patrick Gillespie to the north, where it was judged the King would land, to attend the King there with their letters and new instructions.

On Saturday, after the King's communicating, when all the Commissioners were shipped, except Cassillis and Lothian, that were with the King at Ansorbordick, Unslodyke, the letters and instructions from the Parliament were directed to these two lords, and, being read by them, were sent aboard to the rest of the Commissioners, who presently took boat to come ashore; the Commissioners of the Kirk resolving not to come aboard 'again' till they had obtained satisfaction to the Parliament's new instructions. But the wind being contrary they could not come straight to the place where the King was; and after they landed they were so hindered in their journey, that though they made all possible haste, day and night, yet the King with the two Commissioners, Duke Hamilton and Lauderdale, (who were two of them that were ordered to stay in Holland), and some others, were all gone to sea. Presently Liberton and Sir John Smith took a boat to go aboard with one Webster of Amsterdam, who was sent to warn the King that the Parliament of England had twenty-two ships at sea to wait for him. Brodie and Mr Jaffray, with the three ministers, staid ashore. After prayer together and apart, consulting what to do, they were not all of one mind; but after debating, all of them except Mr Livingstone, resolved to go aboard and discharge their trust in reference to the last instructions. In the meantime a boat comes from the King's ships, and letters from the two lords, desiring them, as they would not mar the King's business, to come aboard. At last when Mr Livingstone was resolved to stay behind in Holland, Brodie and Mr Hutchison overtured that he should only go in the boat, and the rest of the Commissioners to come down to the boat that they might speak together, and if he got not clearing to go aboard to come ashore again in the same boat. But when the boat was gone to the ship's side, Mr Livingstone staying in the

boat expecting the rest to come down to him, Cassillis and Mr Hutchison persuaded him to come up only to the gunner-room there to speak with them, promising that the boat should stay till he should go back. Mr Livingstone went up and desired a young man that was with him to wait and see that the boat should not go away. But within a little the young man comes and tells that the boat was under sail and gone, and so Mr Livingstone was forced, contrary to his inclination and purpose, to stay.

When the Commissioners of the Estate began to consult what to do in reference to their last instructions, some were of the mind that no application should be made to the King thereanent till they were arrived in Scotland. But at last it was carried by one vote that present application should be made, and so papers were prepared and given to the King, he returning his answers in papers. When much debate to and fro had been for many days, and at last papers had been prepared by the Commissioners of Estate and Kirk for their exoneration, when no appearance of satisfaction was, but rather the contrary, and the treaty like to be broken off, all on a sudden, on the Friday before they came ashore in Scotland, Liberton comes from the King and tells the rest that the King was ready to subscribe and swear the Covenant. The Commissioners resolved that they would accept thereof, the King having granted some other things previous thereto, although the Parliament in their last instructions had not desired the King's subscribing and swearing the Covenant, but an obligation to it. It was laid on Mr Livingstone to preach the next Sabbath, and to read the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant, and take the King's oath. This, Mr Livingstone, being much pressed and dealt with by the rest, did unwillingly undertake. But on Sabbath morning it was told to Mr Livingstone that the King was minded to speak something when he swore the Covenant, viz., that what he did did not import any infringing of the laws of England, &c. Mr Livingstone and the rest went to the King and told him that they could not receive his oath if he added any thing to the words that were to be read. After much debate, at last the King said he

would forbear. Mr Livingstone urged, that seeing both the King and they were in some heat and distemper by their debating and disputing, his swearing the Covenant might be delayed till another day; but both the King and Commissioners pressed that it should not be delayed, and so that same Sabbath, they having come to the mouth of Spey, the King did swear and subscribe the Covenant. As for the outward part of swearing and subscribing it he performed any thing that could be required.

June 24, the King arrived at Speymouth, having only three ships with him. Two days after that landing in Scotland, the King being at the Bogue of Geigh [Bog of Gicht], the Commissioners of Estate made application to the King by a subscribed paper anent that article of their last instructions, requiring that some persons expressly named should not be permitted to come home with the King. June 27, the King came to Aberdeen; 28, to Dunnotar; June 29, to Kinnaird, where he spent the Sabbath; July 1, he came to Dundee, thereafter to St Andrews; July 4, after Mr Blair had spoken with the Commissioners that were with the King, he spoke with the King at length, and used much freedom with him, and gave him his best advice and counsel, and upon the morrow preached before the King upon Psalm xx. 1, 2, 3, 4. July 6, the King came to his house at Falkland.

All this time bypast, intelligence is frequently brought that the sectaries under the command of their General, Cromwell, are approaching our borders with a powerful army. Our Parliament, therefore, concludes a levy of 10,000 foot and 3,000 horse to be presently levied, and to join with the forces already a-foot to resist the sectaries.

The Commission of the General Assembly sent Commissioners to the King at Falkland,—Messrs David Dickson, James Durham, James Guthrie, with Mr Robert Burnet, elder, who coming to Falkland, joined, July 6, with Commissioners from the Committee of Estates. The chief things they had in commission were, to desire of the King that he would be pleased to remove from his family and service all against whom Kirk or Estate had any just

exception; which, after some dealing with him, was granted. Yet the Duke of Buckingham, with some others, were permitted to stay until the next Session of Parliament.

July 10, the General Assembly convened at Edinburgh. Mr Andrew Cant was chosen moderator. In the beginning of the Assembly, it was laid upon Messrs Livingstone and Hutchison to make relation of the proceedings of the whole treaty. They first communicated what they had drawn up to some of the ministers in private, and told them of the King's kneeling at the communion, and of the paper given to him thereanent, and some of the rest of these things above mentioned; but they desired them to forbear mentioning in the Assembly any thing which might make the King or his way odious in the entry of his government; and at their desire they did forbear; and so the whole treaty and negotiation with the King at Holland and on the sea was approven, and the Commissioners thanked and praised for their great pains, fidelity and constancy. Thereafter, the Commissioners sent from the Commission of the preceding Assembly to the King made their report. They declared what good hopes they had of the King's sincerity in subscribing and swearing the Covenant. The King wrote a very kind and loving letter to the Assembly. Thereafter, the Assembly sent Commissioners to him, viz., Messrs Robert Douglas, Hugh M'Kail,* and Patrick Gillespie,† to con-

* Hugh M'Kail was first settled minister of Irvine, and afterwards translated to one of the churches of Edinburgh. He died in February 1660, and was buried in the Greyfriars Churchyard.—*Lamont's Diary*, p. 121. He was the brother of Matthew M'Kail, minister of Bothwell, and consequently the uncle of the celebrated youth, Hugh M'Kail, who suffered martyrdom at Edinburgh in 1666. Young Hugh prosecuted his studies under the superintendence of his uncle, with whom he resided.

† Patrick Gillespie was first minister of Kirkaldy, and afterwards of Glasgow. Upon the removal of Dr Strang from the office of principal in the College of Glasgow, Gillespie was put into his place by Cromwell, into whose favour he had ingratiated himself. He had no small share in the Western Remonstrance, and was a leader among the Protesters. Being a man of great forwardness, he maintained the controversy between his party and the Resolutioners with unabating zeal, and with no small success. Subsequent to the restoration of Charles II., he was imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh, and thence was sent to the Castle of Stirling, where he continued till the sitting of Parliament in March 1661, when he was brought to Edinburgh and tried before the Parliament, upon the charge of having contrived, com-

gratulate his home coming, and to motion his renewing of the Covenant.

Upon July 18, Cromwell (his army now approaching the borders) sent in to Edinburgh a trumpeter with two declarations from the Parliament and army, both shewing their purpose presently to march into Scotland, with the grounds and reasons of their invasion. He brought also letters to the general, 'and principal' persons of our army, and some ministers in the Assembly, full of smooth words. The levy concluded by the Parliament being taken up, and a second levy enjoined, our army lies about Leith and Edinburgh waiting upon the levy's upcoming. Cromwell's army lies at Wooler. About July 22, they came into Scots ground. Reports coming daily that they daily advance towards Edinburgh, our army lies still at Leith, waiting upon the levy's upcoming to them. They drew a running trench between the Abbey and Leith. The General Assembly emitted a Declaration in answer to the two Declarations sent by Cromwell, and appointed a fast to be immediately after the arising of the Assembly. July 24, the Assembly arose. They appointed two ministers, viz., Messrs Alexander Moncrieff* and John Macgill to attend the King and his

piled, consented to, and subscribed "The Western Remonstrance;" consented to or approved "that abominable pamphlet called 'The Causes of God's wrath;'" and kept constant correspondence with Cromwell. But having friends in the house, and having through the fear of suffering disclaimed the Remonstrance, and cast himself upon the King's mercy, he was within a short time liberated and confined to Ormiston and six miles around it.—(*Wodrow's History*, vol. i., 75, 204, 205.) Previous to this, he had been ejected from the principalship, and the famous Robert Baillie presented by the King to fill the vacant office. Baillie, whose prejudices were strong against all the Protesters, regarded him with little favour. He particularly brings against him reiterated charges of gross extravagance in the management of the funds of the University. "At his coming," says he, "we were large one thousand pounds sterling to the fore; this day we will be as much in debt."—(*Letters and Journals*, iii. 449.) "For our last year's table a thousand pound is yet oughtand, and the prodigal wastrie of Mr Gillespie has put us in above twenty-five thousand merks of debt."—(*Ibid.* iii. 474.) One cause of this was his enlarging the buildings of the College.—(*Ibid.* iii. 475.)

* Mr Alexander Moncrieff, minister of Scoonie, was eminent, in his day, for piety and faithfulness. His loyalty to Charles II., during the Commonwealth, subjected him to trouble. But he was, notwithstanding, after the Restoration imprisoned by the government in the Castle of Edinburgh, where he was confined for a considerable time. He was repeatedly brought before the Parliament, and his death,

family, until they appointed one to continue with him and his family as his minister; for at this time Mr Blair, whose charge it was to attend the King as his chaplain in Scotland, was several ways disinabled * to travel, (the King not staying long in one place), partly through a fall off horseback, whereby his shoulder-blade was disjointed that year, and partly by reason of the gout and gravel wherewith he was often afflicted; and besides all this, he did now begin to have some scruples that ministers meddled too much in estate affairs, and did spend too much time in waiting on civil judicatories and courts, which might be better spent at home waiting on their charges in preaching, catechising and visiting families. July 23, the King went to Perth; 24, to Dunfermline; 25, to Stirling, to abide there some space. The Committee of Estates did emit a large Declaration, together with a shorter, in answer to two Declarations sent to them from the Parliament and English army by Cromwell. These Declarations of Kirk and Estate were sent by our General, Leslie, to Cromwell; but they were sent back again by Lambert because they gave not unto Cromwell all the titles he arrogated to himself, as Lambert wrote in with the messenger. In this meantime the sectarian army advances. Our army being but convening, they keep themselves within their trenches bewixt the Abbey and Leith. About July 24 the sectarian army comes to Inveresk and these bounds. They possessed themselves of the strong houses and all the victuals in the towns. Sundry of their ships come up the Forth, and stop the passage betwixt Leith and Burntisland. They send in all their plunder and spoil to their ships; yea they spoil kirks, burning the pulpits and seats, and then put their horses in them.

July 29, at night the King came to the army and was received with many acclamations of joy, having viewed the several

it appears, had been resolved upon; but matters were so overruled, that his life was spared. He subsequently endured a variety of hardships, and died only a few months before the Revolution. Wodrow gives an account of his hardships in his *History*, i., 198, 199, 200. He was the grandfather of Mr Alexander Moncrieff of Abernethy, one of the four first Seceders, who was imbued with a considerable portion of that worthy minister's spirit.—*Frazer's Life of Ebenezer Erskine*, 535.

* *Disinabled*, rendered unable.

regiments of horse and foot; and now by this time the army was pretty well convened; but still they kept within their trenches and exercised their new levied men. July 30, it being reported to David Leslie that the enemy was retiring, he presently went out with two regiments of horse upon the head of the party on the right hand near the Abbey; which being perceived upon the left hand, the most part of our cavalry without orders marches out likewise to follow the enemy; which being perceived by the enemy, having gotten ours drawn without their ditches and trenches, they returning, presently advance upon our parties. David Leslie did give a most fierce and gallant charge to the brigade of horse that advanced towards him with his lancers, so that they made their enemies at first wheel, thereafter run. But in the meantime our horsemen on the left wing, before ever they had charged the enemy, did wheel, and so were in great disorder most basely beat into the trenches. The enemy being repulsed by our cannon, and some foot regiments upon the trench dike, they designed to have enclosed David Leslie's party, which being espied, his party retired quickly, so that they got within the trenches safely.

This matter being laid to heart by the ministers in the army, they thought it fit that there should be a fast and humiliation upon the morrow in the army. Reasons thereof after debate agreed upon were,—The not purging of the King's family as yet, self-confidence and boasting in our numbers, profanity in the army, &c. It was kept July 31. But before the observation of this fast a party of horse was sent out commanded by Colonel Robert Montgomery and Strachan. They went out July 30, at night. In the morning they divided themselves in two parties. Montgomery did first charge with lancers, so that he made two brigades of horse one after another to run; also he scattered and chased a brigade of foot drawn up on Stoniepath links. But the other party, commanded by Strachan had not the like success, they being subdivided. The troops commanded by Strachan himself did valiantly; but the rest, being only two troops, and being charged with a great

body of horse, did not, as they were commanded, skirmish with them, but in disorder did flee, so that the whole party being disordered, they all did retreat with all speed to come into the trenches. Dividing themselves in three bodies they took three several ways to come in. They that took the nearest way came in safely by six o'clock in the morning. The second body coming by Craigmillar were set upon by a party coming out of that house. Some were killed, ninety prisoners taken, and several standards, among the rest Cromwell's own, that were taken were retaken. The third body, who were scattered very wide, did come in for the space of two or three days in small numbers. Many were killed; to the enemy about 800; of ours not above 30, and 90 prisoners taken, among whom was Sir Thomas Nairn. Besides these two great businesses, there was also some little skirmishes by foot parties.

Upon Friday, August 2, the King came over at the Queensferry and went to Dunfermline, there to stay a space. Some were of the mind that the Lord would never bless the army so long as he was in it. His family and the army were being purged, and now the King being gone, the committee for purging the army set about that work very diligently, purging out all that were upon the Engagement 1648, officers or soldiers. There was another committee, called a Council of War, that ordered all the affairs of the army, giving orders even to the General when to fight, when to forbear, &c. The enemy having retired to Dunbar about August 9, came back again to Inveresk. At this time Cromwell sent in sundry papers to our army containing many challenges, still justifying themselves; taking God to witness of the equity of their cause, &c.

About this time the Committee of Estates and Kirk did present unto the King, at Dunfermline, a Declaration, which, at first, he refused to subscribe, because it did reflect upon his father, laying upon him the guilt of all the blood shed in the kingdoms, &c. Upon the King's refusal to subscribe this Declaration, the Committee of Estates and Commission of the Kirk did emit a short

Declaration concerning the King, August 13. There was much debate about it in the Commission of the Kirk, Mr Douglas being moderator. The sum of it was this: "We disclaim all the sin and guilt of the King and his house, both old and late, and declare that we cannot own him and his interest in the state of the quarrel betwixt us and the enemy that has invaded the kingdom," &c. Mr Douglas, and the most prudent and moderate ministers and elders in the Commission, did debate much against this, which commonly was called The Act at the West Kirk.* It being put to the vote, the votes were equal; but one Robert Lockhart coming in, they that were for it would needs have him to vote, who voted for it. Thereafter it was found that Robert Lockhart was not upon that Commission; whereupon the moderator discharged the clerk to give out copies of it. None was more grieved at that act than Mr Blair; but he was not present at that session of the Commission. Notwithstanding that the most grave, moderate, and prudent ministers and elders were displeased with that act, yet those that were for it (mostly they were young men, who were judged to be *iniquiores regi*), and others upon the Council of War and committee for purging the army, did not only cause read it upon the head of our army, but thereafter sent a copy of it to Cromwell, which made some of them, especially Estatesmen, to be suspected to favour the sectarian party. Shortly after this, the King craving a conference with some of the Estate and Kirk, after conference with them some of the most harsh expressions of the Declaration being smoothed and mollified, he subscribed it.†

August 12, our army, horse and foot, drew out of their trenches, resolving, upon the first opportunity, to offer the enemy battle; but early in the morning that day, the enemy marched west upon Pentland hills, and lies about Collington. They thought to have gotten Cramond Bridge, but were beaten from it by ours. Until August 26, the enemy retired and advanced, to and again, betwixt

* The meeting being held in the West Kirk, Edinburgh.

† He subscribed it at Dunfermline, on Friday the 16th of August. See *Balfour's Annals*, iv. 92-95.

Inveresk, and Pentland hills, and Braids Craigs, our army then lying upon Corstorphin craigs. That day there was a conference betwixt some of our army, (viz., Sir John Brown, Liberton, Warriston, Mr Douglas, and some other ministers) and Lambert and some others of the enemy. They challenged us that now we had espoused the malignant interest, in receiving amongst us the King, the head of the malignants, &c. They appealed to God for a decision of the controversy in the day of battle. After what they unjustly objected was answered, and the ministers appealing to God, the just judge, but not limiting God to a day of battle, or time, manner, or measure, as if we judged of the equity of our cause by success,—at last the enemy offered to pay all our losses, and the expenses we had been at in levying the army, and that they should presently march home, providing that we would not follow them or trouble their government, &c. They challenged us that we declined battle, keeping strongholds. Whereupon Sir John Brown desired that they would draw out to an equal field and fight it.

August 27, the enemy did draw down to the plain; ours drew down about Gogar and Inglishtoun. The enemy's cannon began to play very fiercely upon some of our regiments before our cannon came up; and though some of ours were killed with the cannon, yet the regiments stood very courageously. A great part of that day the two armies played upon 'each' other with cannon until the enemy retired to Inveresk, our army following them. About September 1, they retired from Inveresk and these bounds, our army hotly pursuing them. They retired somewhat disorderly, so that it was thought that they intended to march home to England. September 2, the enemy thus retiring some of our staff officers were most desirous to fall upon their rear, and it was judged that if our army had fallen on they might have been routed; but the Council of War that gave orders to the General was against it, and that same day the committee for purging the army was busy purging out those that should have been fighting. There was another thing that made some suspected to favour the sectaries

more than the King. Several times papers were interchanged betwixt some of the sectarian army and some of ours that were upon the Council of War and committee for purging. Besides all these, that day, there was a division and dissension among the prime officers of our army, so that the golden opportunity was lost and nothing acted.

September 2, that night the enemy lay in and about Dunbar. Our army lay about Broxmouth. The foot was first quartered upon a hill, but thereafter was brought down off the hill to a plain below the hill, which was done contrary to the mind and opinion of the most expert officers in our army, which made them that were for it to be suspected. At ten o'clock the enemy did give an alarm to ours. The whole army then being in a readiness they were repulsed. Thereafter it was reported, and often by sundry affirmed, that orders were given to the foot to put out their matches, &c., which made them yet more to be suspected. September 3, very early in the morning our army being wearied and not in order, the enemy with their horses fell on them, and first put our horses to the rout, and they running through the foot put the whole army first to confusion, thereafter to the rout. It was a most lamentable defeat, and to the most part unexpected. Many were killed of the foot, many taken prisoners, some persons of quality. General Leslie and the noblemen that were with the army first came to Edinburgh, thereafter to Stirling, to keep that pass from the enemy. Thither resorted sundry of our horse and foot. Within two days after this woeful defeat, the enemy came first to Leith, thereafter to Edinburgh. The most part of the inhabitants left their houses and fled. Some of the ministers went up to the castle. The enemy plundered all the houses that were left of their inhabitants, carrying all into their ships. They quartered their soldiers upon those that remained; so that it was hard to tell whether they that fled or remained were in harder condition.*

* Nicoll states some farther particulars of the proceedings of the English army when resident in Edinburgh at this time: "The body of the English army," says

After this woeful and total rout of our army, all of the army that were neither prisoners nor wounded were desired to repair to Stirling, where the Committee of Estates and Commission of the Kirk were to meet to advise what should be done for the good of religion and safety of the kingdom. Many were of the opinion, that now those noblemen and others that were not permitted to rise in arms or to be in judicatories because of their accession to the Engagement, should in this present exigent be permitted to join with the rest, especially such as before that engagement had carried honestly, and since had given satisfaction to the Kirk, and now in charity might be thought to be for all the ends of the Covenant. Anent this there was a query sent from a meeting of the ministry of Fife at Falkland, and thereafter from the Synod met at Cupar, September 10, to the Commission of the Kirk at Stirling. But albeit sundry of the Commission were of the opinion, that some Engagers* might and ought now to be joined with for safety of the kingdom and the good of religion; yet others were against it, seeing there were standing acts of Parliament and General Assembly to the contrary. To this it was answered, That a Parliament and General Assembly might be called for, giving their sense of these acts now in this case. The King, who all this time bypast remained at Perth, was most desirous of a conjunction, and anent it he wrote to the Committee of Estates. But as it was in the Commission of the Kirk, so was

he, "being thus quartered in Edinburgh, Canongate, Leith, and in several other parts of Lothian; and a number of the English footmen being lodged within the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, it fell out that upon a Wednesday, being the 13th day of November 1650, the haill royal part of that palace was put in a flame, and burnt to the ground on all parts thereof. . . . These three kirks, viz., the College Kirk, the Gray-friars' Kirk, and that kirk called the Lady Yester's Kirk, the High School, and a great part of the College of Edinburgh, were all wasted; their pulpits, desks, lofts, seats, windows, doors, locks, bandis, and all other their decorments, were all dung down to the ground by these English soldiers and burnt to ashes; by and beside the timber, inside, and plenishing of many dwelling-houses in these towns, and other towns, and sundry other parts of the country." He adds, "In all the parts of the land where the English army come, the ministers fled, and the Lord's houses were closed and laid waste; so the word of the Lord became very precious to many of the land."—*Diary*, p. 35.

* *Engagers*—i. e., those who had joined in Hamilton's engagement, 1648.

it in the Committee of Estates and among the officers of the army; so that at this time there were many woeful divisions and subdivisions in the kingdom. There appeared a fearful division among the officers of the army, for Ker * and Strachan † did challenge David Leslie of sundry neglects and omissions, especially for removing of the infantry off the hill, the night before the defeat. David Leslie made answer for himself, and before the Committee of Estates laid down his charge. So did thereafter the General, and other officers that assisted them. On the other hand Ker and Strachan did plainly say, that they would never serve under these two, viz., the general and lieutenant-general David Leslie; for they looked upon them as natural graceless men whom the Lord would never bless with success.

* Colonel Gilbert Ker zealously joined in the Remonstrance sent by the west country army to the Estates, which proved so great a cause of offence and contention. In the skirmish of the west country army with a party of English troops, under the conduct of Lambert, on the 1st of December 1650, being Sabbath, Ker was wounded and taken.—*Lamont's Diary*, p. 24. At the restoration of Charles II., when those concerned in the Remonstrance were particularly the objects of the government's wrath, he deemed it prudent to leave the country, but was allowed to return by the Privy Council in the beginning of the year 1671, upon "giving bond to behave himself peaceably and loyally under the penalty of five hundred pounds sterling."—*Wodrow's History*, ii. 180. He died in the year 1677.

† Colonel Archibald Strachan, a native of Musselburgh, was at one time distinguished for profligacy of manners. A change being produced upon his character, he leaned in his opinions to the sectaries of England, and joining the army of Cromwell against the Engagers continued in his service till the death of Charles I. At that time, meeting with Mr Blair and the other Scottish Commissioners at London, his views were in some degree altered, although not so far as to join in the Covenant. But by the influence of Mr James Guthrie and Mr Patrick Gillespie, his doubts being in a great measure removed, he satisfied the Commission of the Church in regard to that, and whatever had been objectionable in his conduct. "His eminent services," says Baillie, "first against Pluscardie and then against James Graham, got him the Church's extraordinary favour, to be helped with one hundred thousand merks out of their purses for the mounting him a regiment; the greatest offering which ever our churchmen made at one time. This did not a little lift his spirit and get him the far best regiment in the army: with the western recruit it became stronger than any two regiments in the kingdom."—*Letters and Journals*, iii. 113. Strachan had a chief hand in the getting up of the Western Remonstrance. In December 1650 he joined the English army, for which he was excommunicated at Perth by the appointment of the Commission of the General Assembly, January 12, 1651, the same day on which Middleton was relaxed from the sentence of excommunication and received into the Church.—*Lamont's Diary*, 26, 27.

Yea there were some of the Committee of Estates of this opinion and judgment, viz., Warriston, Chiesly, &c.; and some of the Commission of the Kirk, viz., Mr James Guthrie, Mr Patrick Gillespie, &c. This division was augmented; for sundry shires in the west desired liberty of the Committee of Estates for an association among themselves, promising to rise in arms for the suppressing of the enemy, which was granted unto them. They invited Ker and Strachan to come to them to command them, who presently with their troops repaired to them. That troop commanded by Strachan was levied by a sum of money which ministers gave, every one giving a proportionable part of his stipend for that effect.

The Committee of Estates wrote letters to the shires be-north Forth, for a second levy to come to Stirling for the strengthening of the army there. Thereafter David Leslie was most earnestly dealt with by the Committee of Estates to take his charge again, which he did after much entreaty. So did the General and the rest of the officers that assisted them. Some of the Committee of Estates did protest against David Leslie's receiving of his charge again, viz., Warriston, Chiesly, &c. And now both the armies began to act in a divided way. Those at Stirling did fortify the town of Stirling, so that it was thought very strong. Also they did cut the fords above and beneath the bridge. The enemy having settled matters in Leith and Edinburgh marched west towards Stirling, and, September 18, approached near the works and fortifications.

The associate shires meanwhile are busy levying their men. Besides Ker and Strachan, some other officers that assisted them, and disliked David Leslie, though they were inhibit by the Committee of Estates, did with their troops repair to the west; so did many soldiers in the army repair to them. Many wise and moderate estatesmen and ministers looked upon this division of the army as sad a blow as that at Dunbar. Others both in Kirk and Estate liked and fostered the division. They did what they could to weaken the army at Stirling, and to discourage them, looking on them as a malignant

army; and though the King, and many in the Estate and Kirk were desirous for a conjunction of forces, and of employing those that were members of the Kirk, and *cives patriæ*, to act against the enemy, and that those that were secluded because of their accession to the Engagement, that either had given or were willing to give satisfaction to the Kirk, might be permitted to fight against the enemies of religion, King and country, yet all was obstructed by a strong party in Kirk and Estate, that favoured the Association; so that numbers, not only the King, but others that liked not the division of the army, and their acting in a divided way, began to fear that nothing could be done against the enemy; the army at Stirling being weak and discouraged, and the second levy interrupted, partly by covetous dealing of officers that levied sums of money, not men, partly by the obstructions of others that favoured the association, and their strengthening of the western army. The King in this meantime being jealous of them in the west, especially of Strachan and some other commanders, his fears and jealousies were augmented by some about him that were not well principled, so that he was kept in continual fears.

Many honest men who desired the army at Stirling encouraged and strengthened, and regretted that the second levy was so disappointed, did, notwithstanding, expect good things of the army in the west, yet still desiring a conjunction of the two armies; and though it was refused by them in the west, yet still they liked them well, and prayed for their prosperity and good success. And because generally they were thought to be godly, they hoped that it might please the Lord to bless them, though few in comparison of the enemy; but still they disliked their divided way of acting, yet continued praying for them. Of this temper was Mr Blair, and many, yea, the most part of the ministry.

All this time those noble and gentlemen that were debarred by an over-ruling party in Kirk and Estate, being sore provoked, did begin to gather in the north, and keeping correspondence with the King, did earnestly desire him to come to them, promising to raise the north and come south and force a conjunction against the

common enemy, yet they were divided; the best and most moderate among them liked not this course, and lay by. All this time the King's ears are filled with rumours and reports that the western army would deliver him up to the enemy, that Strachan would come to Perth and take him away, and that many of the Committee of Estates would deliver him to Strachan, &c. The King being kept in continual fears by his malignant servants and others about him, did, about the beginning of October, quietly withdraw himself from Perth; and crossing Tay only with four or five accompanying him, he came to Dudhope, thinking to find there many of the noble and gentlemen that were debarred.* But he not being looked for at that time, (his coming from Perth being on a sudden resolved on, his malignant servants giving him a hot alarm that he was presently to be taken by Strachan), when he came to Dudhope, he only found the Earl of Lauderdale occasionally there, whom he desired to write to the Earl of Crawford, (who among all the debarred was the best and honestest, and had given full satisfaction to the General Assembly in July)† entreating his Lordship to come over Tay to him, which Crawford did, accompanied with some debarred gentlemen. But when Crawford came to Dudhope, the King was gone to Clova. After some short abode in Dundee, Crawford returned home to the Struthers.

Presently after the King's departure from Perth, the Committee of Estates convened. My Lord Balcarras told them, that betwixt Dundee and Perth he spoke with the King, and that he desired him to tell the Committee that he was going to the north to raise the north for the defence of the kingdom, and that he intended to be back at them within ten days.‡ The Committee sent three of their number to the King to desire him presently to come back again. The King coming to Clova, and finding very few to attend

* This elopement of the King was called *the Start.*

† Speaking of this Assembly Lamont says, "At this meeting there were several noblemen that were accessory to the late unlawful engagement, that were desirous to be received, as the Earl of Crawford, who was received in the Abbey Kirk, and appeared to be very penitent."—*Diary*, p. 22. This nobleman was the son of the pious Lady Boyd, by her first husband, Lord Lindsay of Byres.

‡ He was not, however, absent above two days.

upon him, and very bad entertainment, did, upon the morrow, according to the desire of the Committee, return back again to Perth, and did ingenuously confess his fears and jealousies, and the reasons why he left Perth so suddenly, not having consulted with his friends, to some that were sent to him from the Committee and Commission of the Kirk. Some did strangely aggrage [aggravate] this escape of the King; others put more charitable construction upon it. But though the King returned to Perth, these debarred noblemen and others convene in arms. They emitted a Declaration of their intentions for opposing of the enemy and defence of religion, King and country; but some of the best of them did not join with them, viz., Crawford, Rothes, &c. The chief of them was Ogilvy. Middleton * was their commander.

Those that favoured the association and were against the conjunction of the two armies, and the receiving in of the debarred, did much aggrage the rising of them in the north. Others that heartily desired a conjunction and acting against the enemy, though they looked upon it as a fault, yet thought they were provoked to do what they had done. It was carried in the Commission of the Kirk, against the mind of some more moderate members, that Middleton should be summarily excommunicated,† and that a sharp Declaration should be emitted against them, and declaring against all conjunction upon any terms with them, against the common enemy. This was done shortly after the King's return to Perth; but the King resenting his escape, did send orders to them in the north to disband, otherwise to be declared rebels. Whereupon they sent some of their number to the Committee of Estates, and after some conference and debate, they did disband at the King's command; which being obtained, all moderate men thought there

* John, Earl of Middleton, Lord High Commissioner to the Parliament of Scotland after the restoration of Charles II.

† "Mr James Guthrie moved Middleton's summary excommunication. Mr Robert Douglas and most members present were against it; yet Mr James and Mr Patrick [Gillespie], by two or three votes of elders, did obtain it; and though the Committee of Estates, by an earnest letter, entreated Mr James to delay a little the execution, yet, on the next Sabbath, he did execute the sentence, to the regret of many."—*Baillie's Letters and Journals*, iii. 118.

was no reason to excommunicate Middleton. So the King wrote a letter to Mr James Guthrie (who was appointed to intimate his excommunication) not to do it, the day appointed for his excommunication not being yet come. The Committee of Estates and the Moderator of the Commission of the Kirk wrote also to him to the same purpose. Notwithstanding of all these letters, Mr James Guthrie did excommunicate Middleton, which made many of the ministry, good and moderate men, dislike his way; for he was suspected to have been the first stickler for dividing of the army, and it was certain that always he preached for it and against the army at Stirling, (where he was minister), to the great discouragement of the garrison and army there; which moved some officers to lay down their charge; others to go to the western army.

But before this there was another thing whereat some were offended. Immediately after the rout at Dunbar, four or five ministers, with some few of the ministers that had been with the army, met at Stirling;* and though their number was far short of the half of a quorum of the Commission, yet they took upon them to set down some causes of a fast, and send them abroad; which causes they having in a frequent [numerous] meeting at Leith, July 30, urged to be condescended upon, could not obtain it. These causes of humiliation were, 1. The unstraight dealings of our Commissioners with the King in the treaty at Breda.† 2. Blaming the closing of a treaty with him, so as they did. 3. Blaming their inviting him to come home to be admitted to the exercise of the go-

* September 12, 1650.

† This forms the second cause for humiliation. The words in which it is expressed are these: "The manifest provocations of the King's house, which we fear are not thoroughly repented of, nor forsaken by him to this day; together with the crooked and precipitant ways that were taken by sundry of our statesmen for carrying on the treaty with the King." It would appear that the last clause was originally, "together with the crooked and precipitant ways that were taken by our Commissioners for carrying on the treaty with the King;" but that Mr Wood being offended at these words, and declaring that "he would with his pen (if they did not mend it) make all the world know the untruth thereof," the leaders at Stirling, "to whom Mr James and some of the delegates of the Provincial [Synod] of Fife, posted in great haste, both ministers and people," altered the sentence and expressed it as it stands above.—*Balfour's Annals*, iv. 108.

vernment, when it was known he had given commission to Graham, &c. 4. Aggrageing to the full the King's faults in Holland; alleging that as yet there was reason to fear he had not repented of them, &c. These and some other causes did this small number of ministers send abroad, with letters to keep a fast for them.* This, by others more moderate, was judged most imprudent dealing.

Shortly after the King's returning to Perth, while many honest and godly people in the land began to conceive some hopes that it might please the Lord to bless the western army against the enemy;—for albeit honest men loved not their separating from the army at Stirling and refusing to concur with them, or to take orders from them, yet they looked upon the generality of them as godly men, enemies to Cromwell and friends to the King and his interest;—while these were the thoughts and hopes of many godly honest people, there comes to the Committee of Estates at Stirling, from the gentlemen, officers, and ministers attending the western forces, a Remonstrance. It was of a high strain. The main articles of it were, first, those causes of the fast that were urged and refused at Leith, July 30, but sent abroad by that small number met at Stirling, *ut supra;* and besides these they desired, 1. The King's interest to be laid by (according to the act at the West Kirk) in the quarrel against the enemy. 2. That he should be suspended from the exercise of his kingly power and authority, until he gave real convincing evidences of a real change and repentance. 3. They aggravate all the King's faults in Holland and at home, especially his escape in the business of the Start. 4.

* This paper is entitled, "A Short Declaration and Warning to all the Congregations of the Kirk of Scotland, from the Commissioners of the General Assembly," together with "Causes of a solemn Public Humiliation upon the defeat of the army, to be kept throughout all the congregations of the Kirk of Scotland." It is inserted in *Balfour's Annals*, iv. 98-107. "Many of the ministers of the province of Fife," says Balfour, "at first refused to read these reasons, especially Mr James Wood, Mr David Forret, Mr John Macgill younger, Mr John Macgill elder, Mr James Bruce, Mr Frederick Carmichael, Mr Henry Rymer, with many more; which was like to go to very great schism. Some did not stick to say that five or six men were too bold to give out reasons to a whole Church, without a more frequent [full] meeting of the Commission of the General Assembly."—*Balfour's Annals*, iv. 107.

They offer remedies of what is past, and for preventing more sin and danger, &c. 5. They challenge many things in the proceedings of the Committee of Estates, especially the noblemen for backsliding, breach of engagements, human policy, &c., offering remedies for all these evils. Last of all, (which gave greatest offence), in the close there is insinuate a band that they shall to the uttermost of their power endeavour to get these things remonstrate 'against' remedied.*

Some gentlemen, attended by Messrs Patrick Gillespie and John Stirling, presented this Remonstrance to the Committee of Estates. About the end of October, the King having seen the Remonstrance, sent a copy of it to Mr Blair, (who all this while bypast, by his bodily infirmities, was not able to attend the King as his chaplain, Mr James Durham being appointed to attend the King and his family as his minister), entreating him to consider it and write his sense of it to him. Mr Blair, after he had considered the Remonstrance, did after his accustomed way, (for he strove to say mikell [much] in few words), wrote to the King very shortly, that he did judge that paper an unseasonable, injudicious and uncharitable piece, but did acknowledge that there were many sad truths in it, which he humbly and heartily desired and called the King's Majesty to remark, and make right and good use of them in time.

In November they did press an answer to their Remonstrance. Whereupon the Committee of Estates at Perth gave their sense upon the Remonstrance, condemning it as scandalous to the Parliament and other judicatories, injurious to the King's person and authority, containing seeds of division, &c., yet offering pardon to such as would disclaim it. They sent in three of their number to the Commission of the Kirk, with their

* "It closed," says Baillie, "with a solemn engagement in all their hearts (if God blessed their armies) to see all these things performed."—*Letters and Journals*, iii. 119. This Remonstrance, commonly called the "Western Remonstrance," created much dissension in the Church as well as the State; and those who had the chief hand in it, or who adhered to it, were, after the restoration of Charles II., the special objects of the vengeance of the government.

sense of the Remonstrance,* desiring them likewise to give their sense of it. Those being removed that had accession to the Remonstrance, the sense of the Commission upon it was, That in it were many sad truths in relation to the sins charged on the King, his family, and judicatories, which (and more too) they purpose to remonstrate 'against' in an orderly way; that they are dissatisfied with it in regard of some entrenching on some conclusions of the General Assembly, and in regard of some inferences and applications made therein, in relation to the King's interest and the exercise of his power, in regard of the engagements upon their hearts before God, in relation to endeavours for remedying of things contained in it; and that it is apt to breed division, and that the enemy has taken advantage thereat: this much forbearing a farther inquiry in it, expecting from the authors of it a satisfactory declaration upon it, of their true meaning of it at the next meeting of the Commission. This last clause was added because some gentlemen that had accession to the Remonstrance did petition that they would do nothing in reference to the Remonstrance at that time, promising that shortly they should give in such a declaration that would please all; but some words in their petition insinuated that they would never pass from the Remonstrance. Some that favoured the association pressed for a delay; but the Commission found themselves obliged to declare *ut supra*. Against this act of the Commission condemning the Remonstrance protested Messrs James Guthrie, Patrick Gillespie, and some others in the west. Some others dissented: Messrs Andrew Cant, Samuel Rutherford and Alexander Moncrieff; at least they dissented from the precipitancy of it. This was done, November 28, at Perth.

All this time bypast many honest men were desirous to have the King crowned, and were sorry that some diets appointed for the coronation were not kept, and so much the rather, because the

* That is, with their Declaration against it. The three sent were the Marquis of Argyle, the King's Advocate, and James Sword. They also brought from the Committee of Estates to the Commission, a paper, in which they accused Mr James Guthrie and Mr Patrick Gillespie, as contrivers and abettors of all this division in Church, Army, and State.—*Balfour's Annals*, iv. 174.

Remonstrance did blame their desires of crowning the King, calling them too great haste; whereas, honest men thought it was too long delayed. But, notwithstanding, still it was obstructed. All this time the enemy peaceably possesses the other side of Forth. Sometimes they marched west to Stirling, but did not assault it, only tried to cross Forth above Stirling, which they durst not attempt, the passes being so strait.

In this meantime, it was wondered that the western forces did attempt nothing against the enemy, they being often so near unto them. At last the Westland army, upon a Sabbath-day, fell in upon the enemy's quarters at the town of Hamilton; but after some skirmishing, they were beaten and routed. Colonel Ker* was wounded and taken. But, before this infall, Lieutenant-Colonel Strachan had left the west country forces and joined with the enemy in counsel and arms. In the year 1648, he left the kingdom and went in to the sectarian army to eschew the engagers malice against him as he alleged. Thereafter, he was employed, (notwithstanding of many men's fears and jealousies of him), in our forces, and commanded that party that defeated Montrose; and after Cromwell's invasion, he freely professed that he was as ready to fight against Cromwell as Graham. Whereupon the General Assembly was content that he should command that regiment which the ministers of the kingdom did give money to levy for the strengthening of the army, and now, before the rout at Dunbar, all almost were well pleased with him; yea he did at the infall at Inveresk stoutly fight against the enemy, and yet again he joined with the enemy before the infall at Hamilton.

The Westland forces (who only held in honest men's hopes of something to be acted against the enemy) being routed and scattered, and the army at Stirling being extremely weak, and now lying in their winter quarters dispersed, all hopes were perished

* According to Nicoll, Colonel Ker was so great a stickler for the Western Remonstrance, that, "before this fight at Hamilton, he inquired the judgment of his inferior officers the night before, what they thought of the case of affairs as they then stood; and showed them that he would join with none who were not for the Remonstrance, nor yet with these who would not decline the State, I mean the Committee of Estate as it then stood."—*Nicoll's Diary*, p. 37.

of doing any thing against the enemy, unless there were at last a conjunction of the kingdom, and a more general outcalling of the body of the people; those being permitted to fight that formerly were debarred by the Act of Classes.

About the beginning of December the Parliament sat down in Perth. Mr Andrew Cant did preach at the opening up of the Parliament, and very plainly and boldly, according to his custom, did challenge them that there was no acting against the enemy. The first and main thing the Parliament fell upon, was to lay down a course for defence and security of the kingdom against the common enemy, who now not only intended, but professed an absolute conquest. And now the Westland army being scattered, the officers that were neither taken nor killed laid down their charges; and the army at and about Stirling being very weak, not above 4000, and some officers, shortly after Dunbar fight, having laid down their charges and gone in to the enemy, (especially the young laird of Swintoun, who before the infalling was suspected to favour the enemy and some sectarian errors), the Parliament, after serious consideration of the condition of the kingdom, and being desirous of a conjunction for a more general outcalling of the body of the people against the common enemy, did, upon the 14th of December, send unto the Commission of the Kirk, then sitting at Perth, this query, "What persons are to be admitted to rise in arms and join with the forces of the kingdom, and in what capacity for defence against the common enemy." The Commission, after serious deliberation, having a frequent [full] meeting, (for besides the members of the Commission there were others from sundry adjacent Presbyteries that were called for advice and concurrence), did return this answer: "That considering it's a necessary duty, both by the law of God and of nature, to use all lawful means for defence of the liberty, lives, and estates of the people, against the common enemy, and considering that the forces are so routed and scattered, and that there cannot be raised any competency of forces out of those parts of the kingdom that's free, unless there be a more general calling forth of the body

of the people than hath been before; therefore, in this case of so great necessity, we cannot be against the raising of all fencible persons, and permitting them to fight for defence of the kingdom, excepting such as are excommunicate, forfaulted, notoriously profane or flagitious, and such as have been from the beginning and continue still, or are at this time, obstinate and professed enemies and opposers of the Covenant and cause of 'God.' And for "the capacity of acting,"—That the Parliament ought to have care, that in this general concurrence of the people of the kingdom, none be put in such trust or power as may be prejudicial to the cause of God; and that such officers as are of known integrity and affection to the cause, and particularly such as have suffered in our former armies, may be taken special notice of." At this time the Commission being certainly informed that Strachan was in to the enemy did emit an act, That all that did join with the enemy in counsels or arms should be excommunicate, and that others that complied with them by taking provisions, executing their orders, giving them intelligence, speaking favourably of them, &c., should be censured according to the degrees of their compliance. This act was appointed to be read in all kirks.

This answer to the query did mightily offend all those in the Estate that had declared themselves against any conjunction with those formerly debarred, permitting now that all those, except excommunicated, forfaulted, professed, and still obstinate enemies, &c., were to be joined with against the enemy. Whereupon they left the public judicatories. Lord Warriston, clerk register, left the Parliament. Sir John Chiesly, and some others, a little before had left the Committee of Estates. Also those ministers that favoured the Remonstrance and that association, and that had declared themselves against any conjunction, that were members of the Commission, did dissent and protest against the answer to the query, and left the judicatory as discontented persons; and thereafter, in their several Presbyteries, where the greater number were dissatisfied with the answer to the query, obtained that their Presbyteries should write letters to the Commission, shewing their

dissent and the reasons thereof. The letter of the Presbytery of Stirling was most famous, containing reasons against the conjunction, and public resolutions of Kirk and Estate. Several letters came from the west, and one from Aberdeen.

Mr Blair was not present in the Commission of the Kirk when the answer was given to the query, but came upon the morrow after; and, in the Commission, he did not witness any dislike of the answer, but always wished that the Parliament and Committee of Estates might look well to and observe the cautions and exceptions mentioned in the answer. He abode still for some short space at Perth, and did attend the King's family. He had several debates with some that were most displeased with the answer to the query, especially with Sir John Chiesly, of whom he always retained a good opinion. In a sermon preached by him then at Perth, the King, members of Parliament, and Commission being hearers, he had this remarkable passage,—"There are some," said he, "that say, Give us religion well secured, become of the King what will; and there are others that say, Give us the King well established upon his throne, become of religion what will; but, blessed be God (said he) that there are some, both ministers and others, that wishes well both to religion and the King, giving to God what is God's, and to Cæsar what is Cæsar's." Mr Blair's constant study was always to steer a steady course betwixt dangerous extremes and rocks upon either hand. He abode at Perth, attending the King and his family so long as his health continued; but he falling unwell, left Perth and came home to St Andrews some few days before the coronation.

The Parliament having gotten the foresaid answer to their query, presently emitted an act of levy, of the most part of the able and fencible persons in the kingdom, appointing those noble and gentlemen formerly debarred to be colonels and under-officers; and that they might have a faithful account of the fencible persons, ministers were desired by the Parliament to give in the rolls of their parishes, of all persons betwixt sixty and sixteen.

All that formerly had declared themselves against this conjunc-

tion were mightily displeased, crying out that it was the advancing of the malignant party, and that it would turn to the oppression and persecution of the godly; and ministers that were displeased with the public resolutions of Kirk and Estate, in their letters and preachings did cry out that it was against the word of God, against our covenant, against our former declarations, especially The Acknowledgment and Engagement to Duties, *anno* 1648, and that it was a receding from old good principles, &c. Whereupon some officers in the army, and some soldiers left the army. Some of the officers did go in to the enemy.

During all this time the Castle of Edinburgh holds out. There were in it sundry ministers, viz. Messrs Hugh M'Kail, James Hamilton, John Smith, Mr George Leslie, &c. These honest ministers did occasion the holding out of the Castle so long. The governor, the young Laird of Dundass, before the invasion, was suspected to favour the enemy, and after Dunbar and Hamilton fights, did declare himself to the ministers to be against the conjunction, and that he could not hold out the Castle for a malignant Parliament or faction; and then there was one William Dundass, (who, before and after the invasion, was an intelligencer to the enemy), who did negotiate betwixt Cromwell and the Laird of Dundass, contriving the way of rendering the Castle. Also Dundass's lieutenant, Andrew Abernethie, did as much hate the conjunction as Dundass, and, before the invasion, was not without reason suspected to favour the sectaries. He always spoke favourably of Independency and against Presbyterian government. The enemy being confident of these two men's resolutions to render the Castle, did, in the end of December assault it. The Governor and his Lieutenant Abernethie, having made a party of the garrison for them, notwithstanding that the ministers opposed any motion of rendering, and notwithstanding that shortly before, they, through the valour and conduct of one Augustine,* a Dutchman,

* "One Augustine, a high German, being purged out of the army before Dunbar drove, but a stout and resolute young man, and lover of the Scots nation, in October and November this year, [1650], annoyed the enemy very much, killing many of his

that did much annoy the enemy, had gotten in some fresh men; yet they did very treacherously and basely render the Castle. The ministers, and all honest men within the Castle, protested against the capitulation, and rendering of the stronghold, in write.*

All this time after Hamilton, till the beginning of January, the enemy did sundry times march west, but it pleased the Lord of armies to restrain them both from assaulting of Stirling and crossing of Forth. They sometimes went to Glasgow, where Cromwell and his chief officers had many debates with the ministers of Glasgow† and some others, viz., Messrs James Guthrie, Robert Ramsay, Patrick Gillespie, John Carstares and James Durham. They kept garrisons in Linlithgow, Hamilton, &c.; but the chief garrison town was Leith. They enlarged their quarters through all the south, even to Galloway.

In the end of December two solemn days of humiliation and

stragglers, and made nightly infalls upon their quarters, taking and killing sometimes twenty, and sometimes thirty, and more or less of them, whereby he both enriched himself and his followers, and greatly damaged the enemy. His chief abode was about and in the mountains of Pentland and Soutra.—*Balfour's Annals*, iv. 165.

* "After the English had gained the Castle, they kept a day of solemn thanksgiving upon the 25th of December 1650, in the New Kirk of Edinburgh."—(*Nicoll's Diary*, p. 40.)

† Of these "many debates" which Cromwell had with the ministers of Glasgow, Balfour gives an account of one which he had with eight ministers of that city in May 1651, when he was there with his army. The debate was respecting the lawfulness of his engagement against this country and kingdom; and, if Balfour may be credited, such debates did not promise much to recommend his invasion of Scotland even to his own officers. "He gave them some papers, which they answered *ex tempore*, and proved to his face his perjury, and breach of covenant and league, and his sinful rebellion and murder, contrary to the express word of God, and league and covenant sworn by himself and most of his complices. He took the morrow at three in the afternoon to his further conference with them; and many of his chiefest officers did openly acknowledge they were convinced in reason, and never till now did see the weakness of their own grounds. In place of keeping the appointed meeting, (seeing a fire to begin to kindle amongst his own), about midnight that same day he commands all his army presently to march under the pain of death, back towards Edinburgh; and empties all his garrisons be-west Linlithgow; sends his horses towards the border, and with great haste, with his foot returns to Edinburgh and Leith; and is now busy in repairing the breaches of the Edinburgh castle."—*Annals*, iv. 298. Few conquerors, on the whole, have conducted themselves with greater moderation than Cromwell. When he entered Glasgow with his army, the control which he exercised over his soldiers, and the little injury which they did to that town excited surprise, and are eulogised by Baillie.

fasting were kept by appointment of the Commission of the General Assembly. The first for the contempt of the gospel upon the 22d day, (that sin, the contempt of the gospel, was at length branched out, put in print and sent to Presbyteries); the second upon the 26th day, for the King's sins and the sins of the royal family. This second day of humiliation was kept throughout the land, and by the King and his family at Perth, as previous unto and preparatory for the coronation of the King. Sundry diets being appointed but not kept, at last the Committee of Estates appointed the 1st of January 1651, to be the day of the King's coronation, and resolved upon any terms to keep that day.

The first of January being come, and now there being a conjunction of the kingdom, the noblemen formerly debarred did countenance the coronation and concur in the work according to their places. Mr Robert Douglas did preach the coronation sermon upon 2 Kings xi. 12. All the form and ceremonies of the coronation, with Mr Douglas' sermon, were thereafter printed.*

The King's oath when he took the National and Solemn League and Covenant:—

"I, C. R., king of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the Faith, do assert and declare by my solemn oath, in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of hearts, my allowance and approbation of the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant above written, and faithfully oblige myself to prosecute the ends thereof in my station and calling, and for myself and successors shall consent and agree to all acts of Parliament enjoining the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant, and fully establishing Presbyterian government, the Directory of Worship, the Confession of Faith, and the Catechisms of the kingdom of Scotland, as they are approven by the General Assemblies and Parliament of this kingdom; and that I shall give my

* The tract in which the whole proceedings of the coronation were printed at the time is entitled "The Form and Order of the Coronation of Charles the Second, King of Scotland, England, France and Ireland, as it was acted and done at Scoone, the first day of Januarie, 1651." Printed at Aberdeen by James Brown. It has been several times reprinted.

royal assent to acts and ordinances of Parliament passed or to be passed, enjoining the same in my other dominions; and that I shall observe these in my own practice and family, and shall never make any opposition to any of these, or endeavour any change thereof."

After the coronation Mr Douglas cited a passage out of Neh. v. 13. He said also to the King and nobles, "If ye break that Covenant, being so solemnly sworn, all those that have touched that crown and sworn to support it shall not be able to hold it up."

The King in all the solemnity, especially in swearing the Covenants, did carry very seriously and devoutly, so that none doubted of his ingenuity and sincerity; yea, he did, both before and after the coronation, profess his sincerity in taking the Covenant to some honest ministers, viz., Messrs James Wood, James Hamilton, 'and' John Macgill, begging this favour of them, that if 'ever,' in any time coming, they did hear or see him breaking that covenant they would tell him of it and put him in mind of his oath.

Immediately after the coronation the Commission of the Kirk met at Perth. Their great work was to justify their answer to the Parliament's query, and to vindicate the Public Resolutions from the aspersions cast upon them by the opposers of them either in Kirk or Estate. First they took to their consideration the letter written from the Presbytery of Stirling, (which Cromwell caused to be printed, giving it this title, "A Remonstrance of the Presbytery of Stirling against the present conjunction with the malignant party,") and returned an answer to it, and sent it to the Presbytery of Stirling, and thereafter it was printed and sent to all Presbyteries.

Upon the 7th of January they did emit a Solemn Warning to all members of the Kirk, ordained to be read in all pulpits, for clearing every man's judgment anent the Public Resolutions.* At this meeting also the Commission did give in to the King and Com-

* "A Solemn Warning to all the Members of this Kirk, from the Commission of the Generall Assemblie: With an Act for censuring such as act or comply with the Sectarian Armie now infesting this Kingdom. Aberdene, Imprinted by James Brown, Anno 1651," 4to, pp. 19.

mittee of Estates a humble Remonstrance, wherein they remonstrated and complained of sundry things, especially that there was no acting against the enemy; that levies had been disappointed; that many unskilfully, some treacherously, had rendered strongholds, &c. They exhorted the King and Committee to many good duties, and especially to take good heed that malignancy did not spring to the prejudice of the cause. In the close of this session they appointed their next meeting to be at St Andrews, middle of January, and there they appointed a conference to be with some brethren that were mightily displeased with the Public Resolutions of Kirk and Estate, especially with Mr James Guthrie, Mr David Bennet*, his colleague in Stirling, and Mr Samuel Rutherford, principal of the New College there. The brethren appointed to confer with these were especially Messrs Blair, Douglas, James Hamilton, John Smith, James Wood and James Sharp. The conference held in the hall of the New College. But Mr Blair, being infirm and unwell, was not at it. They went through the answer to the letter of the Presbytery of Stirling, and the dissatisfied brethren did propose their objections against the conjunction and answer to the query. Mr Wood (for the dispute was mostly betwixt Mr Guthrie and him) answered, that their arguments did militate against a conjunction with strangers, idolaters, worshippers of Balame [Baal?] &c., and not against a conjunction with those that are *membra ecclesiæ et cives patriæ* against an invading enemy—enemy to both; neither could they produce any part of Scripture showing that ever any that was reputed a member of the Kirk, and admitted to ordinances, or counted a member of the commonwealth, was hindered to fight against an invading enemy. *Contra*, The Public Resolutioners did bring many parts of Scripture, where all sects, even those that were called men of Belial

* Mr Bennet died in the year 1655, as appears from one of Baillie's letters to Mr William Spang about the close of that year: "Mr David 'Bennet,' being on his deathbed, and advising to plant his place with a man peaceable, not factious, Mr James 'Guthrie' and the town 'of Stirling' fell in a strife about that matter immediately after his death."—*Letters and Journals*, iii. 283.

were joined with against an invading enemy in the time of the judges and kings, even in the time of the best reforming kings. Especially use was made of 1 Sam. xi. 6, 7, with 1 Sam. x. 27, and many like places. *Contra*, The dissenters did condemn all these practices, because not consonant to that which they made the rule of constituting of armies, viz., Deut. xxiii. 9-14. This place was much urged by the dissenters, and great weight laid on it as the rule of constituting and purging of armies. *Contra*, It was answered that it was a straining of the place, and that they could not lay such weight on it, and appealed to the commentators upon the place.*

In end, the dissenting brethren being nothing more pleased with the Public Resolutions, nor any way, as appeared, convinced, the Committee did, in a brotherly and friendly way, advise Mr James Guthrie and his colleague for a time to withdraw themselves from Stirling, promising to supply their places. This was done, the rather because the Committee of Estates having heard of their sermons that they did tend greatly to the discouragement of the garrison, (they preaching against Public Resolutions as sinful and contrary to the word of God), did desire the same, because by their sermons all were discouraged, some few laid down their charge, and so the whole kingdom was endangered, that pass being in a manner exposed to the will of the enemy. For these reasons the Commission desired the ministers of Stirling to withdraw for a time from that place, at least not to speak against Public Resolutions, or do any thing to hinder the levies or to discourage the garrison; all which desires they did flatly refuse, and did protest against these desires, they being written in the Commission Book, and so returned to Stirling. The Commission appointed some of their number to repair to Stirling to preach to the garrison, and to read any public papers, and to do in their capacity and station what they could to further the levies and to encourage the garrison at

* There was certainly more propriety in the arguments of the protesting party, which were drawn from the impolicy of intrusting the command of the army to unprincipled royalists, than in their appeals to the judicial laws of Moses.

Stirling. Mr John Robertson made report of the relaxation of Middleton from the sentence of excommunication in the kirk of Dundee, according to the appointment of the Commission at Perth. Thereafter he got employment in the army.

At this meeting of the Commission did William, Duke of Hamilton, and the Earl of Glencairn, offer satisfaction for their accession to the engagement 1648. The Duke had made the like offer to the preceding General Assembly; but at that time it was not accepted, and he being by the Parliament commanded to leave the kingdom, not daring to go to sea, did retire to the Isle of Arran, where this while bypast he had lurked. But now after the conjunction, he did again offer satisfaction to the Commission of the Kirk. The dissatisfied brethren cried out that now all malignants were coming in and feignedly offering satisfaction, because it was declared at the conference that none were to be employed in the army but those that had given satisfaction, and that by *obstinate* in the answer to the query, they meant those that had not given satisfaction though they had offered it. *Contra*, The Commission, and more moderate men, thought they could not refuse any that offered satisfaction for their malignant courses, and they having received them according to the rules of preceding Assemblies, they were to be looked on as penitents until they evidenced the contrary either by word or deed, &c. Likewise, the Commission received a supplication from the Duke and Glencairn, and did appoint some of their number to speak with them. Also they appointed two of the Presbytery of Cupar to speak with them, and ordained these to make their report to the next meeting of the Commission. This meeting of the Commission sent an act to the Presbytery of Cupar, ordaining them to receive satisfaction from the Earl of Crawford, for any accession that he had to the King's leaving of the public judicatories and counsels in October last, (he having to all men's contentment fully satisfied the preceding General Assembly for his accession to the engagement), albeit, he declared that he no ways was accessary to the King's withdrawing himself from Perth, and that he did not join in arms or counsels with those in the north,

nor subscribe their declaration; yet because in order to the King's desire he went to Dundee accompanied with some few of his friends, for removing any scandal given thereby, he was willing to satisfy in the way the Presbytery should appoint him. Therefore, he being presently to march to Stirling with his regiment, where the King was for the present, he did, upon a week day, in his own seat in the kirk of Cupar, declare his repentance for removing of any scandal given by his going at that time to Dundee. Thereafter, immediately, he marched with his regiment to Stirling.

In the close of this meeting at St Andrews, upon the 25th of January, the Commission did send a Remonstrance to the King and Committee of Estates, remonstrating especially these things. 1. That they were not well pleased that the Committee had employed some men, and inserted them in the act of levy, who were under the limitations and exceptions expressed in their answer to the query, and that colonels had appointed some under officers that had not satisfied the Kirk for their accession to the engagement. 2. They regretted the slow progress of the levies, and laid the blame especially upon the fountains of acting, that is to say, upon the judicatories. 3. That, notwithstanding, it had been remonstrate how former levies had been disappointed by taking money for men and horses, and, notwithstanding, a committee was appointed for trial of that matter yet nothing was done therein. All which the Committee of Estates did take well, and returned an answer, February 6, promising to amend these faults, but did regret that the difference of judgment of some of the ministry from the Public Resolutions of Kirk and Estate, and their refusing to concur, and hindering their people to give obedience to their orders, did not a little obstruct the levies and acting against the enemy; which they desired might be timely remedied, and promised their best advice and assistance, and did appoint some of their number to confer with the Commissioners of the General Assembly at their next meeting in Perth.

The King having gotten gathered together the most part of the forces then on foot (the levies not being yet all up), did, with

some few, go from Stirling to the heads of Forth, to take notice of all the fords and passes where the enemy might cross. From Cardross, where he lay the first night, he came down the water of Forth, all along, taking notice where probably the enemy might attempt to cross, to Burntisland, lying the second night at George Cairn's house. From Burntisland the King went along the coast to Anstruther, where he abode the third night in the laird of Anstruther's house. The next being the last day of the week, and the King intending to lie at the Struthers that night, he came from Anstruther to St Andrews of purpose to visit Mr Blair, who then was sick and apprehensive of death. Mr Blair did then take occasion, as a dying man, to speak to the King freely and fully, giving him his best advice, and withal showing him what he liked and what he disliked in his father, one of the best of our kings, whom Mr Blair always used to call a good king evil used. February 15, the King came to the Struthers, the Earl of Crawford's house in the parish of Ceres. There he spent the Sabbath day, Mr Duncan and the minister of the parish preaching in the hall of the Struthers. On Monday the King and the noblemen that accompanied him returned to Perth, where the Commission of the Kirk did meet. They ordained the Duke of Hamilton to satisfy in the kirk of Dundee.

The King being to go to the North, for hasting up the levies there, the Commission appointed some of their number, with the Earl of Argyle, viz., Messrs James Durham, James Wood, William Row,* to go to Aberdeen and confer with the ministers there viz., Messrs Andrew Cant, John Row,† John Menzies,‡ who were dissatisfied with the Public Resolutions; and not only the King but some others were offended that Mr John Menzies, on the day

* The author of this Continuation of Blair's Life.

† John Row, brother of William, was minister of St Nicholas Church, Aberdeen, to which he was elected and admitted in 1611. He afterwards became principal of King's College, Aberdeen.

‡ Mr John Menzies was professor of divinity in Marischal College, Aberdeen, and one of the ministers of the city. He was "once a Papist, then a Presbyterian, then an Independent, then complied with Episcopacy."—*Wodrow's Analecta*, i. 342. For some account of him, see *Wodrow's Correspondence*, ii. p. 222, note 2.

of humiliation for the King's sins, had preached on that text, 1 Sam. xvi. 1. Those appointed to confer with them having explicate some things in the answer to the query, and informed them of some things in the proceedings of the Commission, did for the time satisfy them, (they professing themselves satisfied with the Public Resolutions of the Kirk), and reported to the King their satisfaction with Mr John Menzies' apology and declaration for choosing that text, 1 Sam. xvi. 1. They returned with the King to Perth, well satisfied that they had satisfied these three ministers. But after they had made their report to the Commission, two of the ministers of Aberdeen, viz., Messrs John Row and John Menzies, came to the Commission at Perth, March 12, and gave in a paper containing some instructions agreed upon by the three ministers, showing what they liked and were pleased with in the Public Resolutions of the Kirk, desiring the Commission, for their further satisfaction, to declare whether they would homologate with all that the ministers sent to confer with them had explained in the answer to the query, or promised to be observed in their actings in time coming. 2dly, They declared what stumbled them in the answer to the query. 3dly, They complain of some actings of the Estate. Lastly, They declare that whereas they had yielded some things to the ministers that conferred with them, that it was to be understood with some provisions, which they did not then express, they being then surprised, and not having time sufficiently to ponder these things. The Commission, regretting their inconstancy, appointed some to confer with the two sent to them. But Mr John Row falling sick, and going out of the town, Mr John Menzies was conferred with at length; but he remained more unsatisfied than at the first conference, and so all the three ministers of Aberdeen, after their second thoughts, new doubts and scruples arising to them, were still unsatisfied with the Public Resolutions.

And now, by this time, there was no small division in the Kirk in reference to the Public Resolutions. Some did write in defence of them, especially Mr David Dickson. At first he wrote to a

friend to resolve him of some doubts against the Public Resolutions, and to take off some mistakes against them. Mr James Guthrie answered this letter in four several letters, labouring to prove the Public Resolutions contrary to the Word of God, our covenants, former declarations, especially the acknowledgment and engagement 1648, and inconsistent with our former principles. Which four letters Mr Dickson answered at length, proving that the Public Resolutions were consonant and agreeable to the Word, our covenants, and all former papers, and agreeable to our good old principles; and observed sundry faults in the dispute in Mr James Guthrie's papers, viz., taking advantage of the homonymy * of words, the abusing of sundry places of Scripture, especially Deut. xxiii. 9–14, vindicating that place and clearing the meaning thereof; the confounding of sentences of judicatories and courts, human, civil, or ecclesiastic, and divine, which only belongs to God, *in foro conscientiæ*, &c. He blamed him for asserting that he might communicate and have fellowship in the Kirk with them with whom he would not fight, as if there were required greater purity in the camp than in the kirk, yea at the table of the Lord. Mr Patrick Gillespie wrote against the Public Resolutions, and Mr James Fergusson of Kilwinning wrote for them. So there was a great and growing division in the Kirk, even among them that formerly were united, and were accounted godly and gracious men. In this evil and dividing time Mr Blair (being somewhat recovered of his sickness, but not able to come abroad) was prudently silent, and silently prudent, Amos v. 13. He was never silent in his station as a minister of the New Testament, (2 Cor. iii. 6). In some measure that may be said of him which is said of David, the type, and of Christ, who is the truth, (Ps. xl. 9, 10); yet, comparatively, it might be said of prudent Mr Blair, that he kept silence, he not being engaged in those woeful disputes; and as for their writings *pro* and *contra*, he disliked them, calling them our weakness-discovering writings, and papers that do not heal but augment our divisions, and cast more oil in the flame.

* *Homonymy*, equivocation.

In the end of March, the Commission at Perth did emit a Warning that most offended the Dissenting brethren, because as they conceived, the Commission did affix on them marks formerly made marks of malignancy, and that Presbyteries were ordained to censure them. Also some that hitherto had gone along with the Public Resolutions did not like well of that Warning, and scrupled to read it in their kirks. The Commission, in the beginning of April, meeting at Cupar in Fife, after conference, gave satisfaction to many; for at that meeting at Cupar they made some addition to that Warning, which cleared sundry men's minds. They declared it was not their mind to censure dissatisfied brethren, and that they rather show what they had power to do than what they resolved to do, and that they did not affix marks of malignancy upon dissenting brethren, but only desired them to beware of such things.

The Synod of Fife, on the first Tuesday of April, convened at Dunfermline; but the Commission of the Kirk being at Cupar, presently they transferred the Synod to Cupar, that they might have the Commission's advice and concurrence in difficult matters. The Warning formerly mentioned, with causes of a humiliation, were presented to the Synod from the Commission, with a letter to Presbyteries thereanent. The Synod wrote a letter to the Commission approving their proceedings, and encouraging them against all obloquies and aspersions, &c. Some of the Synod dissented from approving of this letter, viz. Messrs Samuel Rutherford, Alexander Moncrieff, John Macgill younger, and William Oliphant. They desired their dissent to be marked. The Synod wrote a letter to the King, and another to the Committee of Estates. They adjourned the Synod to the second Tuesday of May at Kirkaldy. In the meantime 'they' appointed Presbyteries to confer with dissatisfied brethren, and to make report of their diligence to the next Session of the Synod at Kirkaldy.

In the Synod of Glasgow, the dissatisfied brethren urging some things to be written to the Commission of the Kirk against the Public Resolutions, the greater part opposing the motion, it was

concluded that seven of them that were most unsatisfied, should come to the Commission to confer with them, viz. Messrs James Naismith,* Patrick Gillespie, Thomas Wylie, † &c. These seven came to Perth desiring conference, which was appointed to be at St Andrews, where those appointed by the Commission to confer with them might have Mr Blair's help in their conference, whose judgment was much reverenced by all, yea even by those that were dissatisfied, he being the man that was thought to be for the Public Resolutions that they reverenced most. Sure it was that Mr Blair was moderate towards them, and tender of and condescending to them, not willing to hear of any censure to be inflicted on them; and for that and some other things he was not well pleased with the late Warning emitted by the Commission. He thought it was too fiery and hot, being himself a man of a most moderate and calm temper, with great possessedness and stayedness of spirit and judgment.

This conference at St Andrews was not well kept, some of the seven not coming, and few upon the other side coming to it,

* "Mr James Naismith was minister of Hamilton. He was reckoned a very considerable man. He was well accounted of. I heard that the malignants in that time stood in awe of him. When he appeared upon the streets they would have fled away from his presence. He was reckoned a very good man, and a good preacher."—*Wodrow's Analecta*, iv. 267.

† Thomas Wylie was first minister of Borgue, a parish in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and was thence translated to Mauchline in Ayrshire, from which he was removed to Kirkcudbright some time before the restoration. In 1662 he was ejected from his charge, and banished to the north of the Tay with his family, by a particular act of the Privy Council, for not observing the anniversary day appointed by Parliament in commemoration of his Majesty's restoration, and for not receiving presentation from the patron of his parish, and collation from the bishop of his diocese, according to Act of Parliament.—(*Wodrow's History*, i. 300.) But his wife having fallen into bad health, he was, on presenting a petition to the Council, allowed, November 3, 1664, to remove with his family to the south of the Forth, on his finding a new bond for his peaceable behaviour, where he was now to be confined.—(*Ibid.* i. 413). In 1670, Wylie came over to Coleraine, where several of his relations appear to have resided. He officiated as minister of that congregation for nearly three years, when he returned to Scotland, and receiving a call from the parish of Fenwick, in the presbytery of Irvine, settled there under the act of indulgence, where he died July 20, 1676. —*Reid's History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, ii. 407. *M'Crie's Memoirs of Veitch, &c.*, p. 495. His son Robert, who became minister of Hamilton after the revolution, was a man of considerable talents, and attained to no small influence in the councils of the Church.

although those that came did at length confer about the Public Resolutions. The dissenting brethren did not propone any arguments from Scripture, nor allege that the Public Resolutions were contrary to Scripture; yea, many of them did not like well Mr James Guthrie's pressing Deut. xxiii. 9-14. Only, they urged the incongruity of the Public Resolutions with the Solemn Acknowledgment and Engagement 1648, and some other declarations emitted since Dunbar, wherein the Commission declared against conjunction with those men with whom they had now associated. It was made evident that it was never the mind of the Kirk of Scotland, never upon no terms nor in no case to associate with these men then debarred, but that, upon their repentance, and in this necessity, when there was no place left for choice, they might lawfully join with them against the common enemy invading. As for these declarations it was answered, so long as there was *locus delectui*, they did well to employ the best instruments of whom they might be most confident; and as for the declarations after Dunbar, their hopes of the westland forces made them declare so. At this conference they had sundry debates about the late Warning, whereof before. They sundered even as they met, the dissenters expressing their great fears that the present conjunction would tend to the oppression and persecution of the people of God, and to the advancing of the malignant party. It was answered that their fears and jealousies of that which was to come, which might never be, should not hinder them to join against the common enemy, who, without all peradventure, would undo the people of God, raze ordinances and all government, civil and sacred.

They had another conference at St Andrews in June to this same purpose. In all these conferences, the man that especially disputed for the Public Resolutions was Mr James Wood, who was most active and instrumental for advancing of them. On the other side, the most forward and zealous were Messrs James Guthrie and Patrick Gillespie. As for Mr James Guthrie, he still preaching against the Public Resolutions at Stirling

and in the west, whither he went to negotiate among the dissenting brethren, and writing letters far and near to strengthen their party, the Committee of Estates at Perth wrote for him and his colleague to come to them. They having come, gave in their declinature against the judicatory, as having nothing to do with them anent their doctrine, alleging they had assumed an antecedent judgment before the Kirk in that matter. In this paper they freely reflected upon the Commission of the Kirk and their proceedings. * The Committee not willing to meddle with them, desired them to stay in Perth till the King should return from the north. This made all dissenters to cry out that the Committee was begun to persecute the dissenting ministers, as they had foretold would come to pass. The King returning from the north, some leading men in the Commission with Mr Douglas, did deal with the Committee that they would permit the ministers of Stirling to return home, they having promised to the Commission-

* Mr Guthrie and Mr Bennet were required by the Committee of Estates to come to Perth on the 19th of February, and there remain confined until his Majesty's return thither from the north. On coming to Perth they dealt with the Committee there, that they might be allowed to return to Stirling. The matter being brought before the Committee, it was put to the vote and carried, that, conformably to a former ordinance, they should stay confined in Perth, and not go back to Stirling until his Majesty's return from the north. Against this Act of the Committee of Estates, Mr Guthrie and Mr Bennet gave in a protestation, in which they decline their authority in what related "to their doctrine and ministerial duties," on account of which they had been thus proceeded against, "conceiving," they say, "the judicatories of the Church to be the only proper judges of our doctrine and our carriage in those things that concern our ministerial calling."—*Balfour's Annals*, iv. 247, 251, 252. In this protestation they say, "And though we be most willing to render a reason of our writing to the Commission of the General Assembly a letter containing the grounds of our stumbling at the present resolutions of this Kirk and State, in order to a levy,—and of our preaching against these Resolutions, as involving a conjunction with the malignant party in the land, which we hold to be contrary to the Word of God, to the League and Covenant, to our solemn engagements, and to the constant tenor of the declarations, remonstrances, warnings, causes of humiliation, and other resolutions of the Kirk these years bypast, and to be destructive to the covenant and cause of God, and scandalous and offensive to the godly, and a high provoking the eyes of the Lord's glory,—and of our protesting against and appealing from the desire and charge of the Commission of the General Assembly in this particular, and in our persisting in preaching the same doctrine; yet that our compearing before the King's Majesty and your 'Lordships' does not import an acknowledgment in us that his Majesty and your 'Lordships' are the proper judges of those things."—*Ibid.* iv. 252, 253.

ers that they should be content not to preach in Stirling, but that the ministers appointed by the Commission should preach both to the town and garrison. Whereupon the Committee of Estates did permit them to go home.

The Commission of the Kirk, because Mr James Guthrie in his declinature did highly reflect upon the Commission and their proceedings, found themselves obliged to vindicate both themselves and the Estates, and their proceedings in relation to him and his colleague, declaring that they might very well write for them, finding that their doctrine did tend so sensibly to the weakening of the garrison, and that they had not taken an antecedent judgment unto themselves of their doctrine; the Commission in St Andrews before having judged it, and that they did not meddle with them or their doctrine *prima instantia*. But after their return this second time their promise was not well kept.

The levies being now well advanced, and all seemingly desirous of the army's going to the field against the common enemy, there was one thing that seemed to hinder a cordial conjunction of hearts and hands against the enemy, and to retard actings against them, viz., the Act of Classes framed by the Parliament after the routing of the Engagers at the capitulation at Stirling, 1648. The more moderate and wise men thought that act unreasonable in sundry respects, especially because it debarred so many from places of trust or power *ad vitam*, and that they that were to be received after such a time should not be admitted till the Parliament of England, as well as of Scotland, assented thereto; which made some think, that the end of making that act so strict was only a self-interest, that those that then had the power might still keep it, and seclude those whom they most feared. It was certain that Cromwell confessed, that though he first urged the making of that act, yet he was put upon it by our noblemen that then had the power and government of the kingdom. This Act of Classes being the great *remora* impeding acting against the enemy, either in judicatories or fields, the Committee of Estates proponed a second query to the Commission of the Kirk at Perth, in March,

desiring to know their judgment, whether or not that Act of Classes might now be rescinded by the Parliament without sin. The Commission for the time being loath to give a positive answer thereanent, did prepare an overture to the Committee of Estates, shewing that they thought it agreeable to right reason, that those noblemen formerly debarred, and 'who' were now in the army, ready to venture their lives against the common enemy, should be upon the committee of the army for military affairs, especially for provision of victuals and other necessaries, without the which they could not go the fields or fight against the enemy. Whereupon the Committee of Estates appointed a Committee for these effects, viz., Duke Hamilton, Crawford, Rothes, Lauderdale, &c. The noblemen who then had the power and ruled all, viz., Argyle, Chancellor Campbell, Cassillis, &c., were displeased with this committee, and though they were upon it, yet did not meet with the rest, pretending conscience, that they could not join in a committee with those men that had been upon such courses. Always [notwithstanding] the committee went on very actively for provision of victuals and other necessaries for the army, &c. But still the Committee of Estates urges an answer from the Commission of the Kirk to their query, and for that effect wrote to them sitting at Cupar, that they would be pleased to meet at Perth within a short time, for giving them a positive and determined answer to their query. The Commission being loath to meddle in the business did refuse to meet before their quarterly meeting. The Committee wrote to them for a frequent [full] meeting at their quarterly meeting.

The Synod of Fife again convened at Kirkaldy in May. The dissenting brethren being conferred with, and yet remaining unsatisfied, the Synod drew up some overtures, desiring them still to be conferred with; and if they still remained opposers of the Public Resolutions, desired the Presbyteries to refer them to the General Assembly. Some other overtures of this kind were concluded; but the dissenters entered their dissenting voices.

The Commission of the Kirk met at Perth in May. They did

excommunicate all those that had joined with the enemy, viz., young Swintoun, William Dundass, Andrew Abernethie, and Lieutenant Govan. The process of excommunication was going on against young Dundass, he being summoned upon more days than the rest, being out of the kingdom. Letters were written to Presbyteries to intimate their excommunication. At this meeting the Earl of Callender, being lately come from Holland, having offered satisfaction, after conference with him, and pains taken upon him, was thereafter admitted to make declaration of his repentance for his accession to the engagement *anno* 1648.

The Committee of Estates did again renew their desire of a positive answer to their query anent the rescinding of the Act of Classes. Some of the Estates men with the most moderate and prudent men upon the Commission had long conferences and debates upon the matter in private. Also many consultations were had upon the business in public. Many wise, prudent, and moderate men, that disliked that Act of Classes for the reasons above specified, and wished the rescinding of it, did, notwithstanding, wish some other thing in the place of it before it were altogether taken away. But while those that wished the rescinding of the Act of Classes, that there might be a more full and cordial conjunction in counsels and arms against the common enemy, were doing what they could to obtain an answer from the Commission to their query, and while the Commission inclined to give their advice for the rescinding of it, those in the Estates that then had the rule and government of all affairs, fearing that both in judicatories and the army, the Act of Classes being rescinded, the debarred noblemen would rule and govern all, and so seclude them, they began to look out how to strengthen their faction in the army. They made a motion in the Committee of Estates to have the Earl of Callender to be lieutenant-general in the army. *Contra*, The Duke and all his friends opposed Callender's having any trust or employment in the army, alleging he was not worthy of trust, because that in the time of Scotland's deep distress, 1645, he refused to take employment. *Contra*, It was replied, that the

reason thereof was his tender respect to the King, because Montrose had the King's commission for what he did. Always [however,] it was carried by the plurality of the Committee that Callender should not be employed again. The Duke and his friends perceiving the Campbells' subtle endeavours to have Callender in the army, they at the same time motioned in the Committee, that John Hamilton (he was a colonel of our army in Ireland, and had given very great satisfaction for his accession to the Engagement,) should be general-major of the army. But more moderate and calm men perceiving the subtle contrivances of the two contending factions, thought it not convenient or expedient at this time to employ Colonel John Hamilton, and so as Callender he was laid aside, and others in whom the two factions had not such interest were employed.

In the beginning of June, (all the levies being up, and the country only, not altogether exhausted with quarterings, and with exorbitant exactions, and fearful oppressions, and all crying that the army might go to the fields against the enemy, the Committee for military affairs doing what they could for provision of meal and other necessaries), the foot regiments were gathered together in and about Stirling, and shortly thereafter laid down their leaguer in the park of Stirling. The horses, except a few regiments to guard the foot, were yet quartered in the shires nearest Stirling, especially in Fife.

All this time the Committee of Estates sitting at Stirling, and the Commission of the Kirk at Perth, there go several messages to and again betwixt them, treating and debating about the rescinding of the Act of Classes. At last the Commission give their advice that the Parliament might, without sin, rescind that act, with these provisos, granted by these noblemen formerly debarred, and who were now to be received to sit in Parliament, and to act in judicatories for the government of the kingdom:—1. That they should not repeal any Acts of Parliament made for the good of religion formerly, especially since 1648, nor any acts made formerly, especially since 1648, anent the engagement, or anent censuring of

them and those that adhered to their courses, *anno* 1648, but that they should ratify all these acts at their first sitting in Parliament. 2. That they should neither directly nor indirectly, by themselves nor others, seek to revenge themselves upon any that had hand in censuring them, or debarring them from places of power or trust. 3. That all persons that were in places of trust should continue in them, and that they should not remove them, they behaving themselves according to the Acts of Parliament, and being 'accountable' to the Parliament. Last, that they should revive a laudable act, formerly made anent the keeping of judicatories pure and free of corruption and corrupt persons. Assurances being given for these provisos, the Commission of the Kirk gave their advice *ut supra*. Whereupon the noblemen formerly debarred, did presently sit in Parliament at Stirling, and in their first session passed an Act of Parliament, with the four provisos above specified, which gave contentment to all moderate and honest men that were desirous of a conjunction against the common enemy. All bonds and obligations that could be required were given by these debarred noblemen; but some of the dissatisfied brethren said they would give nothing for the assurances given of these men, because they would never keep one word of them. To this it was answered, that if no regard nor weight were had unto nor laid on oaths, subscriptions, &c., that were to dissolve all bands of human society.

The Commission of the Kirk appointed a fast to be kept June 19. The special causes were, forby [besides] the confession of sins to beg a blessing to the King that he might be directed of God in the weighty affairs, especially the conduct of the army, and for a blessing to the army, which was presently to go to the fields against the enemy. Towards the end of June, the Parliament ordained a voluntary contribution of monies for the army, in towns, the country, and among the officers in the army; which was presently collected and sent to the army at Stirling park. About this time the cavalry did march through Stirling in good order, betwixt five and six thousand, and lay about Torwood. The Commission

of the General Assembly, in their last meeting before the ensuing General Assembly to be holden at St Andrews July 16, did write unto the Presbyteries: first, to try who of their number were disobeyers or opposers of the Public Resolutions; secondly, to confer with them, and if, after conference, they still continued so to act, to refer them to the ensuing General Assembly, together with their letter. * There were acts to the same purpose sent.

In the beginning of July our army, foot and horse, marched to the fields and leaguered in and about the Torwood. The King's quarters were in the Castle of Harkinstyre. All were hopeful of good success, because all this while bypast parties that went out against the enemy had good success, beating the enemy, killing some, and taking many prisoners. The enemy hearing that our army had drawn to the fields, marches from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, and about the 3d of July marches towards our army at Torwood. The King in the night draws out 3000 horses, and as many foot, and marches with them to a hill where our outmost guards were near the enemy, fearing they might be surprised. Also he caused draw all the cannon thither, giving orders to the whole army to follow with expedition. So soon as the party of horse and foot, with the cannon, came to the hill, they began to play upon the enemy, in among their tents where they lay sleeping, which did so amaze and terrify them, that they presently, so soon as they could, retired, and that in haste and disorder. They left a party at Larbert Bridge; but ours having beat them from the bridge, the enemy's whole army retired or rather fled; only Cromwell with

* The object of summoning the opposers of the Public Resolutions to the Assembly, as they alleged, was to prevent them from being chosen members. And this was one special ground on which Rutherford and others objected to the lawfulness of that Assembly. This act, and the letter of the Commission, had such an influence upon Presbyteries, that many of the anti-resolutioners who were ordinarily chosen Commissioners, from their well-known ability, were not chosen by Presbyteries for that Assembly, and if any such were chosen Commissioners, it was when the whole Presbytery were unanimous against the Public Resolutions; and if the Presbytery were divided in judgment, there was generally either two elections, or else dissents from and protestations against the election of such as were unsatisfied with the Public Resolutions, or else both, as in the election of Glasgow and Stirling.—*Wodrow MSS.*, vol. xxxii. 4to, no. 13., pp. 8, 9.

a hundred officers abode upon the rear. Some of the officers of our army were for following of them, thinking to put them to the rout; but the plurality thought that the ground was so strait, and the passes so narrow, that it would be to no purpose. Always [howbeit] the enemy presently retired to Linlithgow.

July 16, the General Assembly convened at St Andrews.* Mr Andrew Cant and Mr Robert Douglas preached at the opening up of the Assembly. There was some clashing betwixt them.† Mr Cant, though at first he said he would not speak of the Public Resolutions, they being to be examined by the Assembly, yet he did condemn them, and especially the writing of the letters to the Presbyteries, and sending the acts to them, whereof *supra*.

After the commissions were given in, Mr John Menzies stood up and desired that the members of the Commission of the former Assembly, being under such a scandal for carrying on a course of defection contrary to the covenant, &c., might not be permitted to sit as members of this Assembly.‡ It was replied, that it was never

* The King's commissioner at this Assembly was Lord Balcarras.

† Mr Alexander Gordon, minister of Inverury, in a short account of the proceedings of this Assembly of which he was a member, also adverts to this unseemly "clashing" between Mr Cant and Mr Douglas: "Preached in the forenoon Mr Andrew Cant; his text Hebrews xii. 12, &c., and spoke generally against the public proceedings. And in the afternoon Mr Robert Douglas; his text Ps. cii. 6, and in the close of his sermon contradicted the former sermon."—*Records of the Kirk of Scotland*, p. 626.

‡ The above motion made by Mr Menzies after all the Commissions were given in, and when the Assembly was about to be constituted and a moderator elected, appears to have excited much warmth of feeling on both sides. "Mr Douglas did rise," says Gordon in his account of this Assembly, "and replied, that they hoped their carriage should appear to be right, and no ways scandalous. Immediately there arose a great number on both sides with a great heat and fury. Mr Menzies insisting on his former motion, Mr James Guthrie, backing him, said, That these persons behoved to be scandalous who had led the Kirk and kingdom to a course of defection, and told he had no better terms to express their proceedings by. Mr Patrick Gillespie, Mr John Hamilton, and some others did back this motion. To this motion replied Mr Blair, saying, he saw the seasonable admonitions given in the preceding sermons to meekness, peace and unity made no use of by those who propounded the former motion, but that Mr Menzies' and Mr Guthrie's speeches were fierce and bitter. They replied that their motion was for the exoneration of their consciences. Likewise Mr James Wood, Mr David Dickson, Mr Baillie, Mr Ramsay, the King's Commissioner, with some others, replied to Messrs Menzies' and Guthrie's motion, saying that nothing could be said in that or any other business, until there should be a constitute Assembly to be judge. The contrary party said that the report of scandal was enough to debar

before challenged nor debated, but the Commissioners might be upon the Assembly; and as for their proceedings, they were to be tried by the Assembly, they being removed. Also it was replied, that there was greater reason to demand that those that were lying under that scandal of opposing, writing and preaching against the Resolutions of the Kirk, should not be members of the Assembly, and yet it was not demanded. Mr Blair's opinion being asked, he thought that both the just now mentioned demands did run to dangerous extremes; but as for Mr John Menzies' desire, he said it was a very bold and fiery motion; yea, said he, *petit jugulum pacis*, after that there was so much spoken of peace and unity by the two ministers that preached. Mr Samuel Rutherford desired to give in a paper to be read.* It was replied they could hear no papers until a moderator was chosen. Mr Andrew Cant, moderator of the former Assembly, desired that a conference might be appointed with dissatisfied brethren. Reply: No such appointment could be made until the judicatory were constituted, and that it could not be adjourned till the morrow. At last after such debates Mr Douglas was chosen moderator. There were some controverted commissions from Glasgow and Stirling Presbyteries especially. For trial of these a committee was appointed. Upon the morrow a conference with dissatisfied brethren was urged by Messrs Blair, Dickson, &c.† Others 'who' thought it was not rightly timed,

any to sit in a kirk judicatory, while [until] once they were freed judicially of a scandal. Mr Douglas replied that they could not be debarred till judicially they were found scandalous, which could not be till the Assembly were once constitute and did examine their proceedings, and said upon that ground the other party should not be admitted, in regard they were more hurtful to the work and scandalous by their opposing the safety of religion, King and kingdom, than the Commission of the Kirk had been."—*Records of the Kirk of Scotland*, p. 626.

* The object of this paper, it would appear, was to oppose the holding of the Assembly. "After this Mr Samuel Rutherford offered a paper to this purpose against the constitution of the Assembly; but with much difficulty and long debate it was laid aside; for the drift of the motion and paper by confession was to hinder a General Assembly, to hold which was thought very dangerous."—*Gordon's Account.*

† Row here omits to state an important fact. At the commencement of this sederunt "the Lord Commissioner presented a letter from the King excusing his absence, entreating them to study unity, to censure those who were contrary to the Public Resolutions, and to that purpose the Lord Commissioner had a speech." It was after

desired first the proceedings of the Commission to be tried. At last, after debate a conference was granted, though not judicially, only it was permitted to be. They conferred long that afternoon, about the Remonstrance, &c., but to no purpose, the dissatisfied brethren still adhering to the Remonstrance, and justifying their opposition to the Public Resolutions, &c.

While they are at this conference, July 17, news comes to St. Andrews that a party of the enemy's horse and foot had landed at Inverkeithing. Being at first resisted a little by a few that kept a fort there; none coming to assist them they were beat from the fort, and so the enemy landed. They presently, after the plundering of Inverkeithing, entrenched themselves upon the craigs above the Queensferry, drawing a trench from St Margaret's Hope to the sea be-west Inverkeithing. The King at the report hereof was highly offended; because, when the army went to the fields, he offered to leave two regiments to defend the coast; but Fife being so exhausted with winter quarterings refused them, promising to defend the coast themselves; and while they were contriving the way how to do it, the enemy landed as *supra*. Always [however] the King sent a party to repel that party of the enemy, viz. Sir John Brown with his regiment, Balcarras (who was the King's Commissioner at the General Assembly) with his regiment, Brechin's and Scot's regiments of horse, also four or five regiments of foot, with General Major Hepburn (whom a little before the King had put from being governor of the castle and town of Stirling, he being suspected), to command the foot. The enemy having entrenched themselves, did bring over a strong party, triple the number of ours. July 20, being the Sabbath, our party drew out upon the braes betwixt Pitrevie and Balbougie,* the enemy advancing

this that Messrs Blair and Dickson moved for a conference; doubtless considering that to be a more likely way of promoting the "unity" which the Commissioner's letter recommended, than "to censure" those who opposed the Public Resolutions.—*Gordon's Account.*

* Pitrevie is an anicent castle, and Balbougie an old manor house, now a farm house, in the vicinity of Inverkeithing. The people talk still of a bloody battle that had been fought in that neighbourhood.

towards them. At first ours beat in some of their foreparties. At last they joining, ours being oppressed with multitude, and our horses fleeing, the foot were many of them killed and taken prisoners. Colonel Scot and other gentlemen were killed. Sir John Brown was wounded and taken prisoner, and thereafter died of his wounds.

The report of this disaster coming to St Andrews upon the Sabbath at night, presently the General Assembly convened,* and adjourned their meeting to Dundee, (which was at this time thought pretty strongly fortified), upon Tuesday next, at two afternoon. Immediately Mr Samuel Rutherford, principal of the New College, gave in, in name of the Kirk of Scotland, and of all that would adhere to it, a Protestation against the Assembly, and a Declinature from it. There were sundry reflections in it upon the Commission of the Kirk, as unfaithful men, minding their own things more than the things of Christ. They did protest that that meeting was not a General Assembly; that what they did should not be binding to the Kirk of Scotland; and that notwithstanding of any censures to be put upon them, it might be free to them to exercise their ministry, &c. Twenty-one of the dissatisfied brethren subscribed this Protestation, but there were many of them that did not allow of it nor subscribe it.†

The Assembly convening at Dundee‡ appointed five of the

* The Assembly convened at 12 o'clock at night.—*Gordon's Account.*

† Gordon says the Protestation had twenty-two names appended to it. But Row may mean that twenty-one besides Rutherfurd subscribed it. Rutherfurd "desired it might be read; but it was delayed to be read, and all that subscribed the remonstrance, with some others, went away."—*Gordon's Account, Records of the Kirk of Scotland*, p. 628. The Protestation declared this Assembly to be unlawful on these grounds: "1st, Because it was a prelimited Assembly, in regard the free votes for choosing commissioners were hindered by the Commission of the Kirk's letter to the several Presbyteries, desiring them to cite all unsatisfied men to the Assembly, if, after conference, they were not satisfied. 2dly, Because of the King's letter, overawing the Assembly. 3dly, Because of the Commissioner's speech, tending to the prelimiting of the members of the Assembly. And, 4thly, Because that the members of the preceding Commission of the Assembly were members of this, which should not be, in regard the Commission had led to a course of defection."—*(Ibid.)* Few things are more painful in this history than to perceive the Church divided in her councils, and occupied in wrangling debates, at the very time when the enemy was at the gates.

‡ This meeting was very thinly attended. Those who protested against the lawfulness of the Assembly at the last sederunt at St Andrews, were absent, and also many

leading men of that party to be summoned to the Assembly, viz., Messrs James Guthrie, Patrick Gillespie, James Simson,* John Menzies, and James Nasmith, because he, being absent, wrote a peremptory letter, declaring his adhering to the Protestation. † Of these five, three, viz., Messrs Guthrie, Gillespie, and Simson were deposed. Mr James Nasmith was suspended. Mr John Menzies was referred to the Commission, because he wrote an excuse of his not compearance to some of the Assembly, and there were some hopes of gaining of him. The Assembly emitted a large Warning, wherein was much against the courses of the Protesters. Also they made sundry acts against their courses or any that did adhere to them. The Lord Warriston sent to the Assembly a Protestation, which was not read. ‡ All this time, he being sent to the

other members, about the one-half. The first thing they did at their first sederunt was to take up the consideration of the Protestation. After the calling of the roll, the Moderator informed the Assembly, that, after the adjourning of the Assembly last session, at St Andrews, a Protestation was given in, and as it could not then be read he asked if there were any present to give in that paper. It was answered that none of the subscribers were present. But a member, Mr Oliver Coult, said he had found the paper, and would give it in, although he did not adhere to it. The Protestation was then read; and, after it was read, all the names of the subscribers were called at the kirk door, but none compeared. The King's Commissioner gave his opinion of the Protestation, and observed that it "was very derogatory to the freedom, liberty, and honour of the General Assembly, and if it were requisite that the King's authority should be interposed against these men, for the vindication of the Assembly's honour, to which he and all were tied by covenant, he promised that should not be wanting." The Moderator, checking the Commissioner, told him they should deal with them ecclesiastically, according to the freedom of the Assembly. "This," says Gordon, "was by way of a nip to the Commissioner."—*(Gordon's Account, in Records of the Kirk of Scotland*, 628.) The result was the summoning of the five leading protesters before the Assembly, as here narrated.

* Mr James Simson was minister of Airth. Wodrow describes him as "a person of singular piety, considerable learning, and a most affectionate, melting preacher." After the restoration he was banished by the Parliament, without being heard, and died in Holland.—*Wodrow's History*, i. 197.

† "Session 8, July 23. A letter came from Mr James Nasmith, Mr Thomas Charters, commissioners for Hamilton Presbytery, showing that in respect of the motion of the enemy, they could not be present, and that they did adhere to the Protestation, and desired that to be taken as their subscription, and kept in record."—*Gordon's Account.*

‡ Warriston, who was clerk of the General Assembly, not being able to attend that meeting, wrote a letter addressed to the Assembly, in which he stated freely and at length his sentiments as to the Public Resolutions, appealing, in opposition to them, to Scripture and former acts of Assembly. The letter was delivered publicly to the

enemy for the Registers, is greatly suspected, because he expected more favour from the enemy than our army.

July 29, the garrison of Burntisland being summoned, rendered. Thereafter Cromwell, with the strength of his army, marched towards Perth, and lay down before it, August 1. The King had sent the Lord Duffus, with his party, to guard the town. But though the town was pretty strong, both by water and ditches, yet the town's people, and strangers in it, (Cromwell having summoned them to render, otherwise he would have it and put it all to the edge of the sword), did entreat Duffus to render the town. Whereupon Perth was rendered to Cromwell upon good conditions, as Burntisland was some days before. Meanwhile our army abides at Stirling. Once they marched towards the enemy, and came near Dunfermline; but the weather being exceeding rainy, all their powder and match, either by neglect or treachery, was spoiled, so that they were necessitated to return to Stirling. After some short abode at Stirling, (being in many debates and at many consultations how and what to do, yea the King regretting the careless neglect of all and the treachery of some), at last they resolved to march into England, expecting to find friends there. So, July 31, they marched from Stirling the way to Carlisle. The King left behind him the Earl of Crawford, Balcarras, with old General Leslie, and some others, to raise the North, and other forces, for the defence of the kingdom.

Cromwell hearing of the march of our army, having settled the garrison at Perth, presently, with all expedition, followed our

moderator, in the face of the Assembly, and urged to be read by the person who presented it. The moderator broke it up and promised to cause it to be read; and many members did thereafter, upon several occasions, and at several diets, press the reading of it; but this could never be obtained. It also contained a protestation against a paper given in by the Commission to the Parliament, approving what was done by the King and the Committee of Estates against the ministers of Stirling.—*Wodrow MSS.* xxxii. 4to, nos. 13 & 5. But this Assembly did not sit long. "A little after, the enemy marching towards St Johnston [Perth], by which way to have access to Dundee, where the Assembly was convened; the Assembly arose and dispersed themselves the best way they could, for escaping the enemy, and their own safety; yet some of them, notwithstanding, did fall into the enemy's hands, as Mr Robert Douglas, moderator, and some others."—*Gordon's Account.*

army, leaving Monk behind him with a considerable party. The sea-towns upon the south coast of Fife were infested by their seamen coming ashore, and parties from Burntisland, especially Anstruther Easter and Wester suffered most sadly. They, with the assistance of some of their neighbours, having killed some of the enemy, were worsted, some killed; 200 prisoners were taken.

After our army's march from Stirling, presently Monk marched to it and possessed himself of it. The King caused slight the works thereof, resolving only to keep the castle. Thereafter Monk caused bring their great cannon and mortar pieces, and planted batteries against the castle, and from the steeple did shoot his grenadoes, which did much annoy the castle. There were in it only 300 soldiers and three cannoniers, whereof twenty were killed. They, conceiving that they were not able to keep it out, did capitulate, and rendered the castle to Monk, having gotten good conditions. Thereafter Monk marched towards Dundee. Meanwhile the Earl of Crawford, Lieutenant-general, with the rest left for raising of the forces; and some others of the Committee of Estates were doing what they could in Angus and the North to gather together some considerable forces, but they were so miserably divided, every one of them condemning another, that nothing could be done to purpose for the public good.

Monk having come the length of Dundee, and having laid siege to it, wrote to St Andrews, desiring them to come under his protection. Some great ships a little before this did summon them to render their ships, cannon, &c., to witness their obedience to the Commonwealth of England. Also Overton, governor of Perth, summoned the town of St Andrews and the whole Presbytery for their cess. After several summonses of this nature, and delaying answers given by them, they received Monk's letters now mentioned.

The town of Dundee being reasonably well fortified, and having gotten in some soldiers, resolved to stand and hold out. General Leslie and the Committee of Estates wrote to them, desiring them to do so, promising within a short time to come and raise the

siege. While the Committee of Estates, and some ministers meeting with them for the public good, were busy to get some forces together for the relief of Dundee, they were woefully surprised by a party sent from Perth upon the 20th of August. Having sitten late at a committee in the town of Elliot, [Alyth] they resolved to lie there that night, having out some horse guards towards Dundee, whence they apprehended danger. But the party from Perth came in upon the town of Elliot in the morning, and did take noblemen, viz., General Leslie, Crawford, Lieutenant-General, Marischall, Ogilvie, Bargeny—many gentlemen, Humby and his son Lees, Collington, Pourie, &c.,—ministers, Messrs Robert Douglas, James Hamilton, John Smith, Mungo Law, James Sharp, &c. All these were presently conveyed to their ships lying before Broughty. When the sad report of the apprehending of all these came to Mr Blair's ears (who through infirmity was disinabled to go abroad), he much lamented that sad cast of Providence, especially the taking of the ministers, and fearing lest they should be instantly carried away before they could be provided for a voyage or a prison, he sent unto Mr Douglas, with whom he was most intimate, all the gold he had by him, to witness his sympathy with him, and all the rest.

The forces that were gathered for the relief of Dundee, hearing that these noblemen and others were apprehended and shipped, presently scattered. Balcarras with his broken regiment went to the hills. So did sundry others, noble and gentlemen.

After the taking of the noblemen and others at Elliot, Monk did offer reasonable conditions to the town of Dundee for their rendering. But they being ignorant of the taking of the noblemen and scattering of the forces, did refuse all conditions, expecting assistance. So the town being stormed, September 1, it was taken; and because they stood out, refusing good conditions, the enemy at their first entry exercised great cruelty upon the soldiers and townsmen, not sparing women and children.* Near

* "Lieutenant Monk granted liberty to the soldiers to plunder the town twenty-four hours' space. They were not idle, but reft, spoiled, and plundered the whole

a thousand were killed. The governor, Robert Lunsdale, having taken himself to the steeple and rendering upon quarters, Monk caused kill him. The Lord Newton was also there killed, with Captain Ferguson and many more persons of good quality. The plunder of the town was very rich. Many rich merchants of Edinburgh, and other towns, had their wares and monies in great abundance there, and many rich people in Angus and Fife, and other parts, had their monies and household stuff there. All this became a prey to the enemy.

The Presbytery of St Andrews wrote a letter to Monk for the relief of the ministers that were taken at Elliot, and sent it by one of their number, Mr Alexander Wedderburn; but upon no terms would Monk set them at liberty. So about the 5th of September all the prisoners were carried away by sea to London, with the two ministers of Dundee.

After Dundee was taken, several parties came from Burntisland to Dundee. One party of their horses marched to Aberdeen to hinder any gathering of forces in the north. They disarmed the town of Aberdeen, and imposed a sum of money upon it, as they thereafter did to St Andrews. In Aberdeen they had a conference with the ministers, discharging them to preach or pray against them, which the ministers refused, and so they sundered in no good terms.

At this time Scotland was at a very low ebb, none either shut up or left to resist the enemy, except a few with Balcarras and Sir Arthur Forbes, who retired to the far north. The only outward thing that did support the people of God was their hopes of the

town, none escaping their hands."—*Nicoll's Diary*, p. 58. "Monk commanded all, of whatsoever sex, to be put to the edge of the sword. The townsmen did no duty in their own defence, but were most of them all drunken, like so many beasts. There were 800 inhabitants and soldiers killed, and about 200 women and children."—*Balfour's Annals*, iv. 315. Nicoll estimates the number killed at 1000 or 1100, beside 400 or 500 prisoners, "of which number were there two ministers of the town of Dundee." The whole affair was a piece of gratuitous and cold-blooded atrocity, for which no plea of necessity or policy could be set up; and it is sufficient to brand the memory of Monk with disgrace, though he had been guilty of no other act of mean-spirited revenge.

success and prosperity of the army in England. They marched by Carlisle. Lambert, with the strength of their horses and some foot, for a time marched near by them. There was some skirmishing, but to little purpose. Cromwell, in the meantime, was coming up with the foot, leaving his sick soldiers in garrison towns, taking out the garrison and raising the train bands. Also, great preparations were made at London to oppose our army, Fleetwood gathering together the forces in and about London, to join with Cromwell and Lambert. Meanwhile, very few in England did join with our army; and those that did for most part were naked, unarmed men. The King's letter to the city of London being brought by the town-council men to the Parliament, was, by the Parliament's order, burnt by the hand of the hangman. The man in all England that favoured the King most, and from whom most was expected, was the Duke of Derby. He, with some other noblemen and officers, did gather together some forces; but Colonel Lilburn did woefully rout them about the end of August. Many were killed, many taken. Derby narrowly escaped, and came to the King, with some few with him.

About the end of August, our army got the city of Worcester rendered to them. Cromwell and Lambert joining their forces, marched towards Worcester, where our army abode to refresh themselves after their long and hasty march. They intended to have kept a pass upon the river of Severn, whereon Worcester is built; but they were beat from it by the enemy. In the beginning of September, the enemy having gotten a strong recruit with Fleetwood, did lie down before Worcester, our army being within it. Upon the 3d of September, our army marching out of the city, joined with the enemy in battle. The enemy being double, if not triple their number, it was a very fierce and sore battle, and long fought *in dubio*, until at last our foot being overpowered with multitude, and our horses retiring into the city, our whole army was beat into the city, the enemy entering at their heels. The foot did fight within the city with great courage, from street to street, and lane to lane. Especially, the Highlanders, expecting no

quarters, fought desperately, refusing quarters, and giving no quarters.

When our army was beat into the city, the King, with about 2,000 horses, escaped out of the town of Worcester; but troopers' horses wearying, few could hold up with him in his flight. Our army being thus woefully routed, the enemy pursuing, and the country people (*mobile vulgus*, aye joining with the victors) rising in great abundance, all our nobles and officers for the most part at the very first were taken, viz. Duke William Hamilton, (who, being deadly wounded, died within few days), Rothes, Lauderdale, David Leslie, Middleton, Sir Robert Montgomery, Dalziel. Few or none of note escaped, except the King and the Duke of Buckingham; and for a month after the defeat, there was little certainty either among friends or foes, where they were. Matters being thus ordered by the only wise and good Lord, Scotland was at a very low-ground ebb, our power gone, none shut up nor left. Nothing was expected from that handful with Balcarras. Humby was looked upon by honest men as an enemy, yea, a greater plunderer than the English. At this time some began to hanker after the enemy's ways and courses; some of the enemy having spoken and written anent the change of the civil government, showing how happy the land might be by the change of government. But it was observed that those of the malignant temper did chime and most comply with the enemy.

SUPPLEMENT.

PART II.

CHAPTER XI.—1651-1661.

About the latter end of September, those that had protested against the late General Assembly, with others that had been dissatisfied with the Public Resolutions, did meet at Glasgow. They did emit nothing. What was done was kept quiet. They transferred their meeting to Edinburgh, where they met about the beginning of October. Also, in the end of September, some of the Commission of the Assembly at Dundee convened first in the old town of Aberdeen, and chose Mr James Wood (who all this bypast time was in the north) moderator, and Mr John M'Ghie clerk, in place of Mr Andrew Ker, who was taken with the ministers at Elliot. Thus, our divisions in the Kirk still increasing, (we contending in the fire), was our saddest calamity, the very wormwood and gall wrung into our cup, (Lam. iii. 19). The Presbyteries of Fife having adjourned their Synod because of the troubles, hearing of the meeting of those at Glasgow, and thereafter at Edinburgh, resolved to meet at St Andrews, October 14, to consult what could be done to heal our woeful divisions, which, by this time, were come to that height that some Presbyteries were divided, meeting in several places as adverse parties and contending factions. But, when the 14th of October came, such threats were sent from Monk

unto St Andrews, where the Synod resolved to meet, that Mr Blair, with the advice of his colleagues, ministers of St Andrews, thought it not safe that the Synod should meet there at that time; so advertisements were sent to brethren for not convening. But those that are commonly called Protesters, convening at Edinburgh, did write letters to sundry parts of the kingdom, for brethren of their opinion to resort to them, to hold an extra-judicial meeting, (as they called it), for a conference to find out the sins of that time. At their first meeting they spent sundry dayes in fasting, praying, and confessing their sins one unto another, especially those which were more public, or the sins of their calling; yea some more zealous than prudent, did confess very private sins; which, being challenged as contrary to Scripture, charity and prudence, was forborne. After they had spent some days in this laudable exercise, then they fell to debating, stating and voicing of some questions. The first was, Whether it was lawful to close a treaty with the King at Breda, to put him in the exercise of his authority, it being known that he had given commissions to Montrose and others, &c.? They concluded negatively. Some in their confessions granted that they had meddled with matters too high for them, and yet the first thing they fell on was one of the highest that ever they meddled with. The second question 'was,' Whether the course carried on by the Committee of Estates and Commission of the Kirk, did not involve the bringing in of the malignant party contrary to the Word of God, our covenants, &c.? It was concluded affirmatively. The third was anent association. The fourth, Whether or not there was sufficient cause to protest against the Assembly at St Andrews? It was concluded affirmatively. The last question was, Whether or not, matters thus standing, it were not expedient that those of the old Commission, that were free of the courses carried on, should sit down in the Commission, and take on them the authority thereof, ruling the affairs of the Kirk of Scotland? It was also concluded affirmative; and so those of the old commission that were present, took on them the name and authority of the said Commission. At that time they only emitted

some causes of a fast, among the which, the home-bringing of the King was made the mother sin of the land. They appointed their next meeting [on the] 2d Wednesday of November. Their taking upon them the name and authority of the Commission, did most grieve all moderate brethren who were wishing always of peace to be followed for healing of our woeful divisions. They looked on that act as that which would not only further divide the Kirk, but altogether ruin the established government.

The Presbytery of St Andrews having heard what they had done, did emit a short declaration, declaring, 1st, That the Assembly begun at St Andrews, and continued at Dundee, was a lawfully constitute Assembly; 2d, That no ecclesiastic meeting, of whatsoever name or nature in this land, can assume any authority over the said Assembly or these commissioners, but another free, lawfully convened General Assembly; 3d, That till, by the mercy of God, a General Assembly be granted, whosoever shall take on them authority over the said Assembly, or take upon them to send to Presbyteries letters, remonstrances, causes of fasts, &c., or shall presume to censure any person; that all these things shall be holden as deeds of private men, acting without a calling or authority, and no ways binding to Presbyteries, as having no lawful authority from God or man; 4th, That they will never concur with such usurped authority, though they do heartily approve of the conferences of gracious brethren, who follow peace, and desire that way the repairing of our woeful breaches. This declaration was sent by correspondence to the other three Presbyteries of Fife, who did close with it. Also it was sent to other parts of the kingdom, and in Presbyteries accepted of, who homologated, and declared accordingly. Some Synods, who convened about that time, did materially declare the same things, especially the Synod of Lothian at Edinburgh in the beginning of November. They did also appoint some of their number to declare to the Commission that was to meet the second Tuesday of November, in the Synod's name their dislike of the said Commission, and their taking their authority upon them, and to entreat them, as they loved the established

government and the peace of the Kirk, that they would not act any further in that capacity. But in the Synod of Glasgow things were otherwise carried; for there the Protestation against the Assembly* was approven by the plurality and the Assembly voted null. But it was observed that in that Synod there were more ministers dissenters than assenters to these votes; only the ruling elders who were frequently convened for the purpose did cast the balance.

While the Kirk is thus woefully divided, the several shires of the kingdom were in a great propension towards a sinful compliance with the enemy, forgetting the oath of God and covenants sworn. None were more ready to comply than those of the malignant temper, and none more averse from it than the ministers. In the beginning of November all those noble and gentlemen that had fled to the north did capitulate with the enemy and return to their houses, viz., Argyle, Callendar, Wemyss, Hume, &c. So Huntly about this time did capitulate with Monk (who this time bypast lay sick at Dundee); also the Earl of Athol's tenants and vassals craved the benefit of his protection; so that the English did enlarge their quarters northwards even to Inverness, which they fortified strongly.

The prisoners taken at Elliot are kept close prisoners in the tower at London; only the old general Leslie, after some short space, (during which time he had the liberty of the tower), the Parliament gave him liberty to go to Seaton Dalivell's, his son-in-law's house. About the middle of October certain word came that the King was landed in Holland with the Duke of Buckingham. From Holland he went to France in the end of October.

All things going fairly before the wind with the English, both in Scotland and Ireland, made many inconstant and unstable spirits hanker after their ways and sinfully comply with them; and there might have been seen a universal and general propension in the body of the land to dispense with the oath of God, being very willing, so be it they might enjoy their lands and revenues, to quit

* The Assembly of St Andrews and Dundee.

not only monarchical but Presbyterian government. They were especially those of the malignant temper; yet there were some few who formerly were accounted pious and gracious men, that were of this mind, their judgments being now corrupted by sectarian principles, viz., that the swearing of a covenant in the days of the gospel is not a gospel duty; that it is the legal, not the gospel way; and that we had rashly bound ourselves by the oath of God to defend, all the days of our life, Presbyterian and monarchical government. With these and the like sectarian principles, some men's minds began to be corrupted. Those of that temper were very forward to comply with the enemy, desiring uniformity in government, civil and ecclesiastic, betwixt the two nations, and many other things prejudicial to the Covenant and cause of God. In November there came abroad a paper drawn up by them, containing fifteen overtures to be presented to the Parliament of England for settling affairs in Scotland. The sum of all was, 1. Uniformity in government and restraint of coercive power over the consciences of the godly; 2. That none should have power but those of integrity who were for the English interest; 3. That the yoke that great ones had wreathed upon the necks of God's people should be shaken off; 4. That all disaffected persons, whether ministers or others, should be severely taken order with; 5. That Independent congregations should be gathered, and those sent out who could divide the word aright, whatever they were, &c. In the beginning of December Balcarras did capitulate with the enemy for himself and the gentlemen that were with him. The articles were put in print. Shortly after the Castle of Dumbarton and the Bass were rendered unto them.

In the end of December, they that took upon them the power of the Commission of the Kirk had a frequent meeting of many ministers and professors, the occasion whereof was this: Those who had drawn up the overtures, whereof before, were now fast driving on their design; and some of them being formerly judged to be pious and godly men, these ministers and other elders, regretted to see them run so fast to a sinful compliance with the enemy;

therefore, to retard, and, if they could, crush their design, there convened a great number of ministers and professors in an extra-judicial meeting, to see what could be done to gain these men, or, at least, to give a testimony against the enemy and their ways. At their first meeting, some of the foresaid persons did meet with the ministers and others convened, to try if they could gain any of them to their courses and ways. The first thing agitated among them was, whether they should meet and sit severally, ministers apart, and professors apart, or jointly. Those that were bent for a sinful compliance urged that they should sit severally; but the plurality voted that they should sit as formerly. The second, whether a minister or a professor should moderate. Those of the sectarian temper urged that a professor should moderate, alleging that ministers had too long kept that power in their hands, &c. But it was concluded that a minister should moderate. 3. Whether or not professors might not in their meetings exercise their gift in speaking upon scripture and praying. It was concluded that they might pray, but not exhort or preach, though those of the sectarian temper urged that they might have liberty also to exercise their gift otherwise than by praying. But it being denied, three gentlemen did pray; but things being carried contrary to their mind, some of them, (for they were not all alike bent for a sinful compliance, and following of the sectaries' courses, and favouring of their errors), did absent themselves after the first session. The main business that was agitated at that meeting was anent a letter to be written to Cromwell, remonstrating the iniquity of their invasion, and the wrongs they had done to the truth and ordinances of God; as also the dangers that they feared should ensue unto religion and the truth of God. But anent this writing there was a great diversity of judgments. Many of them, both ministers and professors, did desire that it might be a testimony to the world against them and their courses, and that no letter should be written to them. But the plurality was for a letter, and some of them would have had the letter speaking very home. Others thought that they should not irritate them and do no good. Their divi-

sions and diversities of judgments grew to that height, that they were like to have sundered without doing any thing. But at last a letter was drawn 'up,' and after some smoothings of it, it was approven and ordained to be sent to Cromwell, now at London. Also a copy of it was ordained to be given to Lambert, (who, in November, with Deans came from London to order the affairs of the army, until the rest of the Commissioners came); but he having read the letter, refused to give a pass to the young man that was appointed to carry it to Cromwell. Those that presented the letter to Lambert did express some of their fears of the dangers to ensue unto religion and government, by gathering Independent congregations, &c. Lambert answered, "Soon may your fears fall upon you."

Shortly after the dissolving of this meeting those of the sectarian temper perceiving that the meeting was of purpose called to hinder their design, did the more eagerly drive it on. Therefore in the end of January next year they gave in to the English a Declaration with some Overtures. The main things they drove at were the abolishing of Presbyterian and monarchical government, the settling of toleration, the levelling of noblemen, and the embodying of Scotland into one commonwealth with England. The English having received this paper did print it, returning this answer, That whereas they found it contain essential things in reference to the settling of the affairs of Scotland they would return a full answer to it at their own convenience.

This printed paper coming abroad, occasioned the four Presbyteries of Fife to meet by some correspondents at St Andrews, for thir two ends especially: 1. To give a testimony against so sinful compliance with the enemies of God and his truth; 2. To endeavour a union among themselves in those things wherein they all agreed, laying by the woeful unhappy debates and controversies tossed too much already. At that meeting Mr Blair witnessed his abhorrence and detestation of the gross sinful things in that paper: "As for the embodying of Scotland with England," said he, "it will be as when the poor bird is embodied into the hawk

that hath eaten it up." He spoke much for uniting and healing ways and courses to be followed by brethren, shunning dangerous extremes and rocks that did further divide and break. In the close desiring that other Synods might likewise meet for the same ends, they appointed a meeting at Edinburgh about the 12th of February, when the Commission of the Kirk was to meet at Edinburgh, and the 23d of February, when there was a great meeting of the Commissioners from the shires to be with the English Commissioners at Dalkeith, whereof three were already in Scotland, viz., Lambert, Monk and Deans. The rest came from London in January, viz., Lord St Johns, Henry Vane junior, Alderman Tishburn, &c. Upon the 6th of February there was a proclamation by them, at the cross of Edinburgh, to this purpose: That whereas the settling of the affairs of Scotland required settled judicatories and judges, which, at the present, they could not do, only, in the meantime, they minded to govern the kingdom according to the laws and constitutions of England, and as they should be directed by the Parliament there, and did inhibit any person or persons, or any judicatories in Scotland, to act any thing by virtue of any commission or power from or under Charles Stuart, who pretends to be King, &c.

The 23d of February was appointed to be a great meeting of all the Commissioners from the several shires with the English Commissioners at Dalkeith. They called it a Parliament.

To the meeting of ministers at Edinburgh (whereof before) were sent from Fife Messrs James Wood and David Forret,* who met with sundry others at Edinburgh, who, meeting with others of another persuasion, viz., Messrs James Guthrie, Patrick Gillespie, Lord Warriston, &c.,† did endeavour, for a joint testimony against the enemy,

* Mr David Forret or Forrest was minister of Kilconquhar.

† These three, and other Protesters, as Mr John Livingstone, Sir John Chiesly, Brodie, &c., were at Edinburgh, "at a serious meeting among themselves;" and the meeting of the Resolutioners having, after prayer and deliberation, "resolved on the necessity of a warning or testimony, defections being so rife and dangers so evident," to make it more effectual, they thought fit to invite their dissenting brethren to join with them in that duty. "If we joined in this," says Baillie, "it was a step to further [union]; if this was refused, we had little hope to join in haste in any thing else." But the two

the course of defection and apostacy which was carried on by many that were bent for incorporating the two kingdoms. But in end no joining could be obtained for a testimony of that nature, though great offers were made for a union, viz., that the acts of the late Assembly at Dundee should be waived and not urged, &c. It was replied, that no union could be with them till first they acknowleged their defection by the public resolutions; also, that they thought they had already given a testimony in their letter to Cromwell. But it was answered, that was only a testimony to Cromwell, no testimony to the world, and no testimony against base and sinful compliance. It was replied, that they were few in number, and the matter required all concerned to be present. In end those from Fife desired a copy of some observations that those ministers of a contrary judgment had made upon the declaration of the Parliament and Commissioners of England; but neither could that be obtained. At this time it was suspected and feared that some gentlemen and some few ministers, most zealous against the public resolutions, (the leading men were Warriston, Brodie, Mr Patrick Gillespie, &c.,) were underhand dealing with the enemy, that they would be pleased to erect Scotland into an independent commonwealth by itself, and that this made them refuse to concur in a joint testimony against the enemy, or against compliance with them. This was looked upon by those that desired concurring in a joint testimony as a fearful breach of covenant, especially of the third article of it; for it was thought by them all one thing, in respect of the Covenant or conscience, whether Scotland was incorporated or erected in an independent commonwealth. Only it did procure greater civil and ecclesiastic liberties to Scotland. But, in the meantime, the ancient government by kings, and the liberties of the Parliament, are rased from the foundation; and their suspicion was augmented, because, in their letter to Cromwell, they did not speak one word against the abolishing of monarchical government and the liberties of Parliament. All this made those

parties could come to no agreement to meet together for that purpose.—*Baillie's Letters and Journals*, iii. 173.

that endeavoured a joint testimony suspect that they that refused it were for the change of the civil government, which they judged a breach of covenant and gross perjury, at least actively to consent unto it.

At that meeting in the latter end of February of the Commissioners from all the shires, with the English Commissioners, the main and chief business agitated among them was an engagement tendered to the commissioners of shires by the English, the sum whereof was, that the two nations of England and Scotland should be incorporate in one commonwealth, without King or lords, and that they should live peaceably, attempting nothing against the commonwealth of England. This was commonly called the *Tender*. All the Commissioners almost did accept of this Tender, the most malignant in the shires for most part being elected Commissioners. Some more honest men did refuse it, and gave in their refusals in writ, viz., the Commissioners from the shires and burghs in the west, and Galloway, &c. Business thus ruling according to the desire both of the English and the malignant party at home, (who, according to their old principle, ever did comply with any prevailing party for self-interest), two of the English Commissioners, viz., Lambert and Monk, were recalled to London, and shortly thereafter other two, viz, Fenwick, and Sir Henry Vane, were recalled, so that there abode only Deans, St Johns, Tishburn, and Halloway, with some sequestrators; for they sequestrated some noblemen's and gentlemen's estates.

March 16, there was a meeting of some correspondents from all the four Presbyteries of Fife. The first thing concluded was, that the Synod should meet at the ordinary time and place, viz., at St Andrews, the first Tuesday of April; the second, that until the Synod, (at the which something might be done at length and more accurately), some short paper should be wisely contrived and spread abroad for the information of gentlemen and others, of the sinfulness of accepting of the Tender, and proving it to be against the Covenant, yea all the articles of it; as also to answer the chief arguments brought for the incorporation of the two nations, and

accepting the Tender. The Synod of Fife convened at St Andrews upon the first Tuesday of April, where, for preventing of further and greater differences anent matters formerly controverted, it was concluded that letters should be sent to the most part of the Synods in the kingdom, entreating that they would be pleased to send some of their number to meet at Edinburgh upon the 12th of May, for composing of differences amongst ministers; and in the meantime the Synod did forbear determining of any thing which might occasion dissenting brethren to protest. The Synod did choose eight ministers, (whereof Mr Blair was one, who first motioned this overture, being always for all healing and uniting ways *salva veritate et conscientia*), and four elders to attend this meeting at Edinburgh, May the 12th, and adjourned the Synod to the 20th of May.

In the beginning of May, there was a proclamation to this effect, That the several shires and burghs that had accepted the Tender should choose new Commissioners to meet at Edinburgh, August 20, who out of that number were to choose seven to represent all the burghs, and fourteen to represent the shires; which twenty-one, or any eleven of them, being commissionate, were to repair to the Parliament of England upon the 1st of October, with full power to do all things for perfecting the union betwixt England and Scotland.

May 12, several ministers commissionate from several Synods, according to the overture of the Synod of Fife, did convene at Edinburgh, for composing of differences. After conference and many debates, those that the year preceding had approven the public resolutions made this overture, that a General Assembly, according as it was appointed by the preceding Assembly, might be convened, judging that in all appearance by the Lord's blessing, a General Assembly might prove a notable means for composing of public differences, and healing of the sad divisions. But those that had opposed the public resolutions did not applaud to the motion; as also refusing to have a General Assembly called by the authority of the preceding Assembly, against the which they

had protested. In end there being no good agreement, those that stood for the last Assembly, and were appointed to be upon the Commission thereof, did meet and directed letters to the several Presbyteries for electing of Commissioners to convene at the time appointed, viz., the 3d Wednesday of July, at Edinburgh, in a General Assembly, according to the appointment of the preceding Assembly, and the custom of the Kirk of Scotland. The other brethren of a contrary judgment did also convene in an extra-judicial meeting.

Upon the third Wednesday of July, the General Assembly convened. Mr David Dickson, in place of Mr Douglas, now prisoner in the tower at London, preached at the opening up of the Assembly. After their convening, the Lord Warriston with some ministers did come in to the Assembly house, desiring a paper to be read before the Assembly was constituted. Mr Dickson answered, that no paper could be read before the constitution of the Assembly. It was replied, that the paper was anent the constitution, and it would be in vain to read it after the Assembly was constituted. Whereupon their desire was granted. The paper did represent some things. Their main desire was, that the Assembly might be adjourned and a conference appointed for removing of differences, and some propositions or grounds were set down, whereupon they should confer. The Assembly finding that they could not adjourn, but were necessitated first to constitute the judicatory, thereafter they promised to appoint a conference, and to do what in them lay for union and peace. This being reported to those that gave in the paper, Warriston said, "We expected no other answer." Thereafter he read a protestation against the Assembly, wherein were many sharp teeth, and reflections upon those of another persuasion. Notwithstanding the Assembly appointed a committee to confer of overtures for union and peace; but nothing could be concluded. Some, who were most moderate, would have had the censures put upon these brethren by the preceding Assembly altogether taken off, without any conditions. Others were content that the censures should be taken off, provid-

ing that they would disown and take up their protestations against this and the preceding Assembly. Upon the other hand, the protesters being so high that nothing could please them, except all that had accession to Public Resolutions, would declare their repentance therefor, and acknowledge a defection;—they standing at so great a distance, the more moderate, that strove to mediate betwixt them, judging that they came both upon extremes, could effectuate nothing for union or healing of our woeful divisions. Mr Blair, perceiving the rigid Public Resolutioners and Protesters so stiff that there was no appearance of doing any thing for union betwixt them, did, with grief of heart, looking on our growing differences as a sad prognostic of our ruin and desolation, leave the Assembly and return to St Andrews, judging that he could do more good among his flock and in his family than in the Assembly. One thing much grieved Mr Blair and some other moderate men. The protesters in the time of this Assembly caused print two papers; one they called a Representation, &c., the other was their Protestation. These papers (which Mr Blair used to call our nakedness-discovering papers) did much heighten the divisions; they were as oil cast into the flame. This Assembly did suspend four ministers, two in New Aberdeen, one in Old Aberdeen, and one, Mr Thomas Charteris, that had declared themselves for separation. There were some in Aberdeen led away with this error. They strove to erect separate gathered and independent congregations, but could not effectuate it. The Assembly did appoint some ministers to confer and deal with these in Aberdeen for reclaiming of them.*

All this summer there was a hot civil war betwixt the king of France and the princes of the Royal blood, so that matters there were in great confusions. Also there was a great war betwixt the

* Spalding says, that in the Provincial Assembly at Aberdeen, so early as 1642, there was "great business about Brownism, lately crept into Aberdeen, and other parts." The ministers suspended as above, seem to have been John Row, John Menzies, William Moor, and Thomas Charteris. "Some Christians in Aberdeen," says Jaffray, "men and women, having for a long time been convinced of these things, found themselves obliged to endeavour to have the ordinances administered in a more pure way than there was any hope ever to attain to have them in the national way."—*Jaffray and the Friends in Scotland*, p. 48.

English and the Hollanders, and many sea fights and many ships taken and burnt. In July, General Major Deans and Overton marched to the Highlands with 4,000 horse and foot to subdue the Highlands and make them pay cess. They got no resistance, until they came to Lochaber where Mackeldine lay at a pass with 400 men with bows and long snap works. The English hearing that Glengarry had promised within some few days to come to that pass with all that he could raise for Mackeldine's assistance, did with all expedition march to the pass. The Highlanders emptying their dorlachs * among them and giving fire with their long snap-works † made them retire, and being pursued they were routed and many of them killed, but more wounded, especially with arrows. In this meantime Overton was in Argyle's bounds, who having desired the gentlemen there to take the Tender, they refusing said, they minded to live peaceably, but they would not so engage; whereof Overton was content, but Deans coming into the country (being, as seems enraged), dealt more briskly with the gentlemen, upbraiding them, saying, "And do you that are Highlandmen stand upon conscience, will *you* not take the Tender, will you not swallow these pills? we will make you do it," &c. Whereupon the gentlemen presently convened all that they could and surprised all the English garrisons, and had not Deans and Overton subtilely escaped they also had been taken. It was thought that Argyle was very instrumental for their escape, being too bent to comply with the English; as the Earl of Athole and his friends had hindered the Atholers to join with those of Lochaber. About the be-

* Baillie mentions the *dorlachs* of the Highlanders at Dunse-law: "Those of the English that came to visit our camp, did gaze with much admiration upon the supple fellows with their plaids, targes, and *dorlachs*."—(*Letters*, i. 175.) In the Glossary of that work, it is explained "dagger or short sword." But the dorlach was more probably the quiver which held their weapons. Jamieson calls it "a bundle, apparently like that kind of truss, formerly worn by our Highland troops, instead of a knapsack."

† *Snap-works* seem to have been firelocks, or pieces that struck fire without a match.

"But those who were their chief commanders,
Were right well mounted of their gear;
With durk and *snap-work*, and snuff-mill,
A bag which they with onions fill."

—*Cleland's Poems*,

ginning of September, the English, being out of hopes to subdue the Highlands for this season did return to their winter quarters. All this time bypast there are sundry sea fights. It was reported that the Hollanders had the better of it; for it was seen that they kept the seas. They appeared often in the mouth of the Forth.

In the beginning of August, in Edinburgh, convened all the Commissioners of the shires and burghs, when fourteen were elected for all the shires that had taken the Tender, viz., Lord Carnegie, Lord Linton, Durie, Garthland, Riccarton, Garvock, Orbiston, Keir, Tannoch, St Leonards, Glenfarquhar, Colonel Lockhart, Renton and Swinton,* who was excommunicate; and seven for the burghs, viz., John Joycie and John Mill, Sir Alexander Wedder-

* *Lord James Carnegie*, (Commissioner for Angus-shire), was second son of Sir David Carnegie of Kinnaird, afterwards Earl of Southesk. He was present at the proclamation of Cromwell at Edinburgh, 11th July 1657. *Lord Linton*, (for Peebles-shire,) was the eldest son of Sir John Stewart of Traquair, afterwards first Earl of Traquair. He joined the Marquis of Montrose in 1645, was in Hamilton's engagement in 1648, and taken at Preston but soon released. He married Lady Seaton, daughter of the Marquis of Huntly, after she had been excommunicated as a Papist. *Sir Alexander Gibson of Durie*, (for Fife), took a prominent part in opposition to Charles I., but had the honour of knighthood conferred on him in 1641, and in 1646 was made a Lord of Session. In consequence of his joining the Engagement he was deprived by "the Act of Classes" in 1649, and died in June 1656. Scotstarvet describes him as "very well skilled to be a judge." *James M'Dowall, or M'Dougall of Garthland*, (for Galloway), appears as member of the General Assembly in 1644, 1646, and 1647. *Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton*, (for Linlithgow), appears in the Assembly, 1648. *The Laird of Garvock* was Commissioner for Nithsdale. *Sir John Hamilton of Orbiston*, (for Lennox), was knighted and appointed Justice-Clerk in 1646, joined Montrose after the victory of Kilsyth, and was in the engagement 1648, for which he was deprived of his offices in 1649. *The Laird of Keir*, (for Stirling); *the Laird of Tannoch*, or *Tannachy*, (for Caithness); and the *Laird of St Leonard*, (for Edinburgh.) *Glenfarquhar*, (for Mearns), was probably David Falconer of Glenfarquhar, who was appointed one of the Lords of Session in March 1660, but never sat as a judge, the Commission not taking effect, from the uncertainty in whose name to direct the letters; "some being for a King, others for the Keepers of the Liberties of England."—(*Nicol's Diary.*) *Colonel William Lockhart* (for Lanark), was a man of distinguished abilities; he was knighted in 1643 by Charles I., to whose interest he was strongly attached, but was prevailed upon by Cromwell to enter his service, and made one of his Lords of Session. His second wife was a relation of Cromwell. *Renton of Lamberton* was commissioner for Berwickshire. *Sir John Swinton of Swinton*, (also for Berwickshire), was made one of the Lords of Session by Cromwell, became a Quaker, and being apprehended in London after the Restoration, was sent down to Scotland with the Marquis of Argyle, but escaped on making some ignominious apologies for his conduct.

burn, James Sword, Daniel Wallace, George Guillan, Andrew Glen, which twenty-one were to repair to London against the first of October, to the English Parliament, to do all things for the perfecting of the union betwixt the two nations. When they came to London, they were much slighted by the Parliament, and thereafter looked upon rather as petitioners than Commissioners.

In September, Messrs Samuel Rutherford, James Guthrie, Patrick Gillespie and John Carstairs, went to Aberdeen to confer with those that had declared themselves for separation; but Mr John Menzies who was their ringleader, and the greatest disputant among them, being sick they could do the less. Nothwithstanding, for the space of eight days, they conferred and debated with the other two ministers and some regents, in the college, in the hearing of many that hankered after that way. Alexander Jaffray, late provost of Aberdeen, was much for separation.* There were some also there that were against infant baptism, and were in danger to be tainted with other errors.

About this time some English Commissioners, viz., Fenwick, Mosley,† &c., did go through all the universities and visit them, in obedience to a proclamation of the English Parliament, wherein they declared that they were to notice the members of universities, and to remove scandalous persons, or disaffected to the authority of the Commonwealth, and to place more fit persons in their places; also that they were to take notice of scandalous ministers and to fill vacant places. They began at St Andrews, where they did little; only they called before them all the masters of the University, and called for their old registers and Acts. They were thought to be the more discreet at St Andrews, because Mr Blair having acquaintance of Mr Fenwick when he was at London, (Mr Fenwick then being persecuted by the bishops as a Puritan and Nonconformist), did confer with him and exhort him to moderation,

* "They staid seven or eight days, and had frequent meetings with us all, together and apart, but to no purpose for the errand they came about, all of us being rather more confirmed to our former grounds."—*Jaffray and the Friends*, p. 50.

† Edward Mosley was appointed by Cromwell one of the Lords of Session, May 18, 1652.

&c. This man, Mr Fenwick, was one of the best of them. In Aberdeen they removed Dr Guild from being principal of the college in old Aberdeen, who in the year 1650 was deposed by a committee, and Mr John Row, Mr Cant's colleague, invited by them to his place, but, thereafter, a committee of the Assembly at Dundee, 1651, reponed Dr Guild, and summoned Mr John Menzies before them. He refusing to appear, did give in a complaint and supplication to the English Commissioners at Leith. Now the English Commissioners having again, (as was said), removed Dr Guild, did install Mr John Row principal of that college, finding that by the Acts of the Committee and visitation, 1650, he was called unto that place. As they went about in a circuit they kept a Justice Court, which was called the Justice-Air [Eyre.]

The differences among ministers still increasing was the very worm-wood and gall wrung into our cup, and the heart-break of all honest and moderate men. None was more weighed and troubled with them than Mr Blair, nor did more bestir themselves for a union, or at least for an accommodation than he; for he was displeased with some things on both sides; for though he stood for the authority of the two last General Assemblies, acknowledging them to be lawful Assemblies, yet he was displeased with many of their acts that inflicted censure on the Protesters, and debarred young men that favoured the Protestation and Remonstrance from entrance into the ministry, &c. Upon the other hand, he was displeased with the Protesters, because of their high and insolent way of opposing of the Assembly and judicatories, and printing of some papers and keeping of extrajudicial meetings, which did heighten and augment the differences, sadly regretting that some of them had turned aside to some errors of this persuasion. There were some other ministers in Fife that were like-minded with Mr Blair. These did, at least some of them, at sundry times meet and confer together. At last, about the middle of October, Mr Blair overtured that some of their persuasion, out of all the four Presbyteries, should convene at Kennoway. Those that convened there were Messrs Blair, John

Duncan, George Thomson, John Mackgill, Alexander Wedderburn, William Row, &c.* The result of their conference was, 'that' they wrote letters to sundry ministers throughout the kingdom of their persuasion, entreating them to convene at Edinburgh, in November, (at which time and place both the parties that stood at such a distance were to meet, the one in the Commission of the late Assembly, the other in an extrajudicial meeting,) that they might effectually mediate betwixt these two parties for a better understanding, and, if possible, for a union or accommodation betwixt them, or at least for mutual forbearance. Those to whom these letters were directed, applauding the motion as a healing and uniting overture, convened at Edinburgh in November. Thereafter the Protesters convened. Mr Blair, though now infirm and unmeet for travel, yet being most desirous of union and peace with holiness, truth, and a good conscience, kept this appointed meeting. First, they had sundry conferences and debates with the Protesters and the Lord Warriston; but they could effectuate nothing, they were so tenacious of their own principles, still justifying all their own practices. At these conferences and debates sundry things were ripped up, especially the inviting in the English, *anno* 1648. Some of the Protesters disowned it; but Warriston could not well clear himself, at least of employing them,

* We can only afford room for a passing notice of these ministers. Mr John Duncan was minister of Culross. He was admitted in 1631, and died in 1655. (Selections from Minutes of Synod of Fife, p. 236). Mr George Thomson was admitted as assistant minister of Kilmany in 1639, and died in November 1661. (*Ibid.* p. 223). Mr John Mackgyll, or Makgill, the elder, (there were two ministers of that name in the Synod of Fife, and we are not certain which is here meant), was minister of Flisk. His name occurs as minister of that parish, so early as 1613. He died March 22. 1659. (*Ibid.* p. 222). Mr John Makgill, the younger, was minister of Dunbog. He was admitted in 1646, and translated to Cupar, December 14. 1654. He was outed in 1662, and in 1663 went to France to study medicine, in which profession he graduated as doctor. Lamont says, "He came home in a gray sute, but went abroad in black apparell." He purchased the estate of Kemback in 1667, and from him the present family of Makgill of Kemback, are descended. (*Ibid.* pp. 220, 221). Mr Alexander Wedderburn was admitted minister of Forgan, Feb. 10. 1647, and was deposed for non-conformity in 1665. He afterwards accepted the indulgence, and preached in Kilmarnock. (*Ibid.* p. 206). William Row, the author of this Continuation of Blair's Life, was admitted minister of Ceres in 1644, deposed in 1665, and restored, when almost superannuated, in 1689. (*Ibid.* p. 217.)

when they were come in. The more judicious, moderate, and unbiassed men, did judge that to be the beginning of our defection, and a foul step out of the right way, and a receding from our good old principles. All that could be obtained of the Protesters was, that they should for a time delay the printing or spreading of their papers for justifying of all their proceedings, until they saw what the brethren that mediated could effectuate with the Commission of the late Assembly, which was within a little to meet at Edinburgh. In the meantime the Protesters met and drew up a paper, to be given in to the Commission, wherein they desired a treaty for union upon sundry conditions, one whereof was, that in the meantime they should not meet as a Commission with authority from the preceding Assembly. This paper being given in to the Commission was answered by them, and a conference appointed to be at St Andrews, January 1653. But the brethren that gave it in did not accept of the conference upon the conditions the Commission granted it, and so that conference held not. All that the brethren that mediated could obtain of the Commission was, that they should ordain letters to be written to Presbyteries or Synods, that were shortly to meet, that they should delay to inflict any censures upon the Protesters, notwithstanding they had not performed that which the late General Assembly had appointed. Shortly after the dissolving of these meetings the Protesters did write letters to the leading men of their persuasion, shewing that they were presently to print and vent all their papers, and giving sundry directions to them for their carriage in Presbyteries and Synods.

All this winter the civil war betwixt the King of France and the Princes continues; but in the latter end of the year the King did beat and totally rout the Prince of Conde; the Duke of Lorrain, by the effectual dealing of our King, (who all this time bypast lived in great state at one of the King of France's palaces,) having joined with the King. Also the war betwixt the English and the Dutch continues at sea. In November the Hollanders beat the English, and made themselves masters of the narrow seas.

About this time the Parliament of England did enlarge some prisoners, viz., the Earl of Rothes, Marischall, and all the ministers that were in the Tower. As for Mr James Sharp * he was set at liberty shortly after they came to the Tower, having (as was thought) engaged to promote the designs of the Commonwealth. Mr Mungo Law, and the two ministers of Dundee, did come home about the middle of January 1653. The rest of the ministers were for some space detained, and again made close prisoners in the Tower; for what cause it was uncertain; only this was certain, that Swinton with tears entreated the Council of Estate to detain the ministers. Notwithstanding, shortly thereafter they were again enlarged and came home.

In February there came out in print a book from the Protesters, which they called, "The Nullity of the Pretended Assembly at St Andrews and Dundee." It was a review and examination of a paper emitted by Mr James Wood, called, "A Vindication of the Freedom and Lawfulness of the said Assembly." Mr Blair did look upon the printing of this book as a great heightening of our woeful divisions, and a rendering of them as to men or means incurable; and, therefore, despairing to do any good in a more public way for healing of our incurable cancer, he made a second overture, viz., that those few in the Presbytery of St Andrews and Cupar, that were like-minded with him, should monthly meet together, (at his house, or elsewhere as they should appoint), and spend a great part of a day in prayer and conference, wrestling with God in prayer, that now he would heal our incurable wounds, (Jer. xxx. 12, 13, with 17), and conferring together about the means for advancing the work of God, viz., the study and practice of holiness in their several parishes, and for bearing down of sin and profanity among their people, &c. These monthly meetings were kept for some space, until some of the most rigid Public Resolutioners, especially Mr Andrew Honeyman, Mr Blair's colleague,

* Afterwards Archbishop Sharp. He took the *Tender*, acknowledging the authority of Cromwell, at the very time when those ministers whom he afterwards persecuted to the death conscientiously and steadily refused it.

did vent their jealousies, that we were plotting some things against them; for both the rigid public 'Resolutioners' men and Protesters were jealous of Mr Blair.

In March the Protesters had a meeting in Edinburgh, at the which Messrs Andrew Cant, Samuel Rutherford, the Lord Warriston, &c., pressed that a declaration might be emitted against the English; others, especially Mr Patrick Gillespie, desired only a humble address to be made to the Parliament of England, for redress of what they conceived amiss. This made great division amongst them, &c.* The Synod of Fife convened at Dysart the first Tuesday of April, where (as they had done formerly) they forbear the approving of the Presbytery books, or doing any thing that might give the Protesters occasion to divide from them or to protest against their proceedings. The Synod adjourned to the first Tuesday of June.

Towards the end of April Cromwell did march with 4,000 horse into the city of London, (having concluded with the chief officers of the armies in the three kingdoms that there should be a new representative), and did violently dissolve the Parliament, because they would not willingly dissolve. He presently emitted a short declaration of the grounds and reasons of this fact.

* A paper was however agreed upon, entitled, "A Brotherly and Christian Exhortation and Warning from many Ministers, Elders, and Professors of the Gospel in Scotland, unto those of the English Nation who have been Authors of, or had accession unto the late and present Actings and Transactions that concern this Land;" and it is "subscribed at the desire and in the name of many ministers, elders, and professors of the gospel of Jesus Christ, met at Edinburgh, March 17. 1653," by Mr Andrew Cant, Mr Samuel Rutherford, Mr James Guthrie, Mr Robert Trail, Mr Ephraim Melvill, Mr John Nevay." Among other things they say, "Our souls are also grieved with the encroachments that are made by the civil power upon the privileges of the Church in the power of her Courts and judicatories, in the admitting and removing of ministers, and by their disposing upon their maintenance and stipends at pleasure; these Church privileges being not only allowed and confirmed by the laws of the land, but founded upon and consonant to the Word of God. . . . . We cannot but in this place take notice of one thing, which our ears thought never to have heard, nor our eyes to have seen, to wit, that by the command of these powers there is express inhibition to the colleges and universities of this land anent the taking of the Covenant, which to us is a demonstration clear enough that it is intended that it should be had no more in remembrance." This document is preserved among the Wodrow MSS., vol. xxix. 4to, No. 55.

In the beginning of June the English obtained a great victory over the Hollanders at sea. In that sea fight, the first day, General Deans was killed. Besides this, the English had very small loss; but the Hollanders lost many ships and men. The second day the Hollanders lost more than twenty men of war; many were killed and taken prisoners; the rest fled homewards. To the English only some few men were killed. Before the news of this great victory came to Scotland the English were in great fears, partly by reason of the Hollanders, who (as was reported) were making great preparations with the French, and others that favoured our King, for his assistance against the English, who feared that they would attempt to land either in Scotland or England, the Hollanders being masters of the narrow seas; and partly by reason of the Highlanders. The Laird of Macnab was killed by the English. It was reported that a letter was found upon him, discovering a band betwixt the Highlanders and some in the lowlands, for a new war against the English. After Macnab was killed there was some gathering together among them, and Sir Arthur Forbes, Sir Mungo Murray, &c., were said to have gone to them. This stirring among the Highlanders made the English draw out to the fields and be in leaguers. All in Fife lay in two leaguers, viz., at the Struthers and Falkland.

Immediately after their great victory over the Hollanders at sea, Cromwell wrote down to Scotland, summoning some men to repair to London, that he might advise with them anent the settling of the affairs of Scotland. They were Lord Hopetoun, Brodie, Alexander Jaffray, Swinton, Lockhart, Garthland. They in the latter end of June took journey towards London. Some few were summoned to come from Ireland, and a great number out of all the counties of England. These being convened with Cromwell, that summoned them, took upon them the name and power of the Parliament of England and its commonwealth, and did emit a declaration in print, June 12. All this time bypast there was some gathering of forces in the north and among the Highlanders. The Earl of Glencairn was their head, the Lords Ken-

mure, and Balcarras, and others were with them, and before the late defeat of the Hollanders at sea it was expected that the King should have landed in the north with some foreigners to join with them.

The General Assembly convened at Edinburgh, July, Wednesday, the 3d. After sermons by Messrs David Dickson and Robert Douglas, they being convened, immediately after prayer by Mr David Dickson, a party of the English came up to the kirk, and three officers came in to the assembly house and commanded them presently to disperse, because they had no warrant to sit, either from the Parliament of England or Commander-in-chief in Scotland. Mr Dickson desired that they would have patience until the judicatory were constituted; but that could not be obtained. Whereupon Mr Dickson answered, That they had power from Jesus Christ to convene in his own head court for the affairs of his house, and that they needed not any other power from civil judicatories. In end, they being commanded to dissolve, did protest against that violence and usurpation; 1. Because they had power and warrant from Jesus Christ to convene and sit; 2. Their meeting was warranted by the unrepealed laws of the land; 3. Because the English with us are sworn and bound by the Solemn League and Covenant to defend the doctrine, discipline and covenant of the Kirk of Scotland, in the first article thereof. The officers that dissolved the Assembly, desired them to go with them a little without the ports of the town, where they should shew them further of their mind. So the whole Assembly was conveyed through the streets by the party out to Bruntsfield links. In the fields they took up all their names, and thereafter told them that the stirring of those in the Highlands was the reason why they had dissolved their meeting, fearing lest possibly they might have done something for fomenting that rising among them. Shortly before the Assembly's convening, some few of the members of the Assembly had a meeting with the Protesters. All that could be obtained of them was that their protestation (which they knew would be made against the Assembly) should be drawn up in more mild and

gentle expressions than the former was, and that it should be presented to the Assembly only by two or three of their number. So the Protesters made ready their protestation against the Assembly; but the Assembly being dissolved by the English, the Protesters met again upon the next day. The English hearing thereof did emit a public proclamation, commanding all ministers to depart of the town presently, inhibiting them to meet together above three or four. So the Protesters' meeting was also dissolved. They drew up a protestation against the English their dissolving of the Assembly, (because some were jealous that they had a hand in it*), which also had in the bosom of it a protestation against the Assembly's meeting as a free or lawful Assembly. This paper they sent to the Commander-in-chief Lilburn. And so as King James VI., shortly after his succeeding to Queen Elizabeth, interrupted the course of our free and lawfully convened General Assembly, and dissolved the Assembly at Aberdeen, so now the usurpers (whom God raised up to be a scourge to King, country, and Assembly) did dissolve this Assembly and interrupt their course. It was feared that they would not suffer Presbyteries to meet; but no Presbytery was molested by them save the Presbytery of Cupar. Two of the officers from the camp at the Struthers took up their names, and commanded them to disperse and not to meet again. That day Mr Blair sat with the Presbytery of Cupar as correspondent from the Presbytery of St Andrews (for Synods always had mutual correspondence, and Presbyteries often *pro re nata*). He spoke freely and boldly, yet prudently, to the English officers; and in prayer in the family where he dined that day, he complained to God of their violence and usurpation, but begged preparation for the sad and fiery trial that was to come on after the Lord had broken

* Here Row shews more candour than Baillie, who, in giving the history of this affair in a letter to Mr Wm. Spang, makes no mention of this Protestation of the Protesters against the English dissolving the Assembly, but, on the contrary, represents the Protesters as gratified in that exercise of Erastian power. "Colonel Lilburn," says he, "the Commander-in-chief, gave order to soldiers to break our Assembly before it was constitute, to the exceeding great grief of all except the Remonstrators, who insulted upon it; the English violence having trysted with their Protestation against it."—*Letters and Journals*, iii. 244.

this rod wherewith now he was smiting us, Is. xiv. 29. The next day some few of the Presbytery of Cupar convened. After prayer and adjourning of their meeting, one of their number, Mr William Row, being found upon the street, was carried up to their camp at the Struthers, but presently dismissed. Thereafter they convened in their Presbyterial meetings and were not troubled.

After the late sea fight, the Hollanders sent to the Parliament an ambassador to treat for peace; but the English demands were so high and dishonourable that the Dutch could not yield to them. Therefore they gave up treating, and new preparations are made for a new engagement; and so upon the last days of July they engaged with the English upon the Holland coast. They fought three days. It was a most fierce and terrible battle; many killed on both sides, many ships sore shattered. In this fight that valiant sea warrior Van Tromp, received a shot, of the which, shortly after he came to shore, he died. The English gave it out that they had the better of it.

Shortly after the dissolution of the General Assembly, the Parliament sent down an Act, which the Commissioners for visiting of universities caused publish by way of a declaration, inhibiting all ministers to pray for the King, or to preach against the present government, or for monarchical government. Immediately after this, one of the ministers of Edinburgh was put in the Castle for praying for the King, but was presently dismissed. All the ministers in town, the Sabbath ensuing, did pray for the King, and were threatened by the judges, to whom the ministers gave in write their reasons why they could not give obedience to that proclamation; which paper the judges sent up to the Parliament, desiring to know how they should carry themselves in relation to the ministers. What answer was returned by the Parliament was not divulged, but still the ministers of Edinburgh continued praying for the King, and yet no violence was offered them. At this time the most part of the Protesters left off praying for the King; but other ministers, though they were threatened before they went to the pulpit, and surrounded with armed men while in the pulpit, yet ceased

not to pray for the King, in the hearing, not only of the common soldiers, but of their officers and judges.

All this summer time and harvest there is great stirring among the Highlanders and those that were called Kenmurites, under Glencairn's and Kenmure's command. Sundry go to them from the lowlands; some with Middleton did land in the north and join with them. They becoming numerous, send down parties, not only to Fife and the shires benorth Forth, but even to Lothian, and did take many horses and arms from gentlemen and husbandmen. Thereafter they did much annoy the garrisons at Stirling, Falkland, &c., killing some, taking others, especially taking their horses, which made all in Fife to quarter in St Andrews. Thereafter orders came to them to take up their winter quarters in Cupar, Falkland and Burntisland. They fortified the town of Cupar. Fearing infalls in the night, those in Falkland lodged themselves within the palace. Burntisland was fortified. The garrisons of Perth and Stirling were much infested and annoyed with the Kenmurites, which occasioned that sundry times those that lay in Cupar, Falkland and Burntisland were sent for to assist the garrisons in Perth and Stirling. In the latter end of November they appeared before Stirling, provoking the garrison to come out and fight. The garrison drawing out, and perceiving their number greater than they expected, (they were judged to be about 5000), did not engage with them. In the beginning of December, all that lay in Cupar marched to Perth and Stirling to fortify these garrisons that lay nearest to the Highlanders. The English perceiving that the Highlanders under Glencairn's command were daily taking all the good horses, did, in the latter end of December, emit a proclamation, that all horses of £5 sterling price should be brought in to the nearest garrison, &c. Many horses were brought in to them; many taken that were not brought in; yet, notwithstanding, Glencairn's parties were still taking horses even in Lothian and Fife.

About this time there was some engagement betwixt Sir Arthur Forbes and the English in the south. Glencairn fearing that there

were some ships landed in the north with arms and some men, presently marched north with all the forces he could gather together, but to divert the English from the north, he sent Sir Arthur Forbes with a small party to the south, where Sir Arthur carried most gallantly.

About the beginning of January 1654, there were great alterations at London. There had for a long time been a great debate in the Parliament anent the teinds and ministers' stipends. The Anabaptists were for taking away the settled stipends of ministers, ordaining them to live upon the charity of the people. This matter being put to a voice, the Anabaptists carried it by one or two voices; whereat Cromwell was displeased, perceiving that the Parliament, as it was constituted, was not for all his interests; which made the party that favoured Cromwell, (by his advice and counsel no doubt), devolve the whole power of the Parliament into his person, ordaining him to be Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, (for so it was called, the union being closed), which power, place, authority and title Cromwell did take upon him, and so the Parliament dissolved. As the other was called the Long Parliament, so this was by some called the Little Daft Parliament. After the dissolution of this Parliament Cromwell did take upon him the title of Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector, &c., and did mould a new government, the form whereof was put in print, containing about forty articles; the sum whereof was, seeing the major part of the present Parliament found that their sitting was not for the good of the public, they devolved their power upon the person of Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector, &c.; which he took upon him, ordaining that the sole legislative power should be in his person, that he should have power to convene Parliaments; therefore ordained a Parliament to convene in September 1654, ordained the way of electing of Commissioners, their number, &c., settled the militia in his person, ordained ministers to have their settled stipends, permitting a toleration of all except Popery and Prelacy, * and closed with an oath of fidelity to

* "The hand of power," says Baillie, writing in 1655, "is not heavy on any for

be taken by the Lord Protector at his entry, who was to be elective, chosen by his Council of Estate, they meeting in their ordinary place, and not sundering until they elected the Lord Protector. This made wise men say, that now Cromwell had taken to himself more than ever any King did, and that the Protector's Highness had more power than ever the King's Majesty had.

All this time bypast England and Holland were treating. But about the time of the dissolution of the Parliament the treaty broke off, the Hollanders recalling their ambassador. Thereafter they take prizes one of another, and preparations are made for sea fights, which did not a little encourage the Kennurites, whose army was still increasing; but two things were admired anent them: 1. That they did not attempt any considerable enterprise, though sometimes they surprised some garrisons; and, 2dly, That they emitted no declaration anent their intentions, &c. The reason of the first was thought to be, because they had peremptory orders from the King to attempt nothing considerable until they received aid and assistance, which he was to send them from beyond seas. For the second it was thought that they did not all agree upon the same principles, and did not act upon the same grounds; for albeit many of their commanders were for the National and Solemn League and Covenant, yet there were some among them of whom it was feared that they were for neither of the Covenants, especially Glengarie. Also, they did not agree well anent the command of the army, differences falling betwixt Glengarie, Balcarras, the Lord Lorn, and some of the Gordons.

The Lord Protector was feasted by the city of London with as great dignity and estate as ever any King in Britain. The feast was as great as either wit could invent or wealth execute. His prime officers were feasted with him. But many that otherwise favoured the English interest did not like well of Cromwell's exalting himself, taking to himself not only the power of convening,

matters of religion, no not on Quakers, who are open railers against the Protector's person; yea, we hear of little trouble of Papists, who grow much in the North of Scotland, more than these eighty years, without any control."—*Letters and Journals*, iii. 291.

but of constituting of Parliaments, the negative voice, &c., much more than any King ever had; especially Lambert, that favoured the Anabaptists, was displeased and malcontent. In the end of February his regiment came down to Scotland. About that time two parties of the English rencountering in the night time, through a mistake, each apprehending other to be Scots, they did engage, and fought most desperately, and did never know their mistake until they came to the taking of prisoners. This mistake cut off many of them. In the latter end of February there was some action betwixt the English and the Kenmurites. In the north Glencairn was in the Brae of Mar, not very strong, by reason of a mutiny among his men, which occasioned some to leave him. Colonel Morgan marched out towards them. The Kenmurites not minding to fight, after some skirmishing with fore parties, retired. Kenmure and the most gallant men abiding upon the rear, they made a safe retreat.

In the beginning of March there was a peace concluded betwixt the English and the Dutch. About this time some plots were discovered that were for cutting off the Protector. About the same time the Protector wrote for Messrs John Livingston, Patrick Gillespie and John Menzies to come to him, that he might have their advice for settling Kirk affairs. Mr Livingstone was unwilling to go, until Lilburn said that if he would not go as a freeman he would send him as a prisoner. He carried very honestly and straightly at London. Being called to preach before the Protector at Whitehall, sundry Scotsmen being present, he prayed for the King and the Royal Family thus: "God be gracious to those whose right it is to rule in this place, and unjustly is thrust from it; sanctify thy rod of affliction unto him, and when our bones are laid into the dust, let our prayers be registrate in the book of life that they may come forth in thy appointed time for doing him and his family good!" And for the usurpers he prayed in these terms: "As for thir [these] poor men that now fill their rooms, Lord be merciful unto them!" * Some would have had him accused for

* The pertinacious loyalty of the Presbyterians, so conspicuous throughout the

praying for the King, and calling them "poor men"; but the Protector said, "Let him alone, he is a good man; and what are we but poor men in comparison of the Kings of England?" Mr Patrick Gillespie pleased them but too well. Mr John Menzies, being sick, came to London long after the other two.

In the latter end of April Monk came to Scotland Commander-in-chief of the English forces in Scotland, in the room of Lilburn. At his entry to Edinburgh he was conveyed by the magistrates to the Cross, where Cromwell was proclaimed Lord Protector, with all the solemnities that used to be at the proclamation of Kings. Thereafter there was a proclamation, That wherever any man had gone out to assist the Scots in rebellion and arms against them, the burgh or landward parish should pay for every man thirty shillings a-day,* except they brought him in to the nearest garrison, &c. Also large sums of money were offered to any that would kill Middleton, Glencairn, Kenmure, &c.

In May Glencairn came from the north with about 300 horsemen with him. In Athole the Earl joined with him with a foot regiment and some horsemen. Also Montrose and some others joined with him. They kept a pass at Aberfoyle to intercept some forces that were expected from Ireland to join with Monk, who marched out of Stirling to beat Glencairn from the pass, but was repulsed, yea chased back again to Stirling. Monk attempted once and again to regain his credit at Aberfoyle, but was still repulsed and foiled, especially by Glencairn's bowmen. This did a little animate the Scots, who, about this time, were not a little

whole of their history, and more especially at this period, has frequently occasioned surprise. But, in addition to the proverbial loyalty of the Scots, it should be borne in mind that the Presbyterians held themselves bound by their Covenant to stand by the royal family, and to refuse all compliance with the usurpers. "They were sworn in the Covenant to support his Majesty's person and authority, and that they would not diminish his just greatness and power; and therefore their loyal principles and affections were cherished by the additional obligation of their Covenant, which they improved on all occasions as an argument for monarchy, and the right of Charles II. to the crown, and for pressing all that had taken it to do the same, as they would avoid the horrid sin of perjury."—*Hist. Essay on the Loyalty of Presbyterians*, p. 548. (Printed in 1713.)

* Scots money, about two shillings and sixpence sterling.

discouraged. They had a long time expected help from beyond seas, and got but few with Middleton. They also expected the King; but now they had lost all hopes of his coming. But that which most discouraged them, and broke that army, and ruined all, was the King's sending over Sir George Munro to have the chief command under Middleton. This did not a little gall Glencairn. Thereafter Sir George Munro speaking in favours of the Lord Lorn, for readmitting of him into the army, Glencairn did call him "a knave." Whereupon Munro appealed him to the combat; and though Glencairn was unwilling to fight upon the Sabbath day, yet Munro urging him to it, they did fight, first upon horseback, then on foot. Both times Sir George Munro was wounded.

At this same time a party of the Scots provoked the garrison in Perth out of the town. The Scots retiring did draw them under an ambush, whereby some of the English were killed. Upon the morrow, a party approaching the town upon the north side, drew all the English out of the citadel upon the south side of the town, and, while they were all upon the north side of the town, the Scots drew away all their horses that were grazing in the South Inch. Also at this same time some prisoners escaped out of the castle of Edinburgh, and out under the Parliament house in Edinburgh, among whom was the Earl of Kinnoul.

In the latter end of May there came a letter from the Protector, directed to Messrs Robert Blair, Robert Douglas and James Guthrie, * commanding them to repair to him, that he might have their

* The celebrated James Guthrie was first minister of Lauder, and in November 1649, was transported to Stirling. He was the author of a small treatise on ruling elders, and was supposed to have had the chief hand in drawing up the "Causes of God's wrath," a pamphlet which furnished the main pretext for his condemnation and execution, or rather judicial murder in 1661. His noble defence of himself at his mock trial, and the heroic composure with which he submitted to his sentence, form the crowning, and certainly the most engaging portion of his history. It is painful to observe the influence of party prejudice in Baillie's cool and uninterested account of his execution. But the halo which time throws over the martyr's head, and the horror excited by "the deep damnation of his taking off," are apt to sway us too much sometimes to the side of indiscriminate admiration. Guthrie's temper appears to have been naturally hot and severe, and he was inclined to express himself strongly, and without much regard to prudence or to the feelings of his brethren. Baillie frequently

advice and counsel in Kirk affairs. Mr Blair being not only altogether unwilling to go, but also infirm and not able to go, either by sea or land, sent his excuse by write to Mr Fenwick, who wrote to him when he sent the Protector's letter to him. Mr Blair, in his letter, gave a full and clear testimony against their unjust invasion, their heavy usurpation, and against their vast toleration. Mr James Guthrie was unwilling to go. He wrote a large letter to the Protector testifying against their toleration. Mr Douglas, likewise, was unwilling to go, especially seeing the other two were not to go. He resolved at last to sit until a second summons came.

After the skirmish at Aberfoyle Monk marched up to the Highlands about Loch Tay. He gained some houses there that the Scots were keeping, but with no loss to them, save of the houses. Sundry of the English were killed. All this while Middleton and Munro are in the north. Monk marched from Loch Tay north to join with Colonel Morgan against Middleton, who, being unwilling to fight, (for he still expected the King, or at least some forces from him), marched to Kintail. Monk followed Middleton through the Highlands. The English lost many horses in the Highlands, especially in the bogs of Kintail. Their men and horse being exceedingly wearied Monk returned to Perth, but Middleton kept still in the hills; and because the English were in several parties he divided his forces in three parties, one to Munro, one to Montrose, (who lately before killed some, and expelled the rest of the garrison of Aberdeen), and kept the third party to himself. While Middleton and his party are marching along Loch Ness there was a skirmish betwixt Morgan's party and them, who accidentally, not knowing of other, rencountered at a narrow pass. Middleton lost some of his horse and baggage, but very few men. All this time bypast the spirits of the English being embittered against Scotland, especially because of these parties that were in arms against them, there were heavy and intolerable burdens imposed upon all sorts of persons. The Protector did fine all the richest in the kingdom, laying on them vast sums of money. Also

expresses his fears lest the public papers of the Church "should fall into Mr James Guthrie's brisk hand."—(*Letters*, iii. 57, 59.)

there was required of every man that had a near relation in arms against them thirty shillings *per diem;* and if any of them were killed or taken, or any of their horses taken, great sums of money were exacted of the parish or town where they were killed or taken. All this was of purpose to impoverish the country as cruel taskmasters, doubling the tale of brick, &c.

This summer the Queen of Sweden did resign her right of the crown to him that was nearest to it, he paying to her vast sums of money. This resignation and his coronation were performed with great show and solemnity.

About Lammas Mr Livingstone came from London, being much displeased with the English and their carriage, especially in relation to Kirk affairs. The Protector was glad to be quit of him, because he spoke more plainly than pleasantly to him. But the other two ministers, Patrick Gillespie and John Menzies, abode still at London, with whom the Protector was better pleased. The Parliament indicted by the Protector when he raised the Parliament, and took to himself the title of Lord Protector, did sit down the 3d of September, which Cromwell used to call *his* day.* Very few barons of quality did countenance the elections of Commissioners, so most malignant and base men were chosen; yea, some towns elected Englishmen. At this time all hopes of any good from the Scots army, under Glencairn's or Middleton's command, was clean blasted and gone. Glencairn thought himself affronted by making Munro lieutenant-general, [and], therefore, would not join with Middleton; and Middleton resolving to protract the war, not minding to fight, was chased hither and thither, and, his army wasting away from him, was in a painful condition in the hills, without victuals, especially their horses were spoiled, they not having iron nor smiths. In August Glencairn, Athole and Montrose, did capitulate with the English, and made their peace upon very honourable and great conditions. Meanwhile

* It was on the third of September that Cromwell gained two great victories, that of Dunbar and that of Worcester. What is still more remarkable it was on the third of September that Cromwell died! He might well call it "his day."

Middleton's army still diminishes. Sundry came home to their own houses and procured protections from the English, engaging to live peaceably, so that in September Middleton had very few in arms with him in the hills.

About the time of Glencairn's capitulation Messrs Patrick Gillespie and John Menzies came home, and shortly thereafter there came abroad an ordinance, emitted by the Council of Estate, concerning Kirk affairs, especially the planting of vacant kirks in Scotland, wherein were many things encroaching upon the liberties of the kingdom of Christ, and contrary to the established order of Kirk government in Scotland, founded upon the word of God, and sworn to in the National and Solemn League and Covenant. Messrs Patrick Gillespie and John Menzies procured this ordinance and accepted of it; and that it might be the better liked of, they inserted in it the names of many honest ministers that were very averse from that kind of Prelacy or supremacy that was given to them by that ordinance, viz., Messrs Robert Blair, Samuel Rutherford, Alexander Moncrieff, &c. All those whose names were inserted in it, except some few Protesters, viz., Messrs John Nevay,* William Guthrie, &c.,† did speak much against it, and condemn it as much as any other honest ministers, but none did more abhor and detest it than Mr Blair. Sundry Synods did emit declarations against this ordinance, especially the Synods of

* John Nevay, or Nevoy, was minister of Newmills in the parish of London. He seems to have been a very zealous, and honest, though somewhat violent man, thrusting himself forward in all public questions; and he distinguished himself on one occasion, not much to his credit, by his officious zeal in urging the military execution of some wretched Irish kernes, who were taken prisoners after the defeat of Montrose, at Dunavertie. After the Restoration he signed an act of self-banishment, and died in Holland, 1668.

† William Guthrie, minister of Fenwick, and the well-known author of "The Christian's Great Interest." He was well descended; his father, the laird of Pitforthy in Angus, being a branch of the ancient family of Guthrie in that shire. He was cousin to the celebrated martyr, James Guthrie, and, like him, joined the party of the Remonstrants. His facetious disposition rendered him a general favourite with the English officers, as indeed it did with all who knew him. The interesting circumstances connected with his expulsion from his parish, after the Restoration, are familiar to all acquainted with that portion of history. He died at Brechin, Oct. 10. 1665, in the forty-fifth year of his age.

Lothian and Fife in October, shewing in what respects it was contrary to the established order and government of the Kirk of Scotland, and contrary to our solemn covenants.

All this time bypast the English mock Parliament is sitting. At their downsitting there were sundry debates and stirs amongst them. The Protector gave in to them some papers containing his desires, or rather imperious commands, arrogating to himself a negative voice in matters of greatest importance and concernment, and requiring that he and his posterity might be established in that place and authority he now enjoyed as Lord Protector. These demands seemed so gross to any that had any thing of honesty or ingenuity, [ingenuousness], that they refused to sign them, and they were, by orders from the Protector, commanded to the Tower; yet, thereafter, many of them signed some of his first demands, giving him a negative voice in some things. As for his craving the Protectorship to be hereditary he passed from it, and was content it should be elective; and "so they wrapped it up," and the Parliament sat down. In December many officers of the army, who were of the Anabaptist faction, did convene and sit in a committee, and refused to rise, being commanded by the Protector.

In the beginning of January 1655, there was discovered a plot of the Anabaptists, which was not only for the cutting off the Protector, but also for cutting off Monk in Scotland, and all that they conceived to be against their designs, especially the ministers of Scotland. The chief of that sect were apprehended and imprisoned at London. Also in Scotland the ringleaders of the Anabaptist faction were apprehended in all parts of the kingdom, and sent to Edinburgh and there imprisoned, and the prime of them sent to London, so that the army was purged of the chief and prime of that faction, and a special eye was had on any of that stamp, so that their power was crushed.

In the latter end of January the Protector finding that the Parliament was not for his intents did convene them in the Painted Chamber, where, after a long speech to them, wherein he did

upbraid them and challenge them of sundry things, he did declare them to be no more a Parliament, and so did dissolve that Parliament.

In the spring there were none in arms for the King's interest in Scotland, except a few with the Lord Lorn; for now Middleton had gone over seas to the King. Immediately thereafter Lorn capitulated with the English, as Glencairn and the rest had done before; so that now the English possessed the whole kingdom peaceably. Deut. xxxii. 36. *

In the summer the Protector appointed a Council of Estate for the government of Scotland, answerable to the Committee of Estates that ruled before the invasion. It consisted of English and Scots. The Lord Brothwell [Broghill] † was president, a moderate and judicious man. He was friendly to honest ministers, and liked well all godly men. All this time Monk was one of the Council of Estate and general of the army in Scotland. Instead of the fifteen Lords of the Session there were some few Judges in that judicatory, some English, some Scotch. They were not, as before, called Lords but Judges. There was also another judicatory, called the Trustees, who ordered the rents of the forfaulted estates.

In October Mr Blair's eldest son, Mr James Blair, (after he had been long a regent in St Leonard's college, and half-a year minister

* "The Lord shall repent himself for his servants, when he seeth that their power is gone, and that there is none shut up or left." The political sentiments of Row appear more in these references to Scripture than in any direct reflections.

† This was Roger Boyle, third son of the Earl of Cork, who was created Baron of Broghill in 1628, before he was seven years of age. "After the death of Charles I., having been gained over by Cromwell, he distinguished himself by his services in Ireland, and was persuaded to come for one year to Scotland in 1655-1656, as President of the Council." Baillie speaking of him when in Scotland, says, "The President, Broghill, is reported by all to be a man exceeding wise and moderate, and by profession a Presbyterian; he has gained more on the affections of the people than all the English that ever were among us. He has been very civil to Mr Douglas and Mr Dickson, and is very intime with Mr James Sharp; by this means we have an equal hearing [equal with that of the Protesters] in all we have adoe with the Council."—*Letters and Journal*, iii. 316. Again he says, "But if men of my Lord Broghill's parts and temper be long among us, they will make the present government more beloved than some men wish. From our public praying for the King, Broghill's courtesies more than his threats brought off our leading men."—*Ibid.* iii. 321.

of Dysart), died in his father's house at St Andrews. Mr Blair compiled some poems upon that sad and sorrowful occasion. Unto the first he gave this title :—

GEMITUS DEFUNCTI IN MORBO FIDE SPEQUE GRAVIDI.

Proh ! contempta jacet pietas, pax rapta, fidesque,
Rarior in terris exulat omnis amor.
Expertus mœstusque loquor ; philautia regnat,
Neglecto Christo, quisque sibi invigilat ;
Dum tua Suarezi monumenta operosa pererro,
Dum Sisyphi saxum volvo revolvo nimis,
Dum Sophiæ invigilans, pubi penetralia pando,
In cœno atque luto pene miser perii.
Nec periit labor ille annon famulantibus inde,
Imbuta est studiis Christe ! juventa tibi.
Sed mihi paucorum præconia sacra dicrum,
Plus mihi profectus lætitiæque piæ,
Quam studia annorum multorum, et laurea pubi
Bis donata meis auspitiis, studiis.
Sacra ministerii sed vix primordia premens,
Deficio ante pedes, suavis Iesu ! tuos.
Excutit e manibus divini lampada verbi,
Mi tabefacto, coquens viscera lenta φθισις,
Indigno qui celsa tui mysteria regni
Tractem, qui sponsæ casta divina * feram,
Digno qui mediis rugiam crucialibus Orci,
Digno qui excludar lætitiæ fluviis.
Sed non clausa manent misero tua viscera, Christe !
Christe ! cibus, potus, deliciæque mihi.
Nolo vobiscum sortem alternare, Tyranni !
Nolo vobiscum regia sceptra, Duces !
Qui commune nihil Christo cum rege tenetis ;
Ille suo regnum sanguine me peperit.
Hæc in corde meo regnant nunc spesque fidesque,
Gaudia præbebunt secla futura mihi.
Egredere audacter tabefacto e corpore scande
Spiritus angelicum concipe corde melos,
Christe ! mihi resera celsi penetralia cœli,
Te duce per tenebras absque timore sequar.
Cum mihi luctifica intentabit vulnera dextra
Mors in valle sua Christe ! triumphus eris.
Hac scala me sistet paradisi in culmine lætum ;
Ultra nil valeo dicere. Munde vale.†

* On the margin κασία δία. † These lines have been evidently blundered in the transcription.

To the second this title :—

DIALOGUS INTER PATREM SUPERSTITEM ET FILIUM DEFUNCTUM.

Quis patrem, nisi mentis inops, in funere nati, Flere vetat?

Siccine vivendo vivi mea fata superstes
Moerens ut nato funera acerba darem?
Πρωτογονος tumulum mihi proh nunc implet hiantem,
Præproperans juvenis præripis anne seni?
Hospitium valde optatum sedesque cupitas
Dicito quid tibi vis filius ante diem?
Præripio haud palmam, locus est hic pluribus umbris
Pulveribus mixtis, accola vester ero;
Sed gero coelesti morem obsequiumque parenti,
Ductorem tantum est suave necesse sequi.
I sequere, ipse sequar præuntem, scilicet ille
Tempora denumerat nostra vicesque notat.

To the third this title :—

NOVISSIMA DEFUNCTI SUSPIRIA PRIDIE MORTIS.

Suavia libavi cœlestis guadia regni,
Pax mihi parta tuis est data Christe! plagis,
Omnes deliciæ, flos mundi exaruit, omnis
Mundi carnalis amor et omne decus.
Festinans anhelans,
Tartara non metuo, te duce Christe! præi.*

Mr James Blair departed this life upon the 20th of October 1655, being Saturday. Immediately after his death, Mr Blair, his father, (being pre-engaged to preach the preparation sermon before the celebration of the holy communion in the kirk of Cameron), took horse and went out of St Andrews and preached in Cameron kirk on that Saturday afternoon a most pertinent and powerful sermon; of so composed a spirit and serene mind was Mr Blair amidst all the great troubles and difficult trials of his time, either more private or more public. On the Lord's day before his son's death, he assisted at the celebration of the communion in the kirk of Dysart, where his son was colleague to Mr James Wilson. He was often and much employed as a chief actor and prime instrument at the celebration of the communion in the parishes of Cupar, Forgan, Dunbog, Ceres and Kemback. At these solemn occa-

* We give the above as in the MS., which is obviously incorrect.

sions many souls got much good by his ministry. It was the Lord's wonderful condescension and kindness to his own in Scotland, that, while they were under the feet of usurpers, the Lord sweetened the bitterness of their bondage, by blessing the labours of his faithful servants in the ministry, not only in and about St Andrews and other parts of Fife, but in several parts of the kingdom, yea even in the Highlands, the Lord setting before his servants an open door every where, and in several places a great door and effectual was opened to many, Rev. iii. 8; 1. Cor. xvi. 9: insomuch, that some of the English set over us as task-masters, falling in love with the word preached, and getting good thereby, were very kind and discreet, especially to the most painful and diligent ministers, Prov. xvi. 7.*

This year, the King of Sweden, † (of whom before) did invade Poland; and having beat the King of Poland in sundry battles, he was at last crowned King of Poland. There were two regiments levied for his assistance in Scotland, under the command of the Lord Crawford.

Also this year the Protector had a design to surprise Hispaniola, a rich isle in America, garrisoned by the King of Spain, where were many gold and silver mines. He sent to the sea a great fleet, with several regiments in them: they first sailed to the Barbado isles, where were many of the prisoners taken at Preston, Dunbar and Worcester; these were shipped as soldiers; they landed a considerable party in Hispaniola without any resistance; but while they lay in a leaguer upon the coast, to refresh their sea-sick soldiers, they were taken napping by a party of the Spanish garrison that lay hidden in a bay of the coast, within the English guards. They being surprised, were easily routed, and all of them cut off

* "When a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh *even his enemies* to be at peace with him." Such is Row's comment on a fact which has often been quoted, in proof of the judiciousness of Cromwell's administration in Scotland—the prosperity of religion at this period. According to him, it was but "a sweetening of the bitterness of their bondage." We would merely beg the reader to remark that this reflection was made and adhered to many years after the Restoration had made the Church of Scotland feel the bitterness of another kind of bondage.

† Gustavus Adolphus.

without mercy, except the Scots. After this defeat of the land army, the fleet removed, and landed so many of the army as were to the fore, in an isle called Jamaica, but it was of no great value. This disaster did exceedingly amaze, astonish and confound the Protector, so that, for some days, none got access to him. After this, the Spanish fleets did still prey upon all English and Scotch ships, and did very great hurt at sea to them, the Spanish pirates committing many hostilities in the narrow seas, yea, they landed in some parts, spoiled houses and victualled their ships; and no small fear was of Spain's prevailing over this island. About this time also, the King of Spain did beat the King of France's army, in France, which augmented the fears of Protestants lest Spain should prevail, and that Popery should yet get footing again in Britain; for at this time Papists multiplied in Scotland, especially in the north, and they grew very proud. Many seminary priests and Jesuits came to the north and other parts, so that the ministry began to bethink themselves of some means to put a stop to the spreading of Popery, especially to help the north, Caithness, Sutherland, &c., that were very destitute of ministers.

The Protector's big hopes builded upon his design against Hispaniola being disappointed, he bethinks himself how to get monies to repair his fleet. For this and other ends, he appointed Justices of Peace in Scotland, giving them authority to cess the personal estates of all in the land, so that the corn and cattle, &c. of husbandmen should pay some small cess. Also ministers' stipends were ordained to be cessed. But neither of these succeeded. There was such outerying of the husbandmen that the gentry were glad to free them of their cess; and the President of the Council did, by an act of Council, discharge the cessing of ministers' stipends. About this time the Council of Estate, pressing ministers to desist from praying for the King in public, under pain of losing their stipends, &c., some that had power with the President informed him that if ministers were not threatened, but had their liberty, they would now, of their own accord, leave public praying for the King, having given sufficient evidence of their

affection to him by praying for him so long, even in public in the hearing of the English. Whereupon the Council made a proclamation, taking off all penalties denounced against ministers for praying for the King in public, leaving the matter to the arbitrement of the ministers. Thereafter public remembering of the King by name, in the public prayers, was left off by almost all the ministers of Scotland; yet still he was prayed for, not only in families and in secret, but in public, being involved in some general that did clearly enough design him to all intelligent hearers.

All this while by-past, the differences among ministers not only continue, but were heightened and augmented by the animosities of the two parties that stood at greatest distance, especially by their printed papers, *pro* and *contra*.* Yet, notwithstanding, Mr Blair did not leave off his earnest dealing and endeavours for union and agreement of all the moderate party. There was no minister more like minded with Mr Blair in all things than the pious and learned Mr James Durham, minister of Glasgow.† These two meeting together at St Andrews, with the consent and concurrence of some others in Fife, drew on a meeting of the Public Resolutioners and Protesters at Edinburgh, in the end of the year, for union and agreement betwixt them. The prime men of both

* The Protesters collected money for the printing of books on their side. Mr Robert Trail, in a letter to Messrs Thomas Wylie and John Nevay, written in name of a meeting of Protesters, "ministers, elders, and professors," at Edinburgh, 23d March 1654, giving an account of the appointment of some of their number to visit the Presbyteries of Ayr and Irvine, and to be communicated to the brethren of these Presbyteries, says, "We expect, with all convenience, some good account of your diligence concerning the collection for printing. Several of the books to be printed were seen at the meeting, and we doubt not that all were sensible how much advantage may redound to the cause of God by the speedy publishing of them."—*Wodrow MSS.*, vol. xxix. 4to, no. 71.

† Durham, in his anxiety to restore harmony between the contending parties, presented overtures for union to the Synod of Glasgow, in April 1652. In these overtures Blair cordially concurred. His influence in the Synod of Fife, and Durham's, in the Synod of Glasgow, in promoting these overtures, were viewed with much jealousy by Baillie, who disapproved of them, unwilling to make any concessions to the Protesters. "I fear," says he, "Mr Blair and Mr Durham be in ways to increase our mischiefs; I see the Synod of Glasgow and Fife are presently to be assaulted in their new way for union, to bury the Assembly indeed, and to put tyrannous men's feet again on the neck of our Church."—*Letters and Journals*, iii. 177, 183.

the parties did resort to Edinburgh;* and though Mr Blair was now infirm and unmeet for travel, (being often afflicted with the gout, gravel, and fits of scorbutick fevers) yet he travelled to Edinburgh, and there with Mr Durham, (and some few others that were like minded with them two) dealt so effectually betwixt the two parties that there was more appearance of a union than at several conferences before; for at this time Mr Patrick Gillespie (who formerly had been very much for the Protestation) was very instrumental and helpful to Messrs Blair and Durham, that travelled most earnestly, and mediate most effectually for union. Likewise Mr Gillespie, before this, was the chief man that procured some kind of union in the Synod and Presbytery of Glasgow. But after long conferring and debating about the differences, they could not agree, the Lord in his wrath having divided us. Those that were most averse from union were Mr James Graham, Lord Warriston, and Sir John Chiesly. That meeting being dissolved, all hopes of agreement evanished; all means that the skill of man could invent for union being essayed, but in vain. In the latter end of this year excise was imposed upon all commodities, except bread and flesh, which did very much burden the country. Poor people were greatly oppressed by collectors, and though complaints were made to the Council of Estate, yet no redress was obtained.

The first session of the Justices of Peace was in February 1656.

* This meeting sat down according to appointment, on the 8th of November; and the parties held many conferences. "Mr Robert Blair and Mr James Durham appeared as mid-men; albeit of our [the Resolutioners'] judgment for the main, and in the whole debate grieved with the others. Their [the Protesters'] papers were all framed by Mr James Guthrie's hand, of my Lord Warriston's materials. . . . . Our concessions were so many and great that Mr Patrick Gillespie, Mr John Carstairs, and others of their meeting, not Mr Durham and Mr Blair only, seemed fully satisfied therewith, and we began to hope for a concord. But Warriston and Mr Guthrie did carry it so in their meeting over Mr Patrick Gillespie that this very captious paper was given in to us. . . . . At last they gave us their clear and final sense, with which Mr Gillespie refused to join, but deserted their meeting. . . . After twenty-three days' stay, we closed the meeting."—*Letters and Journals*, iii. 296, 297. "We lately had a long twenty days' conference at Edinburgh, for union with our brethren; more than a dozen of papers passed among us."—*Ibid.* iii. 304. These papers are to be found among the *Wodrow MSS.* vol. xxxiii. 4to.

The Court was made up of English and Scotch; but some of our gentry refused to give the oath that was craved of them, and so were not upon the Court. They had large power for repressing of all public and scandalous sins, viz., swearing, drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, stealing, &c., by imposing of pecuniary mulcts, and corporal punishments. Also they had power to take up the pecuniary mulcts that Kirk Sessions exacted of fornicators, adulterers, &c.; but the evil of that being represented unto them, it was accorded that these mulcts should be divided betwixt them and Sessions. The Justices of Peace had in the several parishes constables under them, that executed their orders, and attended their quarterly sessions.

In this summer the King of Sweden had not so good success in Poland as formerly; for this year he was beaten by the King of Poland, and thereafter expelled out of Poland.

This summer the Protector indicted a Parliament to sit down in September, and ordained the several shires in Scotland to elect their Commissioners to the Parliament.

In June, the Synod of Fife convened in Cupar, it being a current Synod. They then received letters from the Synod of Lothian, desiring them to send to Edinburgh two from each Presbytery to a meeting in Edinburgh, in August ensuing, who were to advise of the best means to suppress Popery, which was fast spreading, and especially to help the North, that were destitute of ministers, 'and' among whom seminary priests and Jesuits trafficked.

The shires elected Commissioners to the future Parliament. All for the most part, not only for the shires, but burghs, were Englishmen. The Protector writing to the shires and burghs, recommended men to them, whom he thought most fit. The Lord Broughwell [Broghill] was elected for the town of Edinburgh.

In August the meeting of ministers before spoken of did convene. Each Synod sent two Commissioners to this meeting. The end of the meeting was given out to be the good of religion against the encroachments of Popery. Yet some honest ministers, especially those that were more moderate, disliked the meeting,

fearing that some other thing was intended than was expressed in the letters to the Synods. The meeting convened in Edinburgh. They did something to hinder the spreading of Popery. Before this time they had nominated two ministers to go to Caithness to preach there, and do what they could to suppress Popery; but the two brethren delaying to go until the meeting, one of them, viz., Mr George Leslie, died about the time of the meeting, and so the other did not go; only at the meeting they spoke with the Earl of Caithness, and did recommend to him some young preachers. But the meeting, as was feared and suspected, did meddle with other things; for it was proponed in the meeting, whether or not, considering the estate of our Kirk, it were expedient to send up one of their number to the Protector, to give him a right information of the estate of the affairs of the Kirk, and to prevent misinformations, and to take care that the government and established order of the Kirk received no more prejudices by the disorderly practices of the Protesters in planting of kirks, deposing of ministers, &c. But though the plurality thought it expedient to send one of their number up to the Protector, yet many disrelished the motion, and they that liked it did not condescend upon the person to be sent; neither was there any thing spoken in the meeting of his commission or instructions to be given to him, &c., only they thought it expedient that one of their number should be sent. There was no more spoken or done publicly in the meeting. But after the dissolving of the meeting, Mr James Wood and Mr Frederick Carmichael did recommend to some of the ministers of Edinburgh Mr James Sharp, minister of Crail, as the fittest person to be sent up to the Protector, he being more intimate and familiar with the President, from whom (as it was alleged) this motion of sending one to the Protector did first flow; likewise being intimate with the English judges, and having acquaintance with sundry at London. So these few ministers did deal with Mr James Sharp, and persuaded him to repair to London for the foresaid ends. Mr Blair and all of his moderate temper did not approve the sending of Mr James Sharp to the Protector; which

being suspected by those that were more rigid Public Men, especially by the few that contrived the sending of Mr James Sharp, they did not consult Mr Blair in the affair, though he was in Edinburgh, when that business was contrived and concluded; neither knew he of it, until Mr James Sharp, the very night before he took horse for London, told him of it.

About this time the Protesters had a purpose to have sent to the Protector two or three of their number, viz., Mr James Guthrie, Lord Warriston, &c.; but it being known that Mr James Sharp, was gone they did not go. Mr James Sharp, coming to London, presently got access to the Protector and had a fair hearing, and was well liked of and accepted, until the Marquis of Argyle (who was judged to be the Protesters' agent at London), did obtain of the Protector that he should not have any farther hearing until one or more of the Protesters should come up, that they might be both heard. Whereupon, in October, Mr James Simson, minister of Airth, was sent up by the Protesters. He was one of the three whom the General Assembly at Dundee, 1651, did depose. The Synod of Perth did thereafter approve his deposition, and caused intimate the act of the General Assembly. The like did the Synod of Perth concerning Mr James Guthrie. As for Mr Patrick Gillespie, who was the third, the Synod of Glasgow, (his deposition never being intimate), did intimate in their several parishes the nullity of that act, and so did what they could to take off that censure, and thereafter they made him moderator of their Synod. Mr Blair, as he did dislike the sending up of Mr James Sharp, so did he condemn the sending after him as his antagonist Mr James Simson, judging it an absurd thing to make the Protector umpire of our sinful and shameful divisions and debates, who, as Mr Blair said, would cast more oil in the flame.

In September the Parliament did sit down. Before the downsitting of it, the Protector did imprison some that came as Commissioners, fearing that they should challenge his engaging in a war with Spain, and that they would not serve his intents. The Parliament appointed a great committee for Kirk affairs. They

ordained a fast to be kept in the latter end of October. The ordinance appointed all the ministers in the three kingdoms to take notice of it; but very few ministers in Scotland did keep it. Mr Patrick Gillespie did keep it to ingratiate himself with the English, his credit being a little cracked with the Protector. Thereafter there was an ordinance for a thanksgiving upon the 5th of November for a victory alleged to be obtained at sea over some of the King of Spain's ships upon the coast of Spain. This thanksgiving was likewise not noticed by the ministers of Scotland. This Parliament did approve the war with Spain, and ordained it to be prosecuted.

In the latter end of this year, some wonderful and prodigious things fell out. In harvest time there was a shower of blood in Perth; the like was in the south before the invasion of the English. In winter a whole city in America was destroyed with an earthquake; and some mountains were destroyed, wherein were silver and gold mines, with fire from heaven.

In the beginning of the year 1657, two protesting ministers, Messrs James Guthrie and Patrick Gillespie, together with three elders of their judgment, viz., Lord Warriston, Inglistoun and Greenhead repaired to London for the assisting of Mr James Simson against Mr James Sharp. But before they went, they and the rest of their judgment did send up to London a large paper containing in general deep and great reflections upon the whole Kirk of Scotland, excepting only those that were of their own judgment, and then in particular bitter reflections and invectives against some Synods, viz., Fife, Lothian, Angus and Mearns, Perth, Aberdeen, &c. Some Synods did answer this paper both in the general and particular, and send up the answer and vindication to Mr James Sharp. In February there was appointed a thanksgiving to be kept for the Protector's preservation from sundry plots that were contrived to take away his life; but the ministers in Scotland did as little regard this as the former appointments.

Shortly after these things, the Protector did call before him the ministers that were there of both persuasions, and had with him some

English ministers to hear their debates, viz., Messrs Ashe, Manton, Lockier, and Owen, the first two being Presbyterian, the other two Independent, together with three of his Council of Estate. The debate was hot and sharp. Lord Warriston first challenged those for whom Mr James Sharp stood, for their way of treating with Charles Stuart, the head of the malignants at Breda, *anno* 1650. Mr Sharp replied, "Is that fair to challenge us with that? Had not ye as deep a hand in that treaty as any man, being the person that drew up the articles of that treaty?" Warriston answered, "I have humbled myself before God, and repented it, and it's not fair to challenge me for it now." Sharp replied, "Ye cannot hinder others to repent likewise." Sundry the like challenges and replies were betwixt Warriston and Sharp, and thereafter betwixt Mr Patrick Gillespie and Sharp, anent the Protestation, Remonstrance, and Public Resolutions.* In end, the Protector, the fox, having heard them, did tell them that he would, at his conveniency, call for them again, but that, for the present, he was taken up with weighty business. Many good and wise men, especially the ministers that had mediated betwixt the two contending factions, and were of a more moderate temper, did all this while admire and condemn the inconsiderateness and folly, both of the Public Resolutioners and of their antagonists, in making that fox,

* It is only fair to give the Protesters' own account of their interview with Cromwell. Mr Robert Trail, in a letter to Mr Thomas Wylie, in the name of "Your affectionate brethren, the ministers, elders, and professors, met at Edinburgh, the 25th of February 1657," says, "They have given an account of a conference betwixt them and Mr Sharp, in the hearing of my Lord Protector, and some others, whom he was pleased to call as witnesses, wherein (as they shew us) Mr Sharp was pleased to utter some very bold and strange assertions; as, that he had a commission from the Church of Scotland, and all those who did own the government thereof; that the acts of Assemblies at Dundee and Edinburgh had never been put in execution; that they had more of the sober godly of their judgment, than were both good and bad of ours; that there were not above five or six of the deposed ministers reponed in all Scotland; that they did not keep out entrants upon the account of the Public Resolutions, but had admitted some Protesters in Presbyteries where the plurality was of their judgment. He did also most bitterly charge my Lord Warriston for having hand in the treaty at Breda, and used other bitter reflections."—*Wodrow MSS.*, vol. xxix. 4to. no. 78.

the Protector, his council, or these English ministers, umpires of their woeful, yea, shameful, yea, sinful contests and debates.

In March the Parliament was about making the Protector king, entreating him to take the royal power and title unto him, judging that to be the most likely way to secure themselves and him, to name his successor before his death.

About the time that the Protesters went up to London, Messrs Andrew Cant, Samuel Rutherford, and Robert Trail, did write to the Protector. It was admired that the first two did so.

All this spring time the great business in the Parliament was anent the settling of the government, the Parliament entreating the Protector to take to himself or to accept of the royal power as king: and for that end it was reported that a royal crown and sceptre were made, (for the old crowns, both in Scotland and England, by God's providence, were conveyed away and hid, so that the English could never learn where they were),* the Protector all the while refusing the offer, yet sometimes giving them some grounds of hope that he would accept of the offer; other times giving flat refusals. As for the army, many of the staff officers were displeased with the Parliament's proffering the crown to the Protector, saying, that seeing they had so long employed their swords against a king they would never fight for a king; others spared not to say that if they must needs have a king it were most reasonable that the righteous heir had it. Some of the prime officers in the army laid down their commissions and retired to their private houses to expect the event of such revolutions and strange actings. Others in the army were more mercenary, saying, they would fight for any man or interest that would give them pay. As for Lambert, though he pretended to be for Cromwell's taking of the crown, yet all his friends in the army were against it, who did

* The Regalia of Scotland, it is well known, were preserved through the address of Mrs Grainger, wife of the minister of Kinneff, who conveyed them in bundles of lint from Dunnottar Castle, during the siege, and they were buried by her husband under the pulpit of his church. — *Scott's Miscellaneous Prose Works. Regalia of Scotland.*

combine themselves, and had a plot to have cut off Cromwell, as a vile deceiver and base hypocrite, that now began to unmask himself and to discover unto all his abominable cheats and hypocrisy. The prime man of that faction was General-Major Harrison. They were mostly Anabaptists, who, though they hated Cromwell's dissimulation and hypocrisy, yet were more feared by the people of God in Scotland than he was. They called themselves the Fifth Monarchy Men—pretending to great things; and their plot, before it came to any maturity, was discovered, and they quashed, and the prime of them taken and secured in the Tower. Yet sundry of them kept the fields in arms.

All this while by-past, reports did fly abroad, that our King had gotten together some regiments of men, over seas, and had gotten monies wherewith he paid them. This made the English fear an invasion upon Ireland especially. At this time it was observed, that through whole Europe, yea, the most part of the world, there were wars, or, at least, preparations for wars, Matt. xxiv. 6, 7. The Turk had invaded Dalmatia, belonging to the Venetians. The King of Sweden, with the Prince of Transylvania, Ragotzi, had the better of the Polonian: they spoiled Dantzick, by cutting of the banks of the Wesel. In April the Emperor died: there being 'then' no King of the Romans, this was looked upon as a cast of Providence that might occasion stirs in Europe; for the King of the Romans ordinarily succeeded to the Imperial dignity. As for the war with Spain, it's ordained by the Parliament to be prosecuted; and for that end my Lord Lockhart (who, having married the Protector's niece, is advanced to great honours), is sent to France for prosecution of the war with Spain. The French and English join together, and Lockhart is made general of the English army. They have great success, and often beat the Spaniard. They took in Dunkirk, and Lockhart is made governor of it. They gained many towns in West Flanders; so that our King is forced to flee out of these parts.

The ministers at London at last being weary of their contesting before such umpires, yea, the Protector himself bidding them go

home and agree amongst themselves, did return to Scotland, each of them thinking that they hindered their antagonists to obtain their desires. So did the Protector, as a feeder of the flame, fox-like carry himself, that neither of the factions should run down or ruin the other, but that they should still continue contending.

In the latter end of the year, the Protector not being pleased with the proceedings of the Parliament, and finding that they were not for the prosecution of his designs, did raise them.

In March 1658 the Public Resolutioners emitted a Declaration. The first part of it was somewhat bitter and sharp, setting out the Protesters as overturners of the present government of the Kirk; but the second part contained overtures of peace for an accommodation. It was answered by a piece, entitled, "Protesters no Subverters," &c.* So that contests wax still bigger, and by nothing so much as their printed papers, which did increase their animosities, and did occasion greater and greater alienation of affections; so that they began to look upon others (especially the common people that were professors) rather as of different religions, than of different persuasions about things that were not fundamental; and now there were fewer grounds of hope, and less appearance of union or accommodation than there was.†

* A review of this pamphlet was written by Mr George Hutchison, to which some additions were made by Mr James Wood. It is entitled, "A Review and Examination of a Pamphlet lately published, bearing the title of Protesters no Subverters, &c.—By some Lovers of the Interests of Christ in the Church of Scotland. Edinburgh, printed Ann. Dom. 1659," 4to, pp. 139.

† This is perhaps the most painful portion of our Church's history to contemplate, and the most difficult to unravel. The Protesters certainly had truth on their side at the commencement of the quarrel, and there is too much reason to doubt the thorough integrity of some among the Resolutioners. But the great practical mistake of the Protesters lay in their demanding from their brethren repentant acknowledgments of past error, which, even had they been prepared to make them, were felt to be not only humiliating to their pride as individuals, but prejudicial to the authority of the Church which they represented. It was hopeless for a minority to expect a Church to do more than retrace her steps when she found that she had erred, which there is reason to think she would have done had she not been baited and badgered into self-defence. The most judicious and satisfactory, as well as impartial statement of these divisions that has yet appeared, may be found in a work lately published, "The History of the Church of Scotland during the Commonwealth, by the Rev. James Beattie."

In the beginning of September this year, the Protector, that old fox,* died. It was observed as a remarkable cast of divine providence that he died upon the 3d of September, which he, glorying of routing of our armies at Dunbar and Worcester on that day, used to call *his day*. On that same very day the Just Judge called him to an account, &c. Immediately after the Protector's death, his eldest son, Richard Cromwell, was proclaimed Protector, first in London and throughout England, then in Scotland. In the latter end of November the Protector was buried. There was most superfluous sumptuousness used at his burial, the like whereof had not been used at the burial of any King of England, and so his son Richard enters peaceably to the government. The new Protector in December indicts a Parliament, to sit down January 27, next year. The reason of indicting this Parliament was thought to be the army's demanding their arrears to be paid. There were great thoughts of heart what should be the event of this Parliament; for the Anabaptists, even the prime of that way, had procured themselves to be elected Commissioners to the Parliament, viz., Lambert, (who was thought to be malcontent that Richard Cromwell should succeed his father), and other general officers of the army; also Sir Henry Vane junior, and Sir Arthur Hazelrig, that were unsatisfied with the present government.

A fast was indicted by Richard the Protector, to be kept before the downsitting of the Parliament. The Council of Estate in Scotland did write letters to the several Presbyteries, with a declaration for the observing of the fast; but Presbyteries took no notice of it. The Laird of Durie, Sir Alexander Gibson, was elected Commissioner to the Parliament for Fife.

The Parliament indicted by Richard the Protector, did convene in the latter end of January 1659. There were two houses, viz., the House of Commons and the other House, as it was called, of

* "*That old fox.*" The reader must take this as the estimate of the age in which Row lived concerning Cromwell,—an estimate from which there was hardly, at that time, among any party, a dissenting voice.

Peers. The Lord Warriston was from Scotland one of the Peers, and the Marquis of Argyle one of the Commons. Those of the House of Commons were for the most part judicious and understanding men; but the Peers for the most part were temporisers. They began somewhat like a Parliament, taking upon them the sole command of the army, as general of the army, giving commission to all supreme officers. They did agree to the whole Confession of Faith, to the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, and to the directory for the public worship of God throughout the three kingdoms (which was agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster,—Commissioners from Scotland assisting,—and by them presented to the Parliament of England, and General Assembly of Scotland, and by them approven, *anno* 1645); only they agreed not to that part of the Confession of Faith concerning the government of the Kirk, which was under debate amongst them.

The Lord Warriston being gone to London as one of the Peers, those of the ministry that defended all the Public Resolutions thought it expedient that Mr James Sharp should again repair to London, to obviate any thing that the Lord Warriston could do in favours of the Protesters, or in their own prejudice; and so Mr James Sharp returns to London. The army, especially those of the Anabaptists' way, finding that the Parliament was not for their intents and designs, but did cross them; and fearing that they should establish Presbyterial Government, they came to the Protector, desiring him to raise the Parliament; which, when Richard refused, they threatened him. The Protector finding himself in this strait, having advised with his friends, did with their advice, raise the Parliament in the beginning of May. Presently thereafter, they being alike evil satisfied with the Protector and with the Parliament, and also evil satisfied with the present government, it being settled upon a single person, they did exanctorate and depose the Protector, Richard Cromwell, taking all power and authority from him, putting him from Whitehall, and reducing him to the condition of a private person, only allowing him a certain sum of money *per annum*, during his lifetime. At this time the

name of Oliver, his father, and his memory did stink. Many called him "the Old Tyrant, worse than "the King," others, "an arch hypocrite."

The army having raised the Parliament and deposed the Protector, they called the Long Parliament to sit down again, which was the Parliament that did take the late King's life, and invade Scotland, 1649 and 1650; but in the year 1648, the army, entering the city, did imprison or dismiss all the members of that Parliament that they thought were not for their intents and designs, so that, of two hundred and forty members, they only retained about sixty; so that remainder of the Long Parliament was commonly called "the Rump Parliament," being only, as it were, the rump of the Long Parliament. This Rump Parliament did, at the call of the army, sit down and take upon them the authority of the Parliament and government of the nations, keeping in their hands the supreme power of the army, as their general. Those great revolutions gave occasion to the friends of our King to bestir themselves, thinking it a fit opportunity to bring the King again to his throne. Others that did not so downright profess to be for the King's interest, being wearied of Oliver's usurpation and tyranny, resolved to bestir themselves for the obtaining of a free Parliament. Both these did plot to arise and take arms for the obtaining of these ends; but their plot was detected before it came to maturity, which occasioned their arising and taking arms sooner than was complotted, which was in the latter end of July. They were mostly of Lancashire and Cheshire, with a part of Wales. A part of them did proclaim Charles Stuart king, others emitted a Declaration for a free Parliament. The head of this faction was one Sir George Booth. The Parliament finding their number to increase, and fearing the arrival of the King, with foreigners, did commissionate Lambert out against them, to scatter their forces, which was the more easily done, because that they were not all gathered to a head. Yet there was a considerable number with Sir George Booth, who by Lambert were routed, and Sir George Booth 'was' taken prisoner, and sent in 'to' the Tower. There were some

Lancashire ministers that did countenance this party. The King being advertised of that rising, resolved to come over to England with such forces as he had; but again hearing of their defeat, he resolved to visit the King and court of Spain.

Matters being in these confusions in England, Mr James Sharp returned home again; but the Lord Warriston abode still at London, and did join and act with that Rump Parliament, and was in high account with them. They appointed a grand committee, whereof Warriston was preses for some time. The great business in the Parliament about this time was anent toleration. The Parliament being about to settle toleration, Lord Warriston did give in a Declaration against toleration, alleging that few or none in Scotland were for it; which occasioned some bad and unnatural countrymen at London to write down to Scotland to some too like themselves, desiring that a Supplication for toleration might be sent up to London, subscribed by as many hands as they could get in Scotland, which occasioned the sending up of a petition for toleration. It was subscribed by few Scotsmen of any note—Garthland, Henry Hope, Mr Thomas Ireland. Besides these, not many Scotsmen subscribed that were worthy to be noticed. They that did subscribe this petition were much every where cried out against, (especially by the ministers of Edinburgh, where the petition was hatched and subscribed), as covenant-breakers, and for joining with Anabaptists, Quakers, (for all such in Scotland did also subscribe it), for subverting of true religion.

The second grand business of the Parliament was, to settle some government in the three nations; for since the deposing of the Protector, there were no judicatures in Scotland, no exercise of justice by any courts, supreme or inferior. Also they were about the union of the two nations of Scotland and England; there still being at London some bad and wicked countrymen, the devil's agents, for toleration, and overturning all government, both in Estate and Kirk, viz., William Dundas, Mr Robert Gordon, &c. While the Parliament was about the settling of a government, some of the supreme officers of the army gave in a petition to

the Parliament, that they might have the supreme power of ordering military affairs, and governing the army in their hands, as a grand committee of the army. Lambert, puffed up with his victory over Sir George Booth, was the prime man, who (as was feared) designed to engross all power in his own single person. Their petition was evil taken by the Parliament, who had kept that power in their own hand; which being declared to those that gave it in, another petition was presented to the Parliament, more peremptory and particular, desiring that Fleetwood might be declared general, and Lambert lieutenant-general of the army. The Parliament did take this second petition so evil, that presently they called in the commissions of the subscribers of it, they being the supreme officers of the army, and many colonels. This made a great stir among the officers of the army, who convened together, and, upon half an hour's advisement, resolved to disperse the Parliament, and take the government of the nations upon them, which they did upon the 11th of October 1659; and within two or three days, some few regiments that stood for the Parliament, did also join with the rest of the army against the Parliament. So that Rump Parliament was dispersed. In Scotland, Monk, general of the forces there, his commission being continued by the Rump Parliament, he thought himself thereby engaged to be for that Parliament; so that, hearing of their dispersion, he resolved to stand for it, and first he purged his forces of all that favoured the Anabaptists' way, or Lambert's party, putting others, especially officers, in their places, of whom he might be confident. Some of whom he was jealous, they offering their service to him, he did take an oath of them, that they, with him, should stand for the Parliament, of whom was one Wilkes, governor of Leith.

Monk having thus ordered the forces in Scotland, he wrote three letters,—one to Fleetwood, one to Lambert, one to the chief officers of the army in England. The sum of these letters was, That they would put the Parliament again in that estate that it was into before October 11, challenging their usurpation

over the Parliament, they being their servants, &c. These letters were answered by them, they holding out their grounds upon which they walked. Replies were made by Monk, and duplies by them. Judicious men did think that in their paper skirmishing Monk had the far better.

Meanwhile, Monk gathered all the forces towards Edinburgh, only leaving some few in the citadels at Inverness, Perth, Leith, and Stirling. He wrote letters to all the shires, desiring that in the meantime they would live peaceably, encourage a godly and learned ministry, &c. These letters were answered by the shires in a discreet and fair way, all of them engaging to live peaceably, some of them to give obedience to his commands for the future; only those that favoured the Protestation did at the first scruple to subscribe the answer to Monk's letter. Thereafter the several shires and burghs sent commissioners to a meeting at Edinburgh, being desired thereto by Monk. At that meeting another meeting was appointed at Berwick, which was kept for the Parliament's service. To this meeting several noblemen were desired to repair. From Fife went the Earl of Rothes and Wemyss. Meanwhile, Lambert sent some that were judged to have power with Monk to persuade him to join with him; but they not prevailing, Monk sent some commissioners to treat with Lambert, one whereof was Wilkes, governor of Leith. These settled a peace with Lambert, but Monk, seeing the agreement, did disown it, alleging they had not walked according to their instructions. Wilkes, conscious of his unfaithfulness in this negotiation, abode with Lambert. Their treating being given up, Monk makes preparation to march southward towards England, being animate and encouraged thereto by some ministers, especially by Mr Robert Douglas, and by a commission that a committee of the Parliament sitting at Portsmouth sent unto him; which Monk cordially accepted, professing that he would obey none but them, and would stand for them, &c.

All this while the city of London is overawed by Lambert's forces, for it was known that the generality of the city was for

the Parliament; which did appear, for so soon as Lambert marched northward, the city declared for the Parliament. Lambert's marching northward occasioned Monk's march towards the border. Lambert's head quarters were at Newcastle, Monk's at Coldstream. During this confusion the army in England appointed a committee for government; they named themselves the Committee of Safety. Lord Warriston, so inconstant was he, did sit as one of that Committee.

All this while by-past Monk and Lambert are dealing with the forces in Ireland, to draw them to their respective ways; as also with the navy; but after the meeting at Berwick, both the navy and forces in Ireland declared for the Parliament. Likewise, Sir Thomas Fairfax, who was for the Parliament, was gathering forces to assist Monk in and about York; so was Sir Arthur Hazelrig in the north parts of England. Lambert hearing that there was a committee of the Parliament at Portsmouth, and that they had sent a commission to Monk, sent three regiments to besiege the place and raise that committee. The common soldiers of these regiments, in their march, did bind their officers, and delivered them to those of the Parliament at Portsmouth, and did convey the Parliament men to London, as their guard, where the Parliament did again sit down at London in December. Also the city did command the tower for the Parliament's service. While Lambert is intending to march towards Monk, hearing of the Parliament's downsitting at London, he retires, and with all possible haste marches towards London. Monk hereof being advertised by Fairfax, did march over the border, January 1, 1660, following Lambert within some days' march of his rear.

The Parliament sitting down again at London, made an act of indemnity, assuring them that were in arms against them of their lives and fortunes, if they would lay down arms and submit to the Parliament, excepting Lambert, by name.

Lambert's forces hearing of this act of indemnity, together with the passage at Portsmouth, did disperse and leave him, so that he did resolve to come and offer himself to the Parliament, submitting

to them, yea both he and Fleetwood, and other chief officers of their army came to London and submitted themselves to the Parliament, accepting the act of indemnity.

Monk all this while marches with his army towards London, the counties from all quarters presenting supplications to him for a free Parliament, or the admission of the secluded members of the Long Parliament, that were violently thrust out of doors, 1648. Monk gave them fair and general answers, referring all to the Parliament; but the Rump Parliament about this time having received supplications to this same effect did imprison the supplicants.

When Monk came near London, two sent from the Parliament met him, feasted and complimented him, and when he entered the city the Speaker met and complimented him. So he was received in the city and feasted with great joy, respect and honour; but the Parliament knowing that the city was for a free Parliament and the admission of the secluded members, yea and for the recalling of the King, did fraudulently and cunningly put Monk on a piece of service against the city, (pretending that the city refused to pay cess for the payment of the army), of purpose to raise an odium betwixt him and the city. But Monk perceiving the plot, he and his supreme officers supplicate the Parliament that the grand delinquents, Lambert, &c., might be taken order with; for by this time it was thought that the Rump Parliament would have been glad to have had Lambert again in the fields with his army for their defence, perceiving a general inclination of all for a free Parliament, and the readmission of the secluded members, &c. It was looked on as a marvellous cast of Providence, that the Lord, who divides the sea and rivers, divided the army and the Rump Parliament, Lambert being the man in all England that was fittest and most for that Rump Parliament's intents and designs.

To that supplication of Monk's against Lambert and the rest of the grand delinquents, the Parliament gave but a slighting answer; but still the most considerable counties supplicate both Monk and the Parliament for a free Parliament, some of them expressly refusing to pay cess until they got a free Parliament.

A little before this, while providence is ordering matters in England, and, in all appearance, working for the King's restoration in Scotland, nothing is more desired than a harmony or accommodation among ministers of different persuasions, that the King at his return may find harmony among the ministers. None did more thirst after this than Mr Blair, and, therefore, he made a third attempt for uniting and reconciling of the Protesters and Public Men, and, in order to this, he drew on a meeting of ministers at St Andrews. There came to this meeting some of the Protesters, some of the Public Men, and some moderate men from Angus, Mearns, and other parts of the kingdom. But, though, at this meeting there was at first some appearance of better accord and agreement, they abstaining from bitter reflections, being more condescending and inclinable to mutual forbearance, yet in end there could be no agreement obtained by those that were moderate and mediated betwixt them. Some years before this, Mr Blair being suspected by both the contending parties, and by none more than his two colleagues, Mr Rutherford * and Mr Wood, (and as he used to say, cuffed upon both haffets† by them), he began to weary of his charge in St Andrews, affirming that he might do more good in another part, alleging, that when a minister staid long in one place his labours were not so successful as when he removed from place to place. Therefore he was much for transportations in some cases. For these reasons Mr Blair supplicated the Presbytery of St An-

* Rutherford entered into this controversy with great keenness. In his preface to an answer he published in 1658 to Mr Thomas Hooker of New England's "Survey" of his work on "The due Right of Presbyteries," he makes very severe remarks on the Resolutioners. Blair was so dissatisfied with these remarks, that, according to Baillie, he avowed to several of the Resolution ministers, "that before he had written any such things he could have rather chosen to have had his right hand striken off at the Cross of Edinburgh by the axe of the hangman."—*Baillie's Letters and Journals*, iii. 375. Wood and Rutherford had also quarrelled on this subject. "I have heard of a most precious and excellent man," says Baillie, "who with his colleague's continual vexations and contentions was so worn out, that he was put at last to leave his station and accept of another for to gain some quietness."—*Ibid.* iii. 376. He refers to Wood's leaving in 1657 the situation of Professor of Ecclesiastical History in St Mary's College, St Andrews, of which Rutherford was Principal, for that of Principal of St Salvadors, or the Old College of St Andrews.

† *Haffets*—Scot. cheeks.

drews for an act of transportability; which was refused, both by the Presbytery and Synod. Yet, notwithstanding, often in public he regretted that his labours and pains were not successful among them, and wished to be employed elsewhere; and one day he did so insist upon these regrets and complaints, that judicious hearers did sadly apprehend that he was taking his leave of them, as if he had been preaching a farewell sermon, which did not a little alarm the godly persons in St Andrews, and his brethren of the ministry, especially those who employed him to assist at the celebration of the communion in many parts of Fife, where much good was done by the Lord blessing his ministry. But no sooner was it divulged that Mr Blair had supplicated for an act of transportability, and that he would accept of a call to any charge elsewhere; 'than' immediately he received a call to the ministry of Glasgow. Messrs Robert Baillie and Patrick Gillespie were sent to give him a call for Glasgow. Thereafter, he got a call from Ireland to return to his old charge in Bangor, which he rather inclined to follow than the call to Glasgow; but the Kirk Session of the town and Presbytery of St Andrews, with the Synod of Fife, refusing to transport him any where, he was necessitated to abide at St Andrews, where he was not permitted to stay long after the King's return.

Shortly after Monk's coming to London, he wrote down to Scotland, desiring Mr James Sharp to come up to him. Those few ministers that sent him up twice before, thought it now expedient that he should now repair to London, there being so great appearance of the King's restoration, to see *ne quid detrimenti capeat ecclesia*, especially that the established government of the Kirk be not altered or wronged any way. He was not only desired to come up by Monk, but by the Presbyterian ministers in the city of London, and because he presently took post, (being desired so to do by the ministers), and could not stay until collections were gathered as formerly for his expenses, some ministers of Edinburgh and Mr James Wood borrowed sums of money and gave him, hoping that collections would be gathered for payment of these sums, for

the which they had given bonds. So Mr James Sharp arrived at London Feb. 16.

All this while Monk declared for the Rump Parliament, rejecting motions for a free Parliament or readmission of the secluded members, he complimenting the Parliament and they him; so that our noblemen and others thought themselves disappointed and deceived by Monk, alleging that he promised to them to obtain a free Parliament.

In this meanwhile, some of the secluded members gave in a desire to the Parliament for their readmission; to which the Parliament gave this return, That if they would give an oath that they should neither be for King, nor single person, nor House of Peers, they should be readmitted; but this was matter of laughter to all as well as the secluded members.

Monk and the city perceiving the plot of the Parliament to raise an odium betwixt them, they began to understand others better. The ministers of London, with Mr James Sharp and some Aldermen, dealt with Monk for the readmission of the secluded members, and so he had a second speech to the Parliament, wherein he declared himself for a free Parliament, moderate Presbyterian government, but against King, single person or House of Peers, and for a Commonwealth. But still the city deals for the readmission of the secluded members; which occasioned a conference betwixt an equal number of the Parliament and of the secluded members; but they did not accord, but in end Monk declared himself for the readmission of the secluded members; which occasioned a vote of the Parliament anent their readmission. The plurality was against it. But upon the morrow, Monk did set the secluded members down in Parliament. They that were against their readmission withdrew themselves, Feb. 21. The secluded members being again admitted to sit in Parliament, first they annulled all acts made against the secluded members; thereafter they relieved all prisoners that were imprisoned for supplicating for a free Parliament or the readmission of the secluded members, or that were imprisoned for taking arms for a free Parliament or the King's in-

terest, restoring them to their fortunes and places, viz., Sir George Booth and others; and last, they set at liberty our noblemen, viz., Crawford, Lindsay, Lauderdale, &c., that were taken and made prisoners at Eliot [Alyth] 1651, carried to and imprisoned in the tower, thereafter hurried away to Sandon Castle, and last brought to Windsor Castle. They appointed Monk general of all the land forces in the three nations and admiral of the sea forces with Montague.

General Monk gave in a desire to the Parliament at their first sitting, that they would determine the time of their own sitting and the time of convening another free Parliament. The time of the sitting down of another Parliament was appointed to be April 25, and for the time of their own meeting it was prorogated from time to time; for at their down-sitting they intended to sit but few days. The Council of Estate called Lambert, Sir Arthur Hazelrig, Colonel Rich, &c., in question, and remitted them to the Parliament, who imprisoned them in the Tower.

The Parliament approved the Confession of Faith, excepting only the xxx. and xxxi. chapters anent the government; referring these chapters to further consideration. They appointed the Covenant to be reprinted, read, and set up in all churches, and in the Parliament House *. Before Monk condescended to the readmission of the secluded members, the armies in Ireland had declared for a free Parliament. The Declaration was signed by Sir Charles Couts, but opposed by Sir Hardress Waller, appointed commander-in-chief by the Rump Parliament, who betook himself to the castle of Dublin, but was delivered up by his own men.

The Parliament annulled all votes made against Kingship or House of Peers, so that all ranks and degrees of people were filled

* "As, I doubt not, ye have heard of the secluded members, their readmission to the Parliament; so they have revived the Covenant, ordering it to be printed, and set up in all Churches, and, they say, ordered it to be publicly read once a-year." Letter of Mr George Hutchison to Mr Thomas Wylie, dated March 12. 1660.—*Wodrow* MSS., vol. xxix. 4to, no. 90.

with good hopes that the Parliament would call home the King again; [but the more judicious and sincere wanted not great fears that the King would be brought home without any conditions; yea Mr Sharp, in his subdolous and hypocritical way, wrote to Mr Wood (with whom he kept constant correspondence in writing) that his heart did tremble, fearing what might be the dreadful consequences of calling home the King without any conditions, and yet he himself, with some unnatural countrymen, was a prime man that endeavoured the King should be so brought home].* The Parliament arose March 16, and the free Parliament was to sit down April 15.

In this meantime Lambert escaped out of the Tower. He gathered together what forces he could of Anabaptists, Quakers, &c. The Council of Estate emitted a proclamation, declaring them traitors if they rendered not themselves within twenty-four hours. Monk commanded out Colonel Ingoldsby with his regiment and some troops, who at Edgehill rencountered with Lambert. First they parlied Lambert, proposed the re-establishing of Richard as the only means of composing of all differences, &c. They not agreeing, and parleying being given up, they tried it by the sword. Some of Lambert's troops came off and joined with Ingoldsby. The rest being routed, Lambert was taken, having lost his wonted courage, his evil course and conscience having unmanned him. He entered the Tower by water, and was committed to the black rod. A little before this the Convention of Estates in England met, and emitted a Declaration, wherein they declared that they had no hand in the murder of the late King, and that they detested and abhorred the same as a most barbarous and unnatural parricide, and that they had not liberty before this time to testify the same.

April 25, the Parliament sat down, both Houses of Peers and Commons. Lord Manchester 'was' speaker of the House of Peers. They refused to suffer some, whom Oliver had made Peers, to sit

† What is inclosed within brackets is not in the MS. from which we transcribe. It is taken from a MS. belonging to J. J. Gibson Craig, Esq.

with them. Sir Harbottle Grimstone was speaker of the House of Commons. First they appointed a fast for craving of a blessing to their assembling. Ministers appointed to preach 'were' Calamy,* a Presbyterian; Gauden,† an Episcopal man; and Baxter,‡ who pretended to be a reconciler.

* Edmund Calamy was an eminent English Nonconformist divine. He was born at London in the year 1600, and educated at Pembroke Hall in the University of Cambridge. After having officiated in the pastoral office in various situations, he was, in 1639, chosen minister of St Mary, Aldermanbury, and removed to London, where he took an active part in the controversy concerning Church Government, which was then agitated. In 1640 he engaged with other writers in the composition of the famous book, entitled, "Smectymnuus," from the initials of the names of those concerned in it; viz., Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow. He was a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, in which he distinguished himself by his learning and moderation. He was active in promoting the restoration of Charles II., and was one of the divines delegated to compliment the King in Holland on the occasion. In 1660 he was appointed one of his Majesty's chaplains, and was offered the bishoprick of Litchfield and Coventry, which he declined accepting. By the Act of Uniformity he was, in 1662, ejected from his charge at Aldermanbury. After the fire of London he was driven over its ruins, in a coach, on his way to Enfield; and the sight so much affected him that he died within two weeks afterwards, October 29. 1666. He was the grandfather of the celebrated Dr Edmund Calamy, author of the Continuation of Baxter's History of his Life and Times.

† Dr John Gauden or Gawding, was born in the year 1605, at Mayland, in Essex. He was educated at St John's College, Cambridge. In 1641 he took his degree of D.D., and was presented by the Parliament to the deanery of Bocking, in Essex. In 1643 he was appointed one of the Assembly of Divines who were to meet at Westminster, but his name was afterwards struck off the list, as he was suspected of an attachment towards Episcopacy. He adhered with great zeal to the interest of Charles I., and published a protestation against the measures of the army, when they had assumed the sovereign power, and were determined to impeach Charles and bring him to trial. The celebrated treatise, entitled, "Εικων βασιλικη, or Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitude and Sufferings," has been ascribed to his pen. But the honour of writing that popular work, which was first printed in 1648, a few days after the execution of the King, and which passed through fifty editions in a twelvemonth, was claimed by the Royalists for the King himself. After the Restoration of Charles II., Gauden was, in 1660, promoted to the vacant See of Exeter, and, in 1662, was translated to the See of Worcester, but was taken ill very soon after his removal to the new See, and died in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

‡ This was the well-known Richard Baxter, the author of the "Saint's Rest," and numerous other works, both practical and controversial. He was born at Rowton, a small village in the county of Salop, in 1615. In 1640 he became minister at Kidderminster, which became the scene of his ministerial services for about sixteen years. After the restoration of Charles II. the bishoprick of Hereford was offered him, which he declined, and wished to retire to his friends at Kidderminster, and to officiate among them in the humble station of a curate, but was not permitted. In 1685 he

May 1, letters came from the King, Charles II., from Breda, to his Parliament of England; one letter to the House of Peers, with a Declaration enclosed; another to the Commons, with the same Declaration enclosed. The papers were printed. The King refers all to his Parliament; offers an act of indemnity to all, save those that the Parliament did except; declares his good liking of Parliament, his affection to the Protestant religion, &c. The King also wrote a letter to Monk, 'another' to the city of London, and a third to Montague.* Upon the reception of the King's letters the Parliament passed several votes:—1. That thanks should be given to the King's messenger, Sir John Granville, and a sum of money for his reward; 2. Voted that the Parliament should consist of King, Lords and Commons; 3. Charles Stuart to be lawful heir of the Crown; 4. A committee to be appointed of Lords and Commons, to return a congratulatory answer to his Majesty's letters, declaring their thankful acceptance of his gracious propositions; 5. Commissioners to be sent to the King for the bringing of him to his Parliament and throne; 6. A sum of £50,000 sterling to be sent to the King for his accommodation in his return. The town of Edinburgh and other burghs sent a considerable sum of gold to the King,—old pieces called Jacobus's. The Parliament also sent gold to the King's two brethren, Dukes of York and Gloucester, who were to return with his Majesty. The House of Peers voted to send six Commissioners; the House of Commons twelve; the City twenty. The Parliament enacted all the ministers in England to pray for the King and the royal

was committed to prison, by a warrant from Lord Chief-Justice Jeffries, for his paraphrase on the New Testament, which was charged with being hostile to Episcopacy, and brought to trial for sedition, of which he was at last, by an unjust verdict, found guilty, and sentenced to pay 500 merks, to lie in prison till he paid it, and to be bound to his good behaviour for seven years. From this heavy penalty, however, after a confinement of several months, he was released, in 1686, by King James, and allowed to remain in London, notwithstanding the provisions of the Oxford Act. He died on the 8th of December 1691.

* Admiral Montague was a distinguished naval officer. He carried to Holland the English fleet which brought over Charles II.; and after the restoration of that prince was created Earl of Sandwich. He was killed at the naval engagement of Solebay, fought between the Dutch and the English fleets on the 28th of May 1672.

family. General Monk sent six commissioners, declaring all the colonels and officers of the army their joyful acceptance of his Majesty. Montague is ordered by the Parliament only to receive orders from the King in relation to the transportation of his Majesty.

May 8, the King was proclaimed in London Charles II., King of England, Scotland, Ireland, with all solemnities and possible expressions of joy. So soon as the news came to Scotland there were great solemnities by bonfires, ringing of bells, &c. 'Colonel' Morgan hindered the solemnities in Edinburgh, pretending that there were no orders come for the same, until May 14. Then he countenanced the solemnity.

Mr James Sharp being desired by General Monk and the Presbyterian ministers of London, went over to the King at Breda in Holland, for ecclesiastic affairs, especially to take care that Presbyterial government were not altered, or any ways wronged. The Commissioners from the Parliament, city and generals, went from London, May 9. Many noblemen, English and Scots, went over with them; and many noble and gentlemen from Scotland went to London to salute the King, and see the solemnities of his reception. But in this meantime, many godly ministers and professors in Scotland (and none more than Mr Blair) did sadly regret that the King was to be brought home without any conditions, and not being desired to renew the Covenant; which, in all appearance, the secluded members readmitted would have desired him to do if they had been permitted to sit; and Mr James Sharp, before he went over to Breda, wrote to Mr James Wood, (who had a chief hand in sending him up first and last), that he feared that the King would be brought home without conditions, and how dreadful a thing that was all honest men might see. Many such things did he write to Mr Wood from London, which made honest Mr Wood most confident of his honesty in his present negotiation.

May 18, the Parliament did forfault all those that were upon that jury that took the late King's life, 'and' declared them mur-

derers, and traitors, &c. The declaration against them, and their names in it, was printed. The Parliament commanded the Scottish colours, taken at Dunbar and Worcester, to be taken down, that were hung up in Whitehall. They declared the invasion by Oliver unlawful, &c.

Both the Presbyterians and Prelatic ministers send commissioners to the King. The Prelatic party had great hopes that the King would restore Prelacy, Chancellor Hyde* being a great enemy to Presbyterians. The King at his departure out of Holland was feasted by the Hollanders in great state, being served in plate of gold and silver, which was gifted to the King, with several other things of great value. They strove to ingratiate themselves with his Majesty, fearing his remembering of the wrongs they had done to him. At his shipping there were great shots in all the roads and ports in Holland; which being heard all over the sea, cannons did play even to the coast of England. May 23, the King shipped. With him there was the Queen of Bohemia in another vessel; in another the Princess-Royal, his sister; in another the Duke of York; in another the Duke of Gloucester; with many strangers, French, Dutch, Spanish, &c., with many of the nobility of England and Scotland. When they came to the English coast the Queen of Bohemia and the Princess-Royal returned.

May 25, the King landed at Dover. Monk did draw all the army near to Dover. At the King's landing he saluted the King in a most humble manner, prostrating himself before his Majesty. Putting the sword over his own head he put it in the King's hand; which the King returned to him, and embraced him; thereafter put the garter over his neck, and the two Dukes, the King's brethren, put the garter on; so Monk was made one of the knights

* Sir Edward Hyde, who, on the Restoration of Charles II. was created Earl of Clarendon, and made chancellor and prime minister, was one of the most distinguished statesmen of his day. His daughter Anne was married to the Duke of York, Charles's brother; and two daughters were the fruits of this marriage, Anne and Mary, both of whom ascended the British throne. Clarendon afterwards losing the King's favour was impeached for high treason. He fled to France and died in December 1674, aged 66. Among his many writings the most important is his History of the Rebellion, from 1641 down to the restoration of Charles II.

of that noble order. As the King entered into Dover the ministers of the town had a short speech to him, and gifted the King a large Bible with golden clasps, which the King joyfully received. May 26, the King came to Canterbury and rested there. May 27, being the Lord's day, Calamy and Reynolds are made the King's chaplains, both Presbyterian ministers and learned men. May 28, the King came to Rochester. That day the King did view the army and navy.

May 29, being his Majesty's birth-day, the King made his entrance into London, and was received with such solemnities, the like whereof had never been in England, and with the greatest acclamations that ever had been heard in England. The Mayor and Aldermen, most gorgeously apparelled, met him without the city, complimented and feasted him in a tent pitched for the purpose. The Mayor presented the sword to him, which the King returned to him. All the streets were hung with tapestry, the way strewed with flowers. Many troops met the King one after another, some in cloth of gold, some in cloth of silver, some with velvet coats and chains of gold, others in buff with silver and gold lace; all of them with strings and streamers of silver and gold, &c., with trumpets and kettle drums, in richest apparel. There was no shooting until the King was in his palace of Whitehall. Then went off cannons and smaller shot in greatest abundance. Thereafter ringing of bells, bonfires, balls and masks [masquerades], and all possible expressions of joy all that night.

The King was proclaimed at Dublin in Ireland, and May 21, Lockhart, governor of Dunkirk, caused proclaim the King in English to the garrison and land forces, and in Dutch, that all might understand. This he did to ingratiate himself with the King, whom he had many ways wronged.

May 30, upon the very day after his reception into London, the King caused proclaim a Declaration against all profane, debauched and dissolute persons, especially drunkards that could no otherwise express their affection to him and his service but by drinking of his health and making debauches in taverns; which persons he

professed he always hated, and now declared that he would as soon exercise the severest justice against them as any malefactors. This was looked upon as a noble and pious proclamation, and a happy beginning of his public actings. The King emitted a second declaration (because there had been some stirs in Ireland by the natives there), wherein, first, he declared his abhorrence of that cruel insurrection and rebellion, anno 1641, &c. A third proclamation was against the murderers of his father, all that sat in that jury and condemned him. Their names were expressed in the proclamation. They were ordained to come and render themselves (they being then fleeing out of the country) to the Speakers of the respective Houses, or any public persons in the several shires, and submit to justice, otherwise to be excepted out of the Act of Indemnity. Some of them came and offered themselves to justice. Of these some were pardoned by the Parliament and King, only granting them their lives; others were excepted out of the Act of Indemnity. Any rents, goods, &c., belonging to Oliver, or any of that jury, were seized upon.

The coronation of the King was for a space delayed. The reason thereof was conjectured to be because in the oath of coronation the King is bound to defend Prelacy as established in England; now the kirk government not being established, and the King having sworn the Solemn League and Covenant, the great question anent Episcopacy and the government behoved first to be determined. As for the government in Scotland, it was then taken for granted by those that knew not the mysteries and intrigues of court and estate policy, that it was to continue as when the King swore the covenants and took the oath of coronation at Scoone 1651. As for the government in England, we were up and down in our hopes and expectations as to the establishing or abolishing of Episcopacy in England and Ireland. Meanwhile the King in his chapel did continue the use of the Service Book, and heard the Bishop of Elie preach.

The King, knowing that many noble and gentlemen had come from Scotland to salute his Majesty, and congratulate his happy

and safe return, appointed to meet with them at the Earl of Crawford's lodgings, to the which all resorted at the time appointed. The King regretted that so many of them had put themselves to the expense and travel, but was glad to see them, and desired that if they had any thing to propose to him they would do it. They supplicate his Majesty, 1. For a free Parliament of their own; 2. For a free Council of Estate; 3. For the removing of all forces out of Scotland; 4. For the taking off all cess and excise, &c.

The Coronation being delayed, a day of thanksgiving was kept in Scotland, in several Presbyteries, for the King's happy and safe return, &c. June 29, there were sermons in burghs and landward before noon; [and in the] afternoon [it being a week day there were]* solemnities for expressions of joy and thankfulness. Yea, not only were there great solemnities and manifold expressions of joy for the King's restoration in Britain and Ireland, but even over seas in several places, especially in Holland and Germany. France was at the time much taken up with the great solemnities of their King's marriage with the King of Spain's eldest daughter, which occasioned a peace to be concluded betwixt France and Spain.

After many had repaired to London to salute the King, &c., at last the Marquis of Argyle, being written for by his son, the Lord Lorn, repairs to London with several barons, &c. So soon as the Marquis came to Court and sent in his son to shew the King that he was come up to congratulate his happy return, the King, highly offended, caused take him to the Tower, where he is committed close prisoner; but the cause of his imprisonment was not divulged. About this same time Sir James Stewart, some time Provost of Edinburgh, and Sir John Chiesly, are apprehended and committed close prisoners in the Castle of Edinburgh. Neither was the cause of their imprisonment divulged. The Lord Warriston, though he was searched for most narrowly, yet escaped and went over seas.

* What is inclosed in brackets is supplied from the MS. belonging to J. J. Gibson Craig, Esq.

In answer to the Scots noblemen's petition, the King ordained the Committee of Estates, which sat at Stirling 1651, to convene in Edinburgh August 23, and a Parliament to be holden in Edinburgh October 23. Also all forces were to remove out of Scotland, except some few that were to stay in the citadels during the King's pleasure. About this time the places of estate were disposed of at London. Glencairn is made Chancellor; Crawford is restored to his own place, Treasurer; Lauderdale 'is made' Secretary, and one of the Bedchamber; Sir William Fleming, Clerk-Register; Sir Archibald Primrose did buy the place from him; Sir William Ker, the Earl of Lothian's son, Director of the Chancellary.

But now the thing longed for by all honest men and ministers especially, was the establishment of Church government in England according to the Word of God. Those that knew not what was plotted at Breda and at Court, after the King's return, were kept in great suspense. Sometimes, considering the King's education, his father's counsels to him in his Book, the inclination of the most part of the Peers, and of the body of the land that were crying for bishops and Episcopal ceremonies, with the long rooting of Episcopacy in England, it was feared that Episcopacy would be set up. At other times, considering his father's concessions to the Long Parliament, his own taking the Covenants, and his oath of coronation at Scoone, 1651, his mild and condescending disposition, and the Presbyterian party in England, it was hoped that if Episcopacy were set up, it would be a very moderate Episcopacy, &c. But while our minds were kept in suspense betwixt our fears and hopes, two things fell out that made our fears increase and our hopes decrease. *First*, The King wrote a letter to the Bishops in England that were then alive, that they would have a care of filling the vacant places.* *Secondly*, Shortly after

* To the restoration of Episcopacy in England the Presbyterians there shewed less opposition than might have been expected. "The Presbyterians found the other party [the Prelatic] had gotten too much, and more than in conscience they could ever assent to; yet, for love to the King, they were silent when all the Bishops were solemnly installed, and the Liturgy everywhere restored, clear contrary to our Covenant and

this, all Presbyterian ministers almost that had been admitted for twelve years before were put out of their places, and Episcopal conform men put in them, some whereof did possess these places before; yet still honest men's minds were kept in some suspense, because it was given out that a National Synod would be convened, consisting of Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Independent ministers, wherein it should be concluded what government should be established in England and Ireland.

A little before this, the ministers in the North of Ireland, fearing the change of the Government, did send by two of their number * a humble Supplication to the King, together with a hearty congratulation. Their Supplication got a pleasant answer.† The King said that he resolved to tolerate Presbyterian government in these parts in Ireland. Yet, notwithstanding, the worst was feared; for the Bishops alive in Ireland started to their places again, and that wicked Bramhall came again into Ireland.

According to the King's appointment, the Committee of Estates did sit down in Edinburgh August 23. On that day there happened an unhappy coincidence and juncture of affairs, persons and places; for a number of the Protesters, according to a former appointment, met that same day near to the place where the Committee was sitting. The Protesters, in a former meeting, did make an offer to unite with the Public Men, that they jointly might make

Acts of the English Parliament since 1641. Chancellor Hyde was thought the great actor in all this Episcopal business."—*Baillie's Letters and Journals*, iii. 445.

* These two were Mr William Keyes, an Englishman lately settled in Ireland, and Mr William Richardson. They were sent by a Synodical meeting held at Ballymena, at which all the ministers in the north of Ireland were present.

† Some alteration was, however, made in the Supplication before it was presented to the King. It petitioned the settlement of religion according to the Solemn League and Covenant, in opposition to Popery, Prelacy, &c. But the Commissioners on their arrival at London, finding that none of their friends would procure their introduction to the King, unless some expressions in their Supplication were altered, were prevailed upon to expunge all reference to the Covenant and Prelacy; on which they were introduced to the King by Mr Annesley, afterwards the Earl of Anglesey. This alteration in the Supplication, for making which the Commissioners had no authority, was disapproved of by the Synod which had sent them, at its subsequent meeting.—*Reid's History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, ii. 334-336.

some address to the King. But the Public Resolutioners absolutely refused then to unite with them, they having so often before refused so fair offers for union. Also, in the Synod of Lothian in May, some Protesters that had been admitted in a disorderly way were discharged the exercise of their ministry in their respective charges, but so as still they might accept of a call to other places in an orderly way. The like was done in some other Synods But the rest of that judgment in these Synods did protest against these acts. But the brethren censured gave obedience to the Synod's acts, knowing that there was no living for them in these places, the plurality, over whose bellies they entered, being so disaffected towards them. The Resolutioners refusing to unite with them and acting thus against some of them, the Protesters, as we said, did convene at Edinburgh. They drew up a petition which they intended to send to the King, containing a congratulation, putting him in mind of his oath of Covenant, and wishing that what was done contrary thereunto in his chapel and family at London might be redressed, &c. And because they were but few that met, they resolved to write letters to all of their judgment, ministers and elders, for a more frequent meeting.*

While they were thus busied, the Committee of Estates being informed of their meeting in that place, and of their actings, did send one to them commanding them presently to disperse and go off the town, and to disown their petition and tear it ; promising that they should incur no danger for what they had 'done' or were doing.† But this offer being refused by the Protesters, the Committee of Estates sent three of their number to apprehend them and commit them prisoners in the Castle of Edinburgh, and to produce their papers and letters before the Committee of Estates. Those that were imprisoned were Messrs James Guthrie, [minister of Stirling] ; Robert Trail, [one of the ministers of Edinburgh] ;

* "They also writ letters to Mr Patrick Gillespie, and to the chief of their party in the West, to meet them at Glasgow the next week, with so many as they could bring with them."—*Baillie's Letters and Journals*, iii. 446.

† Lamont says the Committee sent to them three several times, desiring them to dissolve and go to their homes, but they refused.—*Diary*, p. 158.

John Stirling, [one of the ministers of Edinburgh]; Alexander Moncrieff, [minister of Scoone]; George Nairn, [minister of Burntisland]; Gilbert Hall, [minister of Kirkliston]; John Murray, [minister of Methven]; John Scot, [minister of Oxnam]; John Semple, [minister of Carsfairn]; Gilbert* Ramsay, [minister of Mordington]; John Kirk.† Messrs Robert Row, [minister of Abercorn], and William Wishart, [minister of Kinnoul], having subscribed the petition, presently went off the town homewards, and so were not apprehended with the rest.

Presently after their commitment to the Castle they supplicate for a double of their petition; which being refused, they collationed their memories and wrote down their petition; which offended the Committee, for immediately their petition was dispersed through the town, agreeing in every word with the petition that was taken from them when they were apprehended; which made the Committee suspect that they prevaricated when they affirmed that they had no copy of it. These things occasioned them to be kept more closely in the Castle than at their first commitment.

August 24, the Committee of Estates did emit a proclamation in his Majesty's name and authority, prohibiting and discharging all unlawful and unwarrantable meetings or conventicles, and all seditious petitions and remonstrances under what pretence soever, &c.

Besides those imprisoned in the Castle, some other ministers were summoned to appear before the Committee, viz., Messrs Robert Row, and Mr William Wishart, of whom before, Mr Patrick Gillespie, whom the Provost of Glasgow had caused find bail that he should appear before the Committee of Estates, and Mr James Simson, whom they brought back from Portpatrick (he being going over to Ireland, following a call that he had some years before, to a vacant place there) and imprisoned first in Glasgow,

* Wodrow calls him "Thomas."—*History*, i. 66.

† He is more correctly called by Wodrow "James Kirkco of Sundiwell, in the parish of Dunscore, in Nithsdale. He was a ruling elder." There was another ruling elder at the meeting, Mr Andrew Hay of Craignethan, near Lanark, but he succeeded in making his escape.—*Ibid.*, i. 67, 71.

thereafter in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. Mr Patrick Gillespie appearing before the Committee, was challenged especially for his great accession to the Remonstrance 1650, and being required to subscribe a bond of peace (as they called it),—which (as was alleged by the Protesters and Remonstrators to whom it was offered) contained several general and ambiguous expressions,—he refusing to subscribe the bond, was committed to the Castle of Stirling; his place in the college of Glasgow being before this declared vacant, and Mr Robert Baillie presented to it by the King. Mr Robert Row refusing to subscribe the bond of peace, as it was conceived in these general and ambiguous terms, but disallowing the Remonstrance, and offering an engagement for peaceable living, was first committed to his chamber, thereafter to the custody of the goodman of the Tolbooth in his house, but within some few days or weeks, upon his supplication, was dismissed. Mr William Wishart being first committed to his chamber, was thereafter committed to the Castle of Stirling.

The Committee did emit a second proclamation for committing of the Protesters close prisoners in the Castle of Edinburgh. In that proclamation they are challenged for intending, if possible, to rekindle a civil war, and to embroil the kingdom into new troubles and broils again. The King was most jealous of them that they had some such intentions to attempt, if possible, to gather to a head to pursue the ends of their petition. Neither were they less jealous of the King, distrusting his promises and declarations in favours of Scotland and the Kirk government. These jealousies *hinc inde* were the cause of much trouble and mischief.

Presently after the imprisonment of the Protesters, companies of foot and troops of horse are ordained to quarter in places where Protesters abounded, as in West Lothian, Cunningham, &c.; whereas the King had promised to cause all the English remove out of Scotland, except some few that were to remain in the four citadels. This made no small outcrying against the Protesters, as the only cause why so many regiments were retained and more cess lifted. Some of the Protesters, (who were willing to disown the

Remonstrance, but still adhering to the petition, and saying that they would spend their blood for it), speaking with the Chancellor, he assured them that the King would not meddle with their blood or lives; but he plainly told them that he suspected that the King would not suffer any man or minister that would still own the Remonstrance and adhere to the principles of it to live in Scotland, but intended to send them to Barbadoes, lest they should again embroil the kingdom into new troubles. Of all the Committee the Chancellor was most moderate, willing to show some favour to some of the Protesters and others that came before them.

All this while by-past no man was so much longed for as the Treasurer, the Earl of Crawford, of whom much good was expected, he having these nine years by-past suffered sorely for his honesty and faithfulness. Now the Lord having opened his prison doors* and restored him to his just rights, dignities and honours, with a good conscience and credit before God and men, all honest men's hopes and expectations were much upon him, that the Lord would bless him to be a good instrument, especially betwixt the King and Protesters or Remonstrators, against whom the hearts of some, even otherwise good men, were too much embittered and filled with thoughts of revenge, calling to mind what some of them at London had done against their brethren that were not of their judgment, so that they did but little compassionate them now in the time of their imprisonment. But still one thing after another detained Crawford at Court with the King, especially, and which was most to be lamented, the death of the Duke of Gloucester, the King's youngest brother. He was a hopeful young prince and a great lover of our nation.

* The Earl of Crawford being a promoter of the King's plan of marching into England in 1651, was a member of the Committee for forwarding the levies for that purpose in the county of Forfar. While so employed the Committee were unexpectedly surprised by a strong party of horse detached from Dundee by the English on the 28th of August 1651, at Alyth, in Forfarshire, carried to Dundee, sent thence to London, and imprisoned. Crawford was confined first in the Tower and afterwards in Windsor Castle. He endured a tedious imprisonment till March 1660, when Monk having restored the secluded members of the Long Parliament, his Lordship was released by their authority.—*Douglas's Peerage*, vol. i. p. 386.

Upon the last of August Mr James Sharp came to Edinburgh and brought with him a gracious letter from the King directed to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, &c. The sum of it was an answer to a letter sent by some of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, thereafter approven by the whole, to the King with Mr James Sharp when he went last to London. The King declares his gracious acceptance of their address, and how well he is satisfied with the generality of the ministers of Scotland, &c. He assures them that he resolves to discountenance profaneness, &c., and to protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland, as it is settled by law, without violation, &c. He wills the authority and acts of the General Assembly at St Andrews and Dundee, 1651, to stand in force until he call another General Assembly, and that he intends to send for Mr Robert Douglas and some other ministers, &c.

This letter was sent to all Presbyteries, and every minister got a copy of it. The Presbyteries of Fife consulting anent a return to the letter, considering that the Synod was approaching, referred the answering of it to the ensuing Synod, judging it more convenient, and tending to the greater solemnity of the affair that the whole Synod should answer it. When the answer of the King's letter was taken to consideration by the Synod (Mr James Sharp, the bearer, and, as was thought, the penner of the letter,* being present) the main thing that was most tossed and debated was, whether or not mention should be made of the Covenant, and of ties and obligations lying on the King by his taking the Covenant, in their answer to the letter. Mr James Sharp (who had drawn Mr Wood, by his subtle insinuations and fair pretences, to plead with him against mentioning the Covenant in the Synod's answer to the King's letter) alleged and pleaded that the Synod's mentioning the Covenant in their answer to the King's letter would be constructed by the King and others a homologating of the Protesters' petition, wherein they seemed to challenge the King of breach of Covenant, and that it would irritate the King at this time, and

* The letter commences with a high commendation of Sharp; but he might have written it himself for all that.

in the answer of his gracious letter, to mention the Covenant, or any tie lying on him by the Covenant. Mr Wood did only plead against mentioning the Covenant *hic et nunc*, professing his respects to the sworn Covenant. Upon the other hand, those that pleaded for mentioning of the Covenant (who were those that had mediate betwixt the Protesters and Resolutioners), at last desired only our tie of allegiance and obedience to the King, by virtue of the Covenant, to be mentioned in the answer of his Majesty's letter, alleging that it would be admired by the world, and more especially by honest men and ministers in England, if no mention of the Covenant, nay not of our tie and obligation to the King, by virtue of the Covenant, should be made in the Synod's letter to the King. But to this it was replied by Mr James Sharp, that now there was no party, nay no person in England that owned the Covenant, especially the second article of the Solemn League and Covenant, in that sense that the Kirk of Scotland owned it, abjuring Episcopacy, with all the branches of it, but that even those that stood for the Covenant and wrote in defence of it, thought that a moderate Episcopacy, Constant Moderator, &c., might stand with the Covenant, and that, for that very end the parenthesis in that second article was inserted in the Covenant, to exclude Lord Bishops, Parliament Bishops, but not a moderate Episcopacy, Constant Moderator, &c. Thus men began to find out new glosses upon the Covenant, and after vows to make inquiry; and even too many ministers in Scotland, mostly those that were most rigid defenders of all the Public Resolutions,* but especially Mr James Sharp, in that Synod spoke too diminutively, yea most

* The ministers who defended the Public Resolutions, with some exceptions, were men of a different spirit from the Protesters. The latter were accustomed, as Baillie alleges, to call themselves "the godly party;" and though Baillie was specially offended at this, reckoning it at once presumptuous, uncharitable and untrue, yet there is ground to think that the greater part of the piety of the country was on the side of the Protesters. It is certain that their attachment to Presbytery and the Covenant was far greater than that of the Resolutioners; as was fully tested when Presbytery was overthrown. In 1651 the ministers adhering to the Public Resolutions amounted to about 600; and all of them, with the exception of about forty, conformed to Prelacy after the Restoration.

disrespectfully of the sworn Covenant, and his arguments seemed to conclude that it should never be mentioned nor any more owned; but the result of the debates of the Synod was, that there was no mention of the Covenant in their answer to the King's letter. In the close of the letter the thanks of the Synod were returned to the Secretary, Lauderdale, for his good affection and friendship to the Kirk of Scotland and her government. In this Synod Mr Sharp had many long harangues highly commending the King, but withal declaring that the government of our Kirk had many enemies at court; "yea even many unnatural sons, if I may call them so," said he, "of the Kirk of Scotland, were most active against her and the government, intending to subvert the same, and again to introduce Episcopacy and abjured ceremonies." He was seconded by Mr Wood and Mr Frederick Carmichael,* who had discourses to the same purpose; especially they did show the Synod what good service Mr James Sharp had done to the whole Kirk of Scotland, in hindering the change of government which was endeavoured by some at Court, and what great reason the Synod of Fife had to return him hearty thanks for his great service and great pains, &c.; which was done by the Moderator, Mr George Hamilton,† in name of the Synod. But a little after Mr Frederick Carmichael desired Mr James Sharp to remove a little. When he was removed, he did again, as he could, aggrage [extol] Mr James Sharp's great pains and travels for the good of the Kirk, and how undoubtedly the government had been changed unless he had hindered and now secured the government as it is settled by law. Therefore he desired that Mr James Sharp should be called in, and thanks returned to him in a more ample and solemn manner by the Moderator, in name of the whole Synod; [to whom

* Mr Frederick Carmichael was appointed first minister of the collegiate charge of Kirkcaldy, April 21st, 1627; translated to Kennoway August 1627, and to Markinch June 11, 1641. He died May 3, 1667.—(*Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife*, pp. 230, 231, 233.)

† Mr George Hamilton was admitted minister of Newburn 1628; translated to Pittenweem February 27, 1650, and deposed in 1662, for nonconformity.—*Ibid.* pp. 210, 211.

honest and ingenuous Mr Hamilton replied, "Shall I give him thanks over again?" When Mr James Sharp was called in, the Moderator thanked him as slenderly and *] wershlie † as before.

When there was an account given to Mr Blair (who, through his infirmity, was detained from this Synod at Kirkcaldy) of the debates anent the government, and especially of Mr James Sharp's expressions and arguments against the Covenant, and of his carriage in that Synod and towards some brethren, Mr Blair said, "I now see the knave and his tricks; I am sorry that honest Mr Wood is so deluded by him."

About this time three of the ministers, prisoners in the Castle of Edinburgh, falling sick, viz., Messrs Gilbert Ramsay, Robert Trail, and John Semple, upon their supplications, got liberty to come down to the town. The rest, though they gave in several supplications, yet were detained prisoners. Mr James Guthrie was ordered by the Committee to be carried to Dundee and there committed prisoner in the Tolbooth. Few of the ministers in Edinburgh did pray in public for the imprisoned Protesters, except it was to convince them of their mistakes and errors. Some that dealt much with them in private thought them too tenacious of their old principles and ways. Other ministers prayed for them publicly, no ways reflecting on the authority that had imprisoned them, or on the cause of their imprisonment. They were especially ministers of the more moderate temper. As for Mr Blair, he used to say that we had reason to bless God that lawful magistracy was restored, and that the Lord had broken the yoke of usurpers, yea that it was better to suffer under lawful magistracy than to enjoy toleration under usurpers.

Others,‡ besides these ministers imprisoned, were summoned to appear before the Committee, viz., two honest men in Glasgow,

* From MS. belonging to J. J. Gibson Craig, Esq. † *Wershlie*, Scot. insipidly.

‡ These were the leading men among the Remonstrators or Protesters, to whom the government was particularly hostile. "The chief of the Remonstrators were cited, and made to subscribe their renouncing of the Remonstrance, and appearance before the Parliament, and something else, whereat they stumbled at the beginning."—*Baillie's Letters and Journals*, iii. 447.

John Spreul and John Graham* who at their first appearance were made prisoners in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. Warriston and Robert Andrew were summoned to appear within sixty days, otherwise to be declared traitors and forefaulted. Mr David Drummond, a deposed minister and great complier with the usurpers, Colonel Ker, and Provost Jaffray in Aberdeen, were summoned, &c. Mr John Dickson, minister at Rutherglen, was also summoned, who had in pulpit spoken, as was alleged, very disrespectfully and reproachfully of the Committee of Estates, reflecting on the present authority under his Majesty. At his first appearance he was made prisoner in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh.

About the middle of September, the Committee of Estates took to their consideration two books, one entitled, "Lex Rex," the other, "The Causes of God's Wrath," &c. The first was owned by Mr Rutherford, and cited by him in his Answer to Hooker's piece, though, in the title-page, his name was not put to it, as he used to do in his other excellent practical pieces, and learned exercitations and disputes against Arminius and other enemies of the truth. In that book, pious and learned Mr Rutherford shews himself to be of Buchanan's opinion anent monarchical government, and the way of it, in Scotland. When he had written a great part of it, he brought it to Mr Blair, desiring him to revise it, and submitting it to his censure. After Mr Blair had read and considered it, he said to Mr Rutherford, as being his opinion of it, "Brother, ye are happy in your other writings, and God has blessed you as his instrument, well furnished and suited to do much good to souls, both by your practical pieces and disputes against sectaries; and there ye are in your own element; but as for this subject, it being proper for jurisconsults, lawyers, and politicians, it lies out of your road. My advice to you is, that ye let it lie by you seven years, and busy your pen in writing that which will be more for edification and good of souls, and thereafter, it may be ye will judge it not expe-

* John Spreul was town-clerk of Glasgow, and John Graham provost of that city. They lay long in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh for refusing to subscribe, but they at last yielded, upon which they were set at liberty.—*Ibid.*, iii. 448.

dient to let it see the light." He promised to Mr Blair to do so; but shortly thereafter, being at London, one of our Commissioners to the Assembly of Divines, Lord Warriston, did again yoke him to that work, and (as was thought) did not only assist to, but 'did' wholly complete and finish that work, *anno* 1645. The other book was published by the Protesters, after the defeat at Dunbar. It was, as was thought, penned by Mr James Guthrie,* who was the penner of all public papers, both before and after the woful rent, and agreed upon and consented unto in one of their extrajudicial meetings. In that book, among other causes of God's wrath (for in it there were many sad truths) they reckoned the home-bringing of the King, in the way he was brought home, and the admitting him to the exercise of his government only upon paper security. They, in that book, very often mention the King's enmity to the cause and people of God, &c.

There was a proclamation, September 19, against these two books, condemning them as seditious, &c. About the middle of October these two books were burnt by the hand of the hangman at the Cross of Edinburgh; and shortly thereafter, "Lex Rex" at the Cross of St Andrews, by the appointment of the Committee. Mr Rutherford, some few days before, was summoned to appear before the Committee, they having condemned his book as containing many treasonable and seditious things, &c.; but the holy, learned man being at that present time very sick and infirm, three testificates were sent over to the Committee; one under the hands of the ministers and magistrates of the town; a second under the hands of some masters of the University; and the third under the hand of Doctor Burnet, his physician. The testificates being owned by the Committee, Mr Rutherford is confined to his chamber, his stipend sequestrate, (as the stipends of the ministers, prisoners in the castle of Edinburgh, or elsewhere, were), and his place in the New College declared vacant.†

All the ministers challenged, or appearing before the Committee,

* It was published anonymously.

† Rutherford died March 20, 1661.

refusing to take that bond of peace offered to them by the Committee, and thereafter printed by authority, the Committee emitted a proclamation, in the latter end of September, against all seditious railers and slanderers, whether civil or ecclesiastic, of the King's Majesty and his government, and against Remonstrators and their adherents, and against all unlawful convocations of his Majesty's lieges, &c. The King wrote to the Committee, indicting the down-sitting of the Parliament to be December 12. November 1, the Parliament was solemnly proclaimed with great solemnity, the Chancellor and many noblemen being on the Cross, &c.

In October and November the Synods convened. In many of them there was a spirit of bitterness and revenge to be seen against the Protesters. The Synod of Merse and Teviotdale did depose three or four of their number, and wrote a congratulatory letter to the Committee of Estates, rendering them thanks for their piety and zeal in relation to what they had done against the Protesters, their prisoners. The like was done by the Synods of Aberdeen and Murray, in deposing three or four Protesters. The carriage of these Synods towards their brethren was looked upon, by moderate men, as savouring of a spirit of bitterness and immoderate zeal.

The Lord Warriston and Robert Andrew being summoned, upon sixty days, under pain of forfaultry, they not appearing, were forfaulted. In the proclamation, which was very long, drawn up by the King's advocate, Sir John Fletcher, as a charge against Warriston, many things were laid to Warriston's charge, especially his having a deep hand in the bringing of that most noble and loyal subject, the Earl of Montrose, to death, and his great compliance with the usurpers, &c.*

While the minds of many in England were in suspense what form of government would be settled in the Church, the King, by his sole authority, took upon himself alone to prescribe a form of government, (emitting a Declaration to all his subjects in England,

* "Warriston fled, whereupon he was declared fugitive, and all his places void: his poor lady could not obtain to him a pass from the King, to live in banishment; so he lurks daily in fear of his life."—*Baillie's Letters and Journals*, iii. 447.

concerning ecclesiastic affairs, dated October 25), which was Episcopacy, but much more moderate than it had been in England, and some way incorporating Presbytery with Episcopacy; and to set up the ceremonies, kneeling, crossing, surplice, &c., only giving some toleration to those that were not clear to use them until the Synod, which he intended to convene for settling of all these matters in the Church. This Declaration saddened the hearts of many in England and Scotland, especially considering the King's oath of Covenant and Coronation in Scotland; but as for the most part of Presbyterian ministers in England, they temporised, to say no worse, and took bishops' places.

In the latter end of December, the Marquis of Argyle, and Swinton, came down in one of the King's ships. The Marquis was conveyed up the street of Edinburgh, attended by a strong guard, and made prisoner in the Castle of Edinburgh: Swinton, who before this had turned Quaker, was brought up the street bare-headed, and imprisoned in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. Thus were Argyle, Warriston, Sir James Stewart, and Sir John Chiesly used, who, in the years 1649 and 1650, were chief rulers.

The winter drawing on, and the ministers prisoners in the Castle, abiding in the same condition they were, notwithstanding some of them had supplicated and acknowledged the unseasonableness of their petition, and disallowed the Remonstrance, they did again supplicate that, by reason of the sharpness of the air in the Castle, they might be confined to their own houses, engaging not to go abroad, &c. All that their supplication produced was, that they were brought out of the Castle to the town, and confined to their chambers; finding caution that they should not go out of their chambers, that none should visit them but one at once, &c.

December 10, the Earl of Crawford, being much and long looked for, came to Edinburgh, being conveyed by many horsemen, and received with great acclamations and applause of all honest men. That same day there was a proclamation, whereby the King did prorogate the time of the down-sitting of the Parliament to the 1st of January 1661, for, as yet, the King's Commissioner, Middle-

ton, was not come, nor things in a readiness for the riding and down-sitting of the Parliament.

The Parliament of England, sitting down again in November, taking to their consideration the King's Declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs,* did declare it not to have the force of a law, not being confirmed by the two Houses of Parliament; and so the Prelatic party did not stand to any thing therein contained, neither did they conform themselves thereunto in the Parliament. The Peers, all of them almost, were for Prelacy and ceremonies, and were discontent with the King's Declaration, because it was not high enough for bishops, and because it gave too much to Presbyters and Presbytery. As for the Commons, when some of them brought it to be confirmed by the House, the Episcopal party, who were the major part, did throw it out, and would not at all pass the same; so that their conference about it came to nothing. And whereas the first article of the Declaration did enjoin the careful observation of the Lord's day, yet the Lord's day following its publication, there were four bishops consecrated in Westminster Abbey; and because there were not so many bishops alive in England as, by their canon law, are required for the consecration of a bishop, they invited the excommunicate prelate, Mr Thomas Sydserff,† to assist in that clagged devotion. At that consecration,

* As not a few ministers in England were persecuted and driven from their charges about this time, for not using the Book of Common Prayer,—it being pretended that the acts of the Long Parliament were null, from their wanting the Royal assent, and that therefore Prelacy and the Service Book were still established by law, and behoved to be conformed to,—the leading Presbyterians supplicated his Majesty to suspend these executions, till the issue of the attempts then made for an accommodation between the Episcopalians and Presbyterians were known. After hearing both parties, Charles issued a Declaration, in which he promised to reform Episcopacy, and have the Liturgy corrected; and that none should be put to trouble for differences in religion not tending to disturb the peace of the kingdom.

† Thomas Sydserff was first minister of the College Church, Edinburgh: he was next elevated to the See of Brechin, and soon afterwards, in 1634, to that of Galloway. In 1638, he was deposed, and excommunicated by the General Assembly, upon which he retired to England. He was the only surviving bishop in Scotland at the Restoration, and expected to be elevated to the Primacy, but was supplanted by Sharp. He was, however, put into the See of Orkney, 14th November 1662, and died the next year.—*Keith's Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops*, 228, 281.

Dean Dr Earle made them a great feast at the expense of L.300 sterling. There were invited above forty noblemen and ladies, so that they spent all that afternoon in feasting and drinking, and were coming from their feast when others were coming from sermon. They discharged the weekly lecture in that Abbey, though the lecturers offered to preach without any salary.

While matters in England are thus all going wrong,—the sworn Covenant forgotten by prince and people, the covenanted reformation defaced, national and personal perjury not regarded, nor laid to heart as a horrible provocation and land-destroying abomination, —too many in Scotland, and especially some profane and broken noblemen at court, had an evil eye to the Covenant and Presbyterial government, and were doing what they could to overturn the government of the Kirk, and to set up bishops again in Scotland. The Lord Sinclair was a busy agent for this evil turn in the devil's diocese; yea, many were afraid of some evil plot against the government at the ensuing Parliament.

December 25, whereas the King and court had designed to solemnize that Christmas with all the wonted superstitious ceremonies and solemnities, and the Queen-mother, with her daughter, that was now turned Popish, and to be married to the King of France's brother, had delayed their going over to France till after the solemnization of that Yule-day, lo! it pleased the Lord, on that very day, to give a second sore stroke to the royal family; for on that day did the Princess-Royal die of the smallpox, as her brother, the Duke of Gloucester, had done before. This was a great loss; for the Princess was a great favourer of the Protestants in the Low Countries, and "in [her] was found some good thing," 1 Kings xiv. 13.

CHAPTER XII. 1661-1666.

The sixth and last period of Mr Blair's life was, from his being summoned by the Parliament, to the time of his death, 1666. Therefore, I begin this chapter with the riding and down-sitting of that Parliament, January 1, 1661. Mr Robert Douglas did preach a very pertinent and honest sermon at their first down-sitting. The first thing done in Parliament was the reading of the King's commission to Middleton, now made an earl. After a short speech, wherein the Commissioner declared the King's good will towards his ancient and native kingdom, and how willing he was to restore the fundamental laws which had been so shaken through the iniquity of the times, &c., it was moved that the Chancellor, according to the ancient custom, should preside; next, that an oath should be taken by all the members of Parliament, which some called the Oath of Allegiance, others, the Oath of Supremacy; but the truth was, it was made up of both. These two votes presently passed in Parliament. This was all that day. The Presbyteries of St Andrews, and Cupar in Fife, sent over two of their number, *per vices*, to confer with the ministers of Edinburgh, who were in the chief watch-tower, anent any thing needful to be represented to the Parliament concerning Kirk affairs, especially the government, if the Parliament should meddle therewith.*

* The following is the Act of the Presbytery of St Andrews in reference to this matter:—"January 30, 1661, the Presbytery considering that matters are now, or may be, in agitation, that concern the interests of Christ's Kirk in this land, in the Parliament, do appoint their brethren, Mr David Forret, and Mr Henry Rymer, to attend at Edinburgh, and seek advice, and do what may be for preservation of the interests of Christ's Kirk in this land; and this without prejudice of the former appointment."—*Selections from the Minutes of the Presbytery of St Andrews, printed for the Abbotsford Club*, 77.

January 4, the Parliament convened again. The chief thing done that day was their ordaining the bones of the trunk of the body of Montrose, that were buried in the Burrow-moor, to be taken up again, and his head to be taken down from the top of the Tolbooth, and his two arms and legs that were affixed upon the ports of the four chief towns, to be brought to Edinburgh, and all these to be put in a new coffin, and conveyed to the Abbey Kirk, until all things were ready for the solemnization of his burial, which was to be upon the King's expenses.

January 6, being the Lord's day, Mr James Sharp preached before the Parliament. January 7, what was ordained anent Montrose's head and bones, was done with great solemnity, sound of trumpet, shot of cannon, many noblemen and gentlemen countenancing the business.

Anent the oath required of the members of Parliament, some scrupled to take it, because a general and ambiguous clause was foisted into the Oath of Allegiance anent the King's supremacy in all matters, which supremacy of the King, in all causes and matters, was never acknowledged, either by General Assembly or Parliament of Scotland, but was looked upon as Antichristian; for Henry VIII. of England, that rude reformer, after he had rejected the Pope and his supremacy, he, sitting down in the Pope's chair, took that to himself which he refused to the Pope, taking upon him to be supreme in all causes, civil and ecclesiastic; and his successors arrogated that to themselves; and King James urged that Oath of Supremacy upon all his subjects in England; but it was never established in Scotland by a law. This made some, especially the Earl of Cassillis, to speak against that oath, desiring an explanation of it, viz., what was meant by that clause, —"the King's supremacy in all matters." The King's Advocate replied, that the meaning was in all matters civil. In that sense Cassillis was content to take it, providing that they would registrate that sense of it in the books of Parliament, which being refused, some few days were given to the Earl of Cassillis to advise whether he would take it or not; but the most part of those that had taken

it, especially the Earl of Crawford, declared they took it only in that sense given by the Advocate. After a few days, Cassillis left the Parliament, they still refusing to record in their Registers the sense of the oath given by the Advocate.

About this time Mr James Sharp (having some years before a call to the ministry of Edinburgh, and transported by the vote of the Synod of Fife thereunto) procured to himself a call to be one of the masters of the New College in St Andrews, from the plurality of the masters of the University and ministers of the Presbytery. Messrs Blair and Rutherford did what they could to oppose Mr James Sharp's coming to the New College; but notwithstanding he was admitted to that place by Doctor Colville,* who was most earnest for it; yet, in his discourse, he did pose Mr James Sharp anent his judgment of Presbyterial government, who did acknowledge the lawfulness of it, and profess his purpose to maintain it. Thereafter, Mr James Sharp was made Doctor Sharp; and therein lay the knack of the business; for his design was not (as the event proved) to continue any time one of the masters of that College, but to make the doctorate a stirrup to mount him to Prelacy; for, according to the canon law, none can ascend to Prelacy, except first he be a doctor of divinity. After Mr James Sharp's admission, all the students, or servants of the College, that would not take Doctor Sharp by the hand, and acknowledge him one of the masters of that College, were extruded from the College and the table by Doctor Colville.

In the beginning of the second week of the Parliament, they passed an act establishing the Lords of the Articles. This privilege of the twelve Lords of the Articles was done away formerly with the late King's consent, as prejudicial to the liberty of the subject and privilege of Parliament.

January 11, the Parliament did sit again, where these acts passed:—1. Giving to the King a negative voice in Parliament, declaring no laws to be binding but such as have the King's

* Dr Alexander Colville was admitted Principal of St Mary's, or the New College of St Andrews, in 1662, as successor to the famous Samuel Rutherford, and died January 1666.—*Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife*, 214.

assent or his Commissioner's; and asserting the King's prerogative in calling and dissolving Parliaments by himself, or his Commissioner, and rescinding all acts made since 1640, in the contrary, and repealing all acts establishing triennial Parliaments. 2. An act declaring it to belong to the King's majesty, as a part of his prerogative, to elect the officers of Estate, Lords of Privy Council and Session, and repealing all acts to the contrary.

January 13, being Sabbath day, Mr Robert Laurie * preached before the Parliament. In the afternoon, one Mr James Chalmers of Cullen, a profane, base man, preached, and offended all honest men; for he downright preached for Prelacy. Much also was spoken of Mr Sharp's sermons the day preceding, as reflecting on the proceedings of Kirk and Estate for twenty years bypast, and on the Covenant, because it wanted the King's consent. The Commissioner sent for five or six ministers from the north, who were thought to be Episcopal, that they might preach before the Parliament.

January 16, the Parliament issued a proclamation, commanding all persons who had accession to the Remonstrance, or the book called "The Causes of God's Wrath," to depart the city of Edinburgh within forty-eight hours, except such as are, or shall be cited, &c.; also they made an act, asserting his Majesty's prerogative in making war and peace, he having the sole power of the militia; and another act, discharging all bands and meetings amongst the subjects without his Majesty's license and consent.

January 20, Sabbath day, Mr John Smith † preached, before

* Mr Robert Laurie, son of Mr Joseph Laurie, minister at Stirling, was first settled in a country charge, and was afterwards translated to Edinburgh. He was the only one of the ministers of the capital who conformed to Prelacy, and was called by the common people "The Nest Egg." He was rewarded for his pliancy, first, by being made Dean of Edinburgh, and next, by being advanced to the See of Brechin; but the benefice of that bishoprick being small, he was allowed to retain his deanery, and continued to officiate at the Church of the Holy Trinity, in Edinburgh, till his death in 1677.—*Keith's Historical Catalogue*, 168. He did not long enjoy his bishoprick, and, a little before his death, he desired the bellman to cry him minister, and not bishop. —*Kirkton's History*, p. 148.

† Mr John Smith was admitted assistant and successor to Mr Putie, minister of

noon, honestly. In the afternoon, Mr George Halliburton* preached most wickedly. He downright condemned the League and Covenant, advising the Parliament to enjoin a day of humiliation for making such an unlawful covenant.

January 22, an act was passed annulling an act 1644, ratifying the Convention of Estates 1643, who did condescend upon and agree unto the Solemn League and Covenant; and so they did what in them lay to annul the League and Covenant. The said day the preceding acts were touched with the sceptre.

January 25, they passed an act declaring that there is no tie upon this nation for endeavouring any work of reformation in England or Ireland by way or force of arms, and discharging any whomsoever to impose any oath, covenant or bond upon any his Majesty's subjects within this kingdom, without his Majesty's special authority and warrant. Sundry absented themselves when this was passed; some dissented from it.

January 27, Sabbath day, Mr William Scrogie† and Mr James Ramsay,‡ preached before the Parliament. In this month of January, the Parliament of England being dissolved in the latter end of December, there were several plots of several sectaries discovered in London and several parts of the country against the King, city and country, some whereof were killed in skirmishes, others appre-

Leslie, December 11, 1634; translated to Burntisland, October 18, 1643; and to Edinburgh, 1648.—*Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife*, 228, 232.

* Mr George Halliburton was at this time minister at Perth. He was made Bishop of Dunkeld by letters-patent from Charles II., dated the 18th January 1662. He died in 1664.—*Keith's Historical Catalogue*, 98.

† Mr William Scrogie was son to the learned Dr Scrogie, minister in Old Aberdeen. He was for some time minister of Rapham, in Aberdeenshire. After the Restoration he was appointed Bishop of Argyle, and consecrated in 1666. In this See he continued until his death, which took place in 1675.—*Ibid.*, 291.

‡ Mr James Ramsay was son of Mr Robert Ramsay, minister of Dundonald, and afterwards Principal of the College of Glasgow. He was first minister at Kirkintulloch, and next at Linlithgow. In the year 1670 he was made Dean of Glasgow, &c.; and in 1673 preferred to the See of Dunblane upon the translation of Bishop Leighton thence to the Archiepiscopal See of Glasgow. On the 23d of May 1684, he was translated from Dunblane to Ross, where he continued till the Revolution deprived him. He died at Edinburgh, October 22, 1696, and was interred in the Canongate church-yard.—*Ibid.*, 204.

hended and imprisoned, some whereof thereafter were executed in several parts of the city of London. January 6, four bishops were consecrated in London.

February 3, Sabbath, Mr Patrick Scougal* and Mr William Rait did preach before the Parliament honestly. In the beginning of February Mr James Guthrie was brought from Dundee, and Mr Gillespie from Stirling, to Edinburgh. They received their indictments, that they might answer to the Parliament thereanent. Also the Marquis of Argyle received his indictment. He and the ministers got liberty to choose advocates to plead for them before the Parliament.

February 10, Messrs 'William' Colville and 'James' Wood preached honestly to the Parliament.

About the middle of February Argyle appeared before the Parliament. He desired liberty to speak before the reading of his indictment; which being refused, and the indictment read, he had a long harangue, testifying his respects to his Majesty, his joy at his restoration, &c., purging himself of the blood of his Majesty's father, of the Duke of Hamilton, Marquis of Huntly and Montrose, &c. He got to February 26 to answer again more particularly.

February 22, Mr James Guthrie appeared before the Parliament. After the reading of his indictment he had a harangue. He refused the addition to his libel that was sent to him that same day, viz., that he should have advised to secure the King's person in the Castle of Stirling. He denied he had hand in contriving the Remonstrance, but said that the Kirk acknowledged many sad truths in it. 'He' acknowledged his accession to the contriving of the book called "The Causes of God's Wrath," &c. The King's Advocate took instruments that he had confessed the libel, except the addition, though with some restrictions and qualifications. He got

* Mr Patrick Scougal was the son of Sir John Scougal of that ilk. He appears as minister of Dairsie in 1636. In April 1645 he was translated to Leuchars; and in 1658 to Saltoun. He was afterwards, in 1664, consecrated Bishop of Aberdeen. He died on the 16th of February 1682, in the 73d year of his age.—*Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife*, 210, 221.

to the 1st of March to answer more particularly, and his advocates to plead for him.

February 17, Mr David Fletcher* preached before the Parliament honestly, and Mr John Paterson† perversely.

About this time many ministers and others were summoned to answer before the Parliament for their accession to the Remonstrance and Causes of God's Wrath. Mr Robert M'Ward, minister of Glasgow, was brought in to Edinburgh with a guard, for preaching against what the Parliament had done, (as he conceived), in annulling the Solemn League and Covenant, and 'for' protesting against the same, and taking his hearers witnesses thereof. He having heard his indictment read before the Lords of the Articles answered, That he would spare them the pains and labour of citing witnesses, if they would give him the paper he should ingenuously confess what were his words, and thereafter did give in a paper bearing his own words.

February 24, Mr David Strachan‡ and Mr Alexander Mill did preach before the Parliament. March 3, Mr Archibald Turner and Mr Andrew Fairfowl§ did preach, the first very wickedly.

The Marquis of Argyle, after often appearing before the Parliament, did give in some desires to the Lords of the Articles, viz., That the King's Advocate should be removed as his party, which

* Mr David Fletcher or Flesher, was at this time minister of Melrose. He was brother to Sir John Fletcher, his Majesty's advocate. He was advanced to the See of Argyle in 1662, but continued to officiate at Melrose till his death, which took place in 1665.—*Keith's Historical Catalogue*, 291.

† Mr John Paterson was minister at Aberdeen, and afterwards Bishop of Ross.

‡ Mr David Strachan, a branch of the house of Thorntoun in Mearns, was at this time minister of Fettercairn. He was afterwards promoted to the See of Brechin, in which he continued till his death in 1671.—*Ibid.*, 167.

§ Mr Andrew Fairfowl was first chaplain to the Earl of Rothes, next minister at North Leith, and afterwards at Dunse. He was preferred to the See of Glasgow on the 14th of November 1661. "He was consecrated in June, next year. But he did not long enjoy his new office; for he sickened the very day of the riding of the Parliament in November 1663, and dying in a few days, he was interred on the 11th of the same month, in the abbey-church of Holyroodhouse."—*Ibid.*, 265. Kirkton describes him as "a man of good learning and neat expression, but who was never taken for a man either serious or sincere, and was, moreover, judged a man both profane and scandalous."—*Kirkton's History*, 135.

being refused, at last he said that he would no more dispute with his prince but rather chose to cast himself upon his mercy than stand to his own defence. The Lords of the Articles and Parliament returned answer to him, that he behoved to answer according to law for what he had done.

Sir John Chiesly having received his indictment, compeared before the Parliament, and had a long speech justifying himself, &c. Likewise Mr Patrick Gillespie having received his indictment, compeared before the Parliament. He had a pretty short speech, by way of information, for his own justification. Also Mr James Simson compeared before the Parliament, and was as evil liked of as any minister before them.

Towards the end of February there was a motion made among the Lords of the Articles for rescinding of two Acts of the Parliament 1641, where the late King himself was present and consenting. The first was the act approving the National Covenant; the second, the act for abolishing of bishops. The Earl of Crawford did zealously and passionately oppose himself to that motion, and only was seconded by Sir John Gilmour and Mr Peter Wedderburn. The Commissioner, because of the heat amongst them, did delay the business to another time. After this, some ministers of Edinburgh, especially Messrs Robert Douglas and George Hutchison, did speak with the Commissioner and Chancellor thereanent.

March 10, Mr George Hutchison and Mr James Hamilton,* at Cambusnethan, preached before the Parliament, the first very honestly, to the great satisfaction of all honest men.

About this time Mr Blair (he having often before this complained of the weight of his charge, especially of the multitude of parishioners in the landward, and that they were not well accom-

* James Hamilton was second son of Sir John Hamilton of Broomhill. He was ordained minister at Cambusnethan in the year 1634, "in which station he continued until the Restoration, when he was called to London by the King, and was consecrated Bishop of Galloway, together with Archbishop Sharp and Bishop Leighton." —*Keith's Historical Catalogue*, 281.

modated with seats in the town kirk, near the pulpit, where they might hear), did seriously and self-deniedly bestir himself to get another landward parish erected in the north-west parts of the landward congregation of St Andrews, (viz., the lands of Kingcappell, Myddie, Strickinness, Ballgove, Clatto, &c.), as he had done in the south-west parts thereof. See p. 168. This was the more feasible and easy to be effectuat, because the Laird of Further Pitcairn paid to Mr Blair a small tack-duty of sixteen chalders of beer, there being only three years of the tack to run out. Thereafter the whole sixteen chalders were to fall into Mr Blair's stipend. But he being more desirous of the good of souls (that God may be glorified) than of augmenting his stipend, or his own private commodity, set about this good public work; and though there were three years of Forther's tack yet to run, being most earnestly desirous to have it approven and ratified in the beginning of the Parliament, fearing changes and alterations, especially of the government of the Kirk, Mr Blair did quickly agree with Forther, that he should, of the sixteen, give presently seven chalders, to be modified stipend of the minister of that new parish. Mr Blair's colleague, Mr Andrew Honeyman,* hearing of the motion, dealt earnestly with Mr Blair to desist, alleging it was not only a wronging of himself, but of the benefice and his successor; but finding Mr Blair resolute, he next dealt with him, at least to take some few chalders of the sixteen in to his stipend;

* Mr Andrew Honeyman was admitted assistant and successor to Mr Samuel Cunningham, minister of Ferry-Port-on-Craig in 1640; translated to be second minister of St Andrews in 1642; became Archdean of St Andrews October 1662; and was created Bishop of Orkney April 11, 1664.—*Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife*, 206, 212). In July 1668, he was wounded in the wrist by James Mitchell in his attempt to assassinate Archbishop Sharp. Keith says it was "with a poisoned bullet;" but he gives no authority for this assertion, and indeed there appears to be none, for, on the trial of Mitchell, no evidence of this was brought out in the depositions of the medical gentleman who had examined Honeyman's wound. The Bishop's wound never altogether healed, and he died in February 1676. He was the author of a work, entitled, "A Survey of the Insolent and Infamous Libel, entitled Naphtali," in two parts, Edinburgh, 1668, and of another, entitled, "Bourignonism Displayed; or a Discovery of Several Gross Errors maintained by Antonia Bourignon."

which being rejected by Mr Blair, he stirred up some of the heritors of these lands, especially the Laird of Dairsie, to oppose the work. Yet, notwithstanding, Mr Blair and Forther having fully agreed upon all things anent the building a new kirk and manse, and the buying of a glebe, &c., and having gotten the Presbytery's consent and approbation, he not being able to go himself, gave a factorie to his son-in-law, to go over with Forther and agent that business before the Committee of the Parliament that prepared such business for the Parliament, that it might be ratified by the Parliament, and these lands, by the civil sanction of the Parliament, erected in[to] a new parish and congregation. But Mr Andrew Honeyman not being able to hinder this good work in St Andrews, came over to Edinburgh and acquainted Mr James Sharp with it, and they two stirred up some of the heritors of these lands, (though others were well pleased with it, especially the good old Lord Burley, [Burleigh]) to plead against it by their advocate before the Committee of the Parliament; which made Mr Blair's factor employ an advocate to compear and plead for the business, and to give money largely to the clerk of the Committee, and to do every thing that might further the business, (which monies Mr Blair did most willingly depurse, saying, that "If selfseeking men, and enemies to soul's edification, shall prevail and hinder so good a work, he would have a good conscience, having bestowed of his own means for so good a work"); but in end, Mr James Sharp acquainting the Commissioner with the business, a stop was put to it.

About the midst of March, Sir William Fleming came from the King with several instructions to the Commissioner. Among other things the King desired the Parliament to take more particular notice of Mr Patrick Gillespie than they had done, saying, that though sundry ministers in Scotland had wronged him, yet none of them affronted him so as Mr Patrick Gillespie. March 17, Mr Josias Simson and Mr Johnston preached before the Parliament.

General Major Morgan came down as commander of all the forces

in Scotland, under Duke Albemarle. He came into the Parliament and showed his commission. He had several forces, both horse and foot, upon the border, to bring them in if he judged it expedient. What these things did portend there were several thoughts of heart. Some were jealous; others had no doubt but the King had a mind to set up bishops in Scotland as he had done in England and Ireland, and that Mr Thomas Sydserff (the only man of the excommunicated Scottish bishops now alive) was to be Archbishop of St Andrews. And now Mr James Sharp was found out by all that would believe the truth concerning him, to have been a very evil instrument with the King; not only advising, but stirring him up to set up Episcopacy again in Scotland, notwithstanding of the King's and his own taking of the Covenants; and now the language of royalists was, that they acknowledged now no law in Scotland since 1633, and so, though the King had promised to preserve the government as it was settled by law, yet he might again set up bishops, there being no law for abolishing of them.

There were an hundred and twenty horses levied to be a life guard for the King, and to guard the Parliament. Towards the end of March, one Gordon, a north country minister, preached before the Parliament. He compared the Covenant to the golden calf.

In the latter end of March, (there having been a deep hell-hatched plot against the Covenants, government of the Kirk, and all honest Presbyterian ministers, contrived by Mr James Sharp, the Commissioner, and some of our grandees), the Parliament did rescind all the acts approving the National Covenant, the Solemn League and Covenant, and abolishing of bishops in Scotland; and they rescinded all acts for Presbyterial government, yea all Parliaments since 1637, as wanting lawful authority, only tolerating Presbyterial government during the King's pleasure. There were some salvos in this sad and woful rescissory act, as anent minister's augmentations, 1649, &c. Though this rescissory act was carried by the plurality, yet, about forty persons in Parliament did reason and debate against it, and dissented and voted against it,

especially the Earl of Crawford, who pleaded much for a delay until the morrow, which, if it had been obtained, it had never been; for, upon the next morning, there came an express from the King to the Commissioner, showing that he minded not to alter the government at this time; but the Commissioner writing up to the King that he had gotten the act rescissory passed in Parliament, was thanked by him for his good service.

This wicked design was kept very secret and close amongst them, for fear that Kirk judicatories should have supplicated against it, especially, lest the Presbytery of Edinburgh, or some of the ministers in Edinburgh, should have supplicated the Parliament; for Mr James Sharp, hearing that there was a motion among the ministers of Edinburgh for supplicating the Parliament, did go to Mr Robert Douglas and vehemently asserted that the Parliament was to be taken up from morning to even that day, (wherein they passed that woful act), about Argyle's process, that they might put a close to it. Yea, Mr James Sharp did swear that the Parliament had no intention to alter the government of the Kirk; which being believed by honest, but too credulous, Mr Douglas and others, they did not supplicate the Parliament. But immediately after, the Presbytery of Edinburgh did send a supplication to the Commissioner, but he refused to look upon it, and threatened the bringers of it to him. Yea they carried on their design with so high a hand, that they sent some to all the Synods that Spring time, that they suspected would supplicate the Parliament for continuance of Presbyterial government, &c., and raised them when they fell upon any such business. The Earl of Callender was sent to raise the Synod of Lothian, and the Earl of Rothes was sent over to St Andrews, to the Synod of Fife, who having heard two papers read in the Synod, (viz., A Humble Short Supplication to the Parliament, another, A Declaration for Presbyterial Government, penned by Mr Andrew Honeyman, with such sharp teeth, that Messrs Blair and Wood, &c., behoved to ding [knock] some of them out, to be read in pulpits), did raise the Synod, commanding them in the King and Parliament's name to disperse and make no use of these papers.

So they intending to make the Lord's house as a vineyard without a hedge, they hindered all supplications either to King or Parliament; and, in the meanwhile, set up most wicked, corrupt men to preach to them, viz., Chalmers, who was again set up to preach up Episcopacy, one Thomson, minister of Traquair, &c.; and now the common tenet of Episcopal men was, that there was no form of government prescribed in the word, but it was left arbitrary to the King to appoint what form he pleased.

In the beginning of April they convened Cassillis before them, and again put the oath of supremacy to him, who refusing it, got some days to advise with it, but he still refusing, was voted by the Parliament incapable of any public trust, and so the places that the King had conferred upon him were taken from him; yea, he was hindered to go and speak with the King, though the King was desirous to speak with him. The King hearing how furiously they drove on their designs, did inhibit the Parliament to condemn any of the prisoners, after they had judged their process, until first they sent the process to him, and consulted him anent their punishment. And so the Parliament having revised Mr James Guthrie's process, did judge him guilty of treason and sedition, in several respects, having broken several Acts of Parliament, and incontinent sent the process to the King. About the middle of April thereafter, they fell to Argyle's process (which was very long) to the revising of it. Many things were laid to his charge whereof he did clear himself. His advocates did plead well for him, especially Mr Robert Burnet, who was both a good man and a good advocate.

April 23, the King was crowned in England. Mr James Sharp did preach before the Parliament that day, who homologated the doctrine of the Episcopal men that had preached before them, and now began to be unmasked, and to be seen in his own black colours, as one that had betrayed the Kirk of Scotland, and had given wicked counsel and devised mischief, (Ezekiel xi. 2), and a chief and main stickler with the Commissioner, Middleton, and some of our grandees, to set up bishops again, and again to ruin our Kirk.

In Ireland, one Taylor,* made a bishop, did tyrannise over honest ministers, so that he deposed all the Presbyterian ministers in the north of Ireland, the most part whereof were Scotsmen.

In the latter end of April, the honest Earl of Cassillis went to Court, the King having desired him to come up to him immediately. After him, the Chancellor, Glencairn, Rothes, and with them Mr James Sharp, were sent by the Parliament unto the King. Mr James Sharp desired a commission from the ministers of Edinburgh, which was refused, especially by them that formerly had sent him, verifying the proverb, "*Sero sapiunt Phryges*." † Only he got a commission from the University of St Andrews, (the plurality being corrupt men, holy, learned Mr Rutherford being now dead), which was opposed and dissented from by some of the masters. The end of the noblemen's going to Court was not divulged. Some conjectured it was to get the English garrison removed; others, with greater probability, to consult how to get bishops set up and established.

The King's marriage with the Infanta of Portugal goes on: the King of Spain declares his dislike of the match. Wars with Spain and France are feared to follow the marriage.

About this time the King wrote down to the Parliament, and expostulated with them that they did but dally with the processes of the prisoners. Shortly after this, upon the 24th of May, the Parliament condemned the Marquis of Argyle, (having found out a letter of his that he had written to the usurpers ‡), especially for

* This was the celebrated Jeremy Taylor. He was nominated to the See of Down and Connor, vacant by the removal of Henry Leslie to the See of Meath. About three months after his consecration, at his visitation in Lisnegarvy, he declared thirty-six churches vacant. "He did not make any process against the ministers," says Adair, who was one of the number thus summarily ejected, "nor suspend, nor excommunicate; but he simply held them not for ministers, they not being ordained by bishops. Therefore he only declared the parishes vacant, which he was to supply, himself having immediately the charge of all the souls in his diocese, as he professed, and procured priests and curates for these parishes as he thought fit."—*Reid's History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, ii. 347.

† *Wise behindhand.*

‡ This letter was discovered through the treachery of Monk, who, with the meanness of the villain that turns King's evidence to save his own life, transmitted to the

his high degree of complying with the usurpers against the King. He was condemned to be beheaded, May 27, and his head to be put up where Montrose's head was. The Marquis desired more time to prepare for death, but it was refused him. The sentence of death was given to him by the Earl of Crawford, (who, in the Chancellor's absence, was President of the Parliament), with tears, witnessing his dissent and dislike thereof. The sentence against Argyle was much cried out against, especially because he was condemned for compliance with the usurpers; whereas some that sat on the bench and condemned him were more guilty of that than he,—publicly disowning and renouncing the King and his family, both at London and in Edinburgh. When the sentence was executed, he spoke very christianly,* and when he was to lay down his head, he cleared himself of having any accession to the murder of the late King. The generality of God's people were much affected with his death; for whatever had been his escapes and complying with the usurpers, he was a man that ever owned the good cause and the work of reformation of religion, and lived devoutly himself, always keeping a good order in his family. All did compassionate his religious lady and children.

May 29, being the King's birth-day, was ordained by an Act of Parliament to be kept as a holy day, by preaching, praying, singing of psalms, &c. In the Parliament's proclamation there were many foul reflections on the work of reformation, and on all ministers and others that had owned the work; but ministers were no otherwise advertised to keep the day, than by the public proclamation; yet Presbyteries appointed the day to be observed, but withal, ministers were desired to speak against the ordaining it to be kept as a holy day. So it was observed by the

Parliament some private correspondence, which could only have come into Monk's possession from his own confidential intercourse with the usurper, to whom, so long as he was in power, he basely pandered.

* He died with much Christian resignation and fortitude, which was the more remarkable, from his being known to be a man more of moral than of martial or physical courage. "He was a nobleman very zealous for the Covenant and work of Reformation."—*Law's Memorials*, 10.

generality of ministers, (as they had kept a day * in June, last year, for the King's preservation and restoration,) abstracting from the anniversariness of his birth-day, and other things contained in the Act of Parliament, so desirous were honest ministers to witness their good affection towards the King, though it was judged that that Act was plotted as a snare to catch honest ministers.

In this month the Parliament of England sat down, so that now there were three Parliaments sitting in the three kingdoms. As little was expected of the English Parliament as of our own in Scotland. The Parliament having taken Argyle's head, it was feared that they would proceed to take the lives of more of the prisoners; and so it fell out, for, May 28, they condemned Mr James Guthrie to be hanged, June 1, and his head to be put upon the Nether Bow; and with him Lieutenant Govan was condemned to be hanged, and his head to be put upon the West Port. Mr Guthrie was condemned only for owning the "Remonstrance," "The Causes of God's Wrath," &c. When the sentence of death was pronounced against him, he began to speak some things,—wishing "that his innocent blood might not be charged on the throne, and hoping that his head would preach more on the Port than ever in the pulpit,"—but was interrupted, and carried away violently from the bar to prison. When the sentence was executed, June 1, he died very resolutely and christianly. He was a godly, learned man, and had a conscience of a commanding tenderness, so that he durst not seem to countenance any thing which in his conscience he condemned.

The Parliament of England ordained the Solemn League and Covenant to be burnt, by the hand of the hangman, in three most public places in London, with all indignities that could be put upon it. Thereafter it was so done in several other cities in England, (Joshua vii. 9.) †

All this while bypast, reports and rumours fly abroad, of the

* A day of thanksgiving.

† "The Canaanites shall cut off our name from the earth: and what wilt thou do unto thy great name?"

establishing of Episcopacy by the King's sole power and authority. It was certain that the plurality of the Scots Council, at London, did advise the King to set up bishops in Scotland, that the government of the Kirk might be one in all the three kingdoms, &c.; and now, while the minds of honest men are distracted with fears whence the first trial should come, a proclamation anent ecclesiastical affairs was sent down from the King to the Parliament, wherein he gives the Parliament thanks for their unanimous loyalty, especially for the Act Rescissory, wherein the Parliament shews the King's firm purpose to maintain the Protestant religion in purity of doctrine and worship, as established in his father's time; and for the government, that he will establish it in a way conform to the mind of God, most suitable to monarchical government, and tending to the peace of the Kirk and kingdom; and that, notwithstanding of the Rescissory Act, he would allow the present administration by Sessions, Presbyteries, and Synods, they behaving themselves peaceably.

The King, by his proclamation, promises to fulfil what the Parliament had promised in his name, and that for the government of the Kirk, he would settle it with all due advice and deliberation, having called to him some, for their advice, in such a way as might be most for the honour of God, the union and peace of the Kirk, and the good of the kingdom; and in the meantime prohibits all ministers, upon their peril, to meddle with the government of the Kirk, either in preaching, or praying, or by declarations, remonstrances, petitions of Kirk judicatories, or any otherways. 'It was' proclaimed about the middle of June.

After this came another proclamation from the King,—'it' was published about the beginning of July,—that all patrons or persons whatsoever, presenting to benefices, should, before they present any person to any benefice, see them take and subscribe the Oath of Allegiance, they themselves having first taken the same oath; whether they be in the country, noblemen, sheriffs, &c.; or in towns, the magistrates; or in colleges, the masters, &c. In Edinburgh, Messrs Dickson and Leighton took it to advise with it, &c.

About the beginning of July a letter came from the King to the Parliament, in favour of Mr John Stirling, obtained by his brother-in-law, Sir Arthur Forbes, wherein he declared that he pardoned Mr John Stirling any civil offence done; but as for what the Kirk judicatories had to lay to his charge, he would not meddle with that; whereupon he got liberty to preach. About the same time Mr George Nairn was dismissed, with liberty to preach. A little before this, Mr John Murray had gotten liberty to go home, by the procurement of the Earl of Athol and the many Murrays in the Parliament. Also Mr Gilbert Hall got liberty to go home.

About the time of Mr Guthrie's execution, Mr Patrick Gillespie gave in a paper to the Parliament, wherein he passed from that part of the Remonstrance which concerned the King, and had given greatest offence, craving pardon for the same, &c. He did cast himself upon the King's mercy, as guilty, &c. Thereafter he was set at liberty, being confined within six miles about Ormiston. Mr John Dickson gave in an acknowledgment of a fault in what he had spoken to the Parliament, and got liberty to go home.

Mr Alexander Moncrieff was brought before the Lords of the Articles, but he, standing fixed to his principles, refused to acknowledge any fault in their petition, either in respect of matter, manner, or timing of it. The Earl of Crawford, being President of the Parliament, knowing him to be a godly, sincere, and painful minister, and fixed to his principles, was his great friend, and was careful that he should never compear before the Parliament.

All this while there was no word of Mr James Simson, in the Tolbooth, and of Mr John Scot, in his chamber in the town; but great dealing was with Mr Robert M'Ward,* to move him to confess a fault or oversight, &c., but he abode fixed to his principles; and it was thought that, among all the ministers, he had the clearest ground of suffering, it being only for the Covenant, and protesting against the breach of it, and the defection and apostacy thereby;

* Mr M'Ward was minister of the Outer High Church, Glasgow, to which he was admitted in 1656, on the death of Mr Andrew Gray. He retired to Holland, and died at Rotterdam in 1681, after about twenty years' exile from his native country.

for he said that he had nothing to recant, except he would recant the Covenant, which he hoped never to do.

All this while Mr William Wishart * lies in the Castle of Stirling. There were other ministers summoned in before the Parliament, viz., Messrs John Livingstone, John Nevay,† &c., who were dismissed upon bail, to appear again when called.

July 11, the Parliament was adjourned to March next. In the close of the Parliament they gave out sentences against several ministers. Mr Patrick Gillespie was confined to Ormiston, and six miles about it, until the next session of the Parliament; Mr Robert M'Ward was banished the three kingdoms, and got four months to prepare himself to remove; Mr Alexander Moncrieff was discharged having any employment, ecclesiastic or civil, in the parish of Scoonie, for all time coming, and confined to any place he pleased, being three miles from Scoonie, until the next session of the Parliament, and inhibit preaching the meantime; Mr James Simson was banished the three kingdoms; Mr Robert Trail (having gotten liberty to go abroad in the town, and for some space without it) was referred to the Presbytery of Edinburgh. Others were confined within their own parishes. Mr Robert Laurie preached a most flattering sermon before the Parliament about the time of their adjournment.

Presently after the rising of the Parliament, the Commissioner, Middleton, repaired to court, and within two days after, the Earl of Crawford, Treasurer, took post for Court. He being a good man, and enemy to the corrupt courses of the time, especially to Episcopacy, good people were glad of his repairing to Court, hoping that the King would get a just and right information of the estate of affairs from him.

July 30, the Parliament of England is adjourned to the 20th of November. The King, in his speech to both Houses, twice gave them thanks for repealing the acts that debarred bishops from sitting in Parliament, and for restoring of Parliaments to their

* Mr William Wishart was minister of Kinnoul, in the Presbytery of Linlithgow.

† The celebrated Livingstone of Ancrum, and Nevay of Newmills.

ancient dignity and veneration. He told them that he was to go to Portsmouth to bring home his Queen, the Infanta of Portugal.

The bishops in Ireland most violently persecute all ministers that will not conform. All the ministers in the north of Ireland, who for the most part were Scotsmen, were deposed. The bishops there had a convocation, where it was concluded, that none should be admitted to the ministry, but they that would renounce the Solemn League and Covenant as most seditious and rebellious, &c. That was the *minimum quod sit* that was to be required of every intrant.

All this while since the proclamation in June, anent ecclesiastical affairs, there were great debates among them at London concerning the establishing of the government of the Kirk in Scotland; but, in the beginning of August, the Scots Council being all convened to determine the question, the Earls of Crawford, Cassillis, and Lauderdale, and Duke Hamilton, reasoned against establishing of bishops in Scotland, especially Crawford did most strongly and rationally debate against setting up of bishops in Scotland, and did most pertinently answer all their objections that were for Episcopacy, and conformity thereto in Scotland. But no reasoning, nor reason itself, could be heard; for now the King having gotten wicked counsel, his mind was known, and his fixed purpose to set up Prelacy again in Scotland.

The Chancellor, Rothes, and especially Mr Sharp, (that went to Court with them, and in the latter end of August returned), were those that gave wicked counsel and advice to the King, and now all honest men deservedly cried out against Mr Sharp as a traitor to God, his country, and the Kirk of Scotland. And now, it being concluded by the Scots Council at London, that bishops shall be established in Scotland, a council day is appointed at Edinburgh, viz., the 5th of September, that the King's mind anent the government of the Kirk might be known in Scotland; but, to make Prelacy go the better down with those in Scotland that disliked it, the King resolved to give the offer of bishopricks to honest ministers, and

to lay aside all the old Episcopal men, even Sydserff, Wishart,* Mitchell,† &c., because he was informed that the thing that made Prelacy to be so hated in Scotland was, the misdemeanours of those that were prelates, and their maladministration. But be laid aside who will, Mr Sharp must be one of the prelates, and the fattest bishoprick must be his; therefore he is designed Archbishop of St Andrews.

In the beginning of September Mr Sharp came to Fife. Shortly thereafter, the Presbytery of St Andrews (being certainly informed of his wicked and deceitful miscarriage at Court; yea, that he was designed to be Archbishop of St Andrews, and probably had accepted of a patent to that bishoprick,) did send two of their number, viz., Messrs Robert Blair and David Forret,‡ to him, to represent and shew to him how much the Presbytery were dissatisfied with his wicked ways and courses, and to exhort him to repent thereof, and to leave these wicked ways; but Mr Sharp gave no kind of satisfaction to them, but, upon the contrary, quarrelled the Presbytery, and especially those that were sent to him, for alleging (as he said) that he was a bishop; to whom Mr Blair replied, that they did not quarrel him for being a bishop, but for giving wicked counsel to set up bishops in Scotland, and for undertaking to be one of those bishops, even to be Archbishop of St

* Mr George Wishart, of the family of Logie, in Angus, was minister at North Leith, but was deposed in 1638. He afterwards accompanied the Marquis of Montrose in foreign parts, as chaplain, and wrote the History of the War in Scotland, under the conduct of Montrose, in elegant Latin. Upon the fall of his hero, he acted as chaplain to Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, sister to Charles I. After the Restoration, he first became Rector of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and next Bishop of Edinburgh, in which See he continued till his death, which took place in 1671.—*Keith's Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops*, 62.

† Mr David Mitchell was a minister in the city of Edinburgh, but was deposed by the General Assembly in 1638, upon which he went to England, where he procured a benefice. After the restoration of Prelacy in Scotland, he was consecrated Bishop of Aberdeen, at the same time with Bishop Wishart of Edinburgh. He died, the year after his consecration, of a fever.—*Ibid.*, 133.

‡ Mr David Forret appears as minister of Deninno in 1639. He was translated to Forgan in 1640; to Kilconquhar, May 27, 1646; refused to conform to Prelacy in 1662; and died, February 26, 1672.—*Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife*, 205, 206, 208.

Andrews, (as they were certainly informed). "But," said Mr Blair, "if ye will promise to us to repent of what ye have done, and to evidence the sincerity of your repentance,—do no more so, and engage that ye shall never be a bishop,—I think, for the time, that will give some satisfaction to the Presbytery." But Mr Sharp still quarrelling the Presbytery and them two, and giving no satisfactory answers to their demands, Mr Blair did lay out before him the wickedness and deceitfulness of his ways, exhorting him to repent; and to move him thereto, did shew him how the Lord had most remarkably punished the perjury and wickedness of all the bishops of St Andrews, especially at their death; and that none of them died so well as Mr Patrick Adamson, whom the Presbytery of St Andrews excommunicate, &c., and who did recant shortly before his death, and was relaxed from the dreadful sentence of excommunication by the Synod of Fife. When they parted Mr Sharp forced Mr David Forret to stay with him all that night, and upon the morrow (being enraged, and his proud passion much stirred by Mr Blair's plain and free dealing with him,) he did vent much bitterness and spleen, especially against Mr Blair, alleging that he had cursed him from the pulpit; and after he had spewed out much of his venom, in end, he said to Mr Forret, "Let not Mr Blair think that he shall sit long there where he is."

The Council convening at Edinburgh upon the 6th of September, they emitted a proclamation, containing the King's mind anent the re-establishing of Episcopacy in Scotland, to this purpose:—"The Council having considered his Majesty's letter, August 14, 1660, wherein the King declared his purpose to maintain the government of the Kirk of Scotland, settled by law, and the Parliament having, since that time, rescinded all the acts relating to that government, yea, declared these Parliaments null, leaving to the King the settling of Church government; therefore, in compliance with that Act Rescissory, and in pursuance of his Majesty's proclamation, June last, and in contemplation of the inconveniences that have accompanied the Kirk government, as it has been exercised these

twenty-three years, and of the unsuitableness thereof to monarchical government, &c., his Majesty—having respect to the glory of God, the good and interest of the Protestant religion, and being zealous of the unity, peace, &c., of the Kirk, within this kingdom, and of a better harmony with the government of the Churches of England and Ireland—hath been pleased to declare unto his Council his resolution to interpose his authority for restoring of this Kirk to its right government by bishops, as it was by law before the late troubles, during the reigns of his father and grandfather, and as it now stands settled by law, and that the rents belonging to the bishops or deans be restored, and made useful to the Kirk; have therefore, in obedience unto, and conform to his Majesty's pleasure aforesaid, ordained, and by these presents ordains the Lyon King-at-Arms, and, &c., to pass to the market cross and make publication of his Majesty's pleasure for restoring the Kirk to its right government by bishops, and to require all his subjects to compose themselves to a cheerful acquiescence and obedience to the same, and that none presume, by discoursing, preaching, &c., to alienate the affections of his Majesty's subjects, or to dispose them to an evil opinion of his Majesty or government, &c., and to discharge all Synods, till his Majesty's further pleasure therein be known; commanding all subjects to see this act punctually obeyed; and if they find any failing in their obedience thereto, or doing any thing in the contrary, that they commit them to prison till the Council give further order as they will answer, &c.: And all persons paying bishops' rents are discharged to pay the rents of this present year to any person, until they receive new orders from the King or his Council."

This was looked upon as the saddest proclamation that had been in Scotland these twenty-five years bypast, overturning all that had been done these years by the setting up of archbishops, bishops, &c., (and that not as his grandfather by Kirk judicatories, though corrupted, and by several steps and degrees, but *per saltum*, at the first lifting them up to their height, and that by his sole power and authority, by virtue of his supremacy, or rather

because it was his pleasure so to do), and by bringing the Kirk of Scotland to be governed as the Kirks of England and Ireland; whereas both King and people stood bound by the oath of God to maintain the government of the Kirk of Scotland, as then it was established by law, with the late King's own consent, *anno* 1641, and to endeavour the reformation of the Kirks of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed Kirks; and at that time it was acknowledged by all, that the Kirk of Scotland was the best reformed Kirk in the world, as King James VI., in a General Assembly, professed; for (said he) "the reformers of our Kirk took not their example either from Geneva, or any other Kirk, but from the true word of God." But who can enough lament the most doleful defection and apostacy of kings, nobles, and especially of ministers, who had sworn our National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant, and made the people swear the same and renew these Covenants; and yet gave wicked counsel, and devised mischief to change the government, and, in effect, to overturn the work of God in this land! But most vile was the treachery and apostacy of that Sharp, who being employed by some ministers, and having (as was reported) very good and strict instructions for the good of the Kirk of Scotland, did, notwithstanding, not only run on with our grandees in all their wicked ways and courses, for the breaking of the Covenant and overturning of the work of God, but was the plotter and deviser of all the mischief, and did not only misinform the King, by making lies his refuge, but did give him wicked counsel from time to time.

After this saddest proclamation Mr Sharp made the report go, that three ministers were to repair to London to advise the King who should be bishops; but it was well enough known that these three were going to be consecrated at London, that they might consecrate the rest at home. These three were Messrs James Sharp, Andrew Fairfowl, and James Hamilton, Belhaven's brother, minister of Cambusnethan. The short time that Mr

Sharp abode in Scotland, before they took their journey, he was most busy to advance his wicked and pernicious designs; what by preaching down the Covenant and the whole work of reformation, alleging that the Covenant bound us to nothing but to repent of it, and that all that had been done these twenty-three years was nothing but rebellion, &c.; what by travelling up and down to draw some honest ministers to his wicked ways and courses, offering them great benefices, bishops' places and honours. Besides those that he spoke with in Lothian, in some few days he spoke with sundry in Fife, viz., with Messrs William Rait, Patrick Scougal, John M'Gill, William Colin, James Wood, &c. None of them spoke so honestly and stoutly to him as Mr James Wood and Mr John M'Gill, disdaining his sinful baits, though he told them that the King remembered them, and had a mind to prefer them to great honours and riches if they themselves did not hinder their own preferment.

But Mr Sharp's greatest spleen was against Mr Blair, as the man that was sitting in his seat, which he had prepared for himself, thinking with himself that he could not have that respect, or carry on his designs as bishop of St Andrews, if Mr Blair continued minister there, fearing that his words in opposition to his designs would have more weight with that people than any thing he could speak to the contrary; yea his malice and revenge, to the which his pride prompted him against Mr Blair, was so great, that not only to Mr David Forret but to all of the Presbytery to whom he had spoken, viz., Messrs James Wood, Alexander Edward,* Walter Comrie,† he did vent his wicked and devilish designs against Mr Blair, saying that Mr Blair should be made to answer for what he had preached against the King's laws, proclamations, &c. And as he threatened, so he brought it to pass; for Mr Blair, perceiv-

* Mr Alexander Edward was admitted minister of Deninno, October 13, 1652; conformed to Prelacy 1662; was translated to Crail, August 5, 1653; and died May 7, 1684.—*Selections from Minutes of Synod of Fife*, 204, 205.

† Mr Walter Comrie was inducted minister of St Leonards 1664, made Professor of Divinity in St Mary's College 1662, and admitted Principal October 23, 1666.—*Ibid.*, 213, 214.

ing that he could not long stay at St Andrews with a safe conscience, and having secretly spoken to his colleague, Mr Andrew Honeyman, that he, yea they both were too silent in a time of so great defection, he resolved to give a full and free testimony against the wicked courses of the time, and being preaching upon 1 Peter iii. 13, 14, &c., he moved the question, Whether suffering for Christ's kingly government of his own house (viz. Presbyterial government) was suffering for righteousness sake? He answered Affirmative; because suffering for the maintenance of Presbyterial government was suffering for the maintenance of the truth, and that according to our National and Solemn League, and Covenant, &c. In that sermon Mr Blair did give an ample and full testimony, first, bearing witness unto the truth, owning the Covenants and the whole work of Reformation; Secondly, bearing witness against the corrupt, wicked and sinful courses of this time of defection, apostacy, and national perjury. Immediately after this sermon and testimony of Mr Blair's, one Mr William Barclay* (who was deposed from the ministry by the commission of the Kirk for complying with Montrose, &c.), went to Mr Sharp and informed him of all that Mr Blair had spoken. Mr Sharp never ceased until he obtained a letter from the Secret Council, written to the magistrates of St Andrews, commanding them to bring over to Edinburgh Mr Blair, to speak with the Chancellor, before the 9th of October, who was to signify to him the Council's mind concerning him. Mr Blair readily, yea cheerfully obeyed the Secret Council's order, and presented himself before the Chancellor October 9. The Chancellor had a discreet discourse to him, and in end desired him to stay in the town until he spoke with some of the Council. At this nick of time Messrs Sharp, Fairfowl and Hamilton came to Edinburgh to take their journey for London, there to be consecrated; the first two to be the two archbishops. But such was the vile dissimulation of *that* Sharp, (2 Chron. xxviii. 22†), that though

* Mr William Barclay was admitted minister of Falkland in 1635; deposed for malignancy 1644; restored 1664, and died about 1671.—*Selections from Minutes of Synod of Fife*, 222.

† "This is *that* King Ahaz."

he had threatened and procured Mr Blair to be challenged, he purged himself of it to some that spoke to him thereanent; yea he wrote to purge himself of it to some ministers to whom he had said that "Mr Blair should be made to answer for what he had spoken."

The three above-mentioned for several days were most secret and close with the Chancellor and Rothes in the Chancellor's closet, digging deep to hide their counsels; and so, thereafter, the three, (Mr Sharp having made it sure that Mr Blair should not return to St Andrews, the seat and rest that he had prepared for himself), took their journey for London in the end of October. In the meantime it was signified by the Chancellor to Mr Blair that he was rebuked for not committing him so soon as he came to Edinburgh, and that he behoved to attend the next council day, November 5; and that they were to call some witnesses against him, to depone what they heard him preach, &c. Mr Blair said he should spare the Council that labour, for he resolved to declare more of what he had preached than any witnesses could do. Yet, notwithstanding, Mr William Barclay (who was the informer against Mr Blair) and one Mr Andrew Bruce, humanist in the Old College, were called as witnesses, &c.

When the Council day came they appointed some noblemen and the King's Advocate to confer with Mr Blair, who posed him, whether he had from the pulpit asserted Presbyterial government to be *jure divino*. He answered that he wondered that they should ask such a question at him, whose opinion anent Presbyterial government was so well known, he having suffered so much for it; he said that he had preached that innumerable times. 2d, Whether he had asserted that suffering for maintenance of Presbyterial government was suffering for righteousness. Answered, Affirmative. 3dly, Whether he had prayed against Popery and rotten Prelacy. Answered, Affirmative. In end they hinted some things like a challenge for complying with Cromwell and the usurpers, and would have passed it; but Mr Blair did so clear and vindicate himself of compliance with the usurpers, that he made some of them present think shame of themselves, for indeed they had

grossly complied, especially the King's Advocate. This conference being reported to the Council November 7, they confined Mr Blair to his chamber in Edinburgh, discharging him to have any conference with any save his own wife and children that were in the town with him. Psalm, cxix. 161.*

Messrs Sharp, Fairfowl and Hamilton coming to London, found before them Mr Leighton, the degenerating son of worthy Mr Leighton, that had suffered so much by the tyranny of bishops in England about thirty-one years before, who, pretending insufficiency for the ministry, by people's not profiting by him, was then principal of the College of Edinburgh. He was designed to be Bishop of Dunblane and Dean of the Chapel Royal, as the King's chaplain in Scotland; and though he was by some cried up for peace and learning, and had pretended to love to lurk, living a single life; yea, had preached about the time of the King's restoration, against the pomp, pride and idleness of bishops, and their persecuting of godly ministers; yet by those that knew him well it was said, that he was never fixed in the point of Kirk government, counting it a thing indifferent, whether it was Independency, Presbytery, or Episcopacy; yea, it was then known that he was not only for Episcopacy, but for all the ceremonies. When the English bishops began to speak of the consecration of these four, first there was great dealing both by the bishops of England and Bishop Sydserff's friends, that Sydserff should be bishop of St Andrews. But Sharp (unwilling that that fattest morsel should be pulled out of his greedy, gaping mouth, though he should worry upon it) persuaded the King that, by reason of his old age, he was altogether unfit for that See, and for advancing the King's designs. Then the King desired to know what was the greatest rent next to the two archbishopricks, that it might be designed for Sydserff; which being the bishoprick of Orkney, the King willed that to be conferred upon him; but Hamilton went up in expectation of that See: and so the dogs were striving about the fat bones, though they

* "Princes have persecuted me without a cause; but my heart standeth in awe of thy word."

should get the curse of God with them. But, secondly, the great debate anent their consecration was this: The bishops of England, denying that Sharp and Leighton were lawfully ordained ministers, because ordained only by presbyters in the time of presbyterial government, required that they should be re-ordained by them before their consecration. Messrs Sharp and Leighton did a little stick at this demand of the English bishops, and did deal with the King that they should not be required to be re-ordained. But the English bishops resolving not to consecrate them unless they would submit to be re-ordained by them, and Sharp, determining with himself to have the fattest morsel, though upon any terms never so absurd and wicked, they both did at last submit to be re-ordained; but they would have it to be called only a confirmation of their former ordination. But in this how gross they were may appear by this, that the same thing being required of Bishop Spottiswood, about the year 1610, by the English bishops, when he was to be consecrated archbishop of Glasgow, he altogether refused it, saying that ere he renounced his ordination by being re-ordained, he would rather return to Scotland as he came; but after debate, the matter being referred to Bancroft, then archbishop of Canterbury, he decided it in favours of Spottiswood, affirming that ordination by the presbytery, without a bishop, behoved to be acknowledged as lawful and valid, otherwise the ordination of all ministers in the Reformed Kirks, where there were no bishops, would be annulled.

So these four (two of them, Sharp and Leighton, being re-ordained) were consecrated by English bishops about the midst of December. Upon the 20th of November the English Parliament sat down. Then the King had a speech to them, expressing his joy to see the Lords Spiritual again sitting in Parliament with the Temporal. He desired speedy courses to be taken for getting of monies, &c. About this time the Earl of Cassillis came home without any public place. The Commissioner and Crawford abide still at Court. The truly noble and honest Earl of Crawford, for his ingenuous honesty and honest ingenuity had many enemies.

It was feared by honest men that hardly would he keep his place long.

Immediately after the death of good, honest Mr George Thomson, (that zealous, sincere and faithful servant of Christ), the presbytery of Cupar and his parish dealt with Mr James Wood, provost of the Old College, patrons of that kirk, that he would present an honest young man, that he might be ordained before the bishops' downcoming. Mr James Wood presently presented Mr John Lentrone. His presentation carried that he had taken the oath of allegiance. The presbytery of Cupar made no doubt but the masters of the Old College permitted the young man to give his orthodox sense of that oath, seeing Mr Wood was the drawer up of that paper, wherein the Synod of Fife gave an orthodox sense of that oath, which being admitted, it was judged lawful to any honest man to take it; and so the young man was entered upon his trials. But the Secret Council, hearing of the haste that the presbytery of Cupar made to plant the kirk of Kilmany, began to speak of the stopping of the presbytery of Cupar, and inhibiting them to proceed, and taking to their consideration the planting of kirks, did emit a proclamation inhibiting presbyteries to ordain any ministers to vacant kirks as they would answer upon the contrary; seeing now some were consecrated bishops, to whom ordination did belong. This proclamation was about the middle of December. About this time honest men feared that the Secret Council (so mad were they to advance the bishops and their designs, though it was told them both in secret conferences and from pulpits, that they would trample upon them as bishops did in former times) would enjoin the superstitious keeping of Yule day, and that the Lords of the Session would have their Yule vacance, &c.

All this while Mr Blair continues under his restraint, according to the Council's order, the Council never speaking a word of him. The King's Advocate told to some that he had drawn up a libel against him; but it was thought nothing would be done against him until Bishop Sharp's downcoming, he having gained one

thing especially desired by him, viz. his removal from St Andrews, that the seat might be empty for the Bishop, who thought he could not have room enough if Mr Blair were there. Sharp's wife came to St Andrew's about the 10th of December (for he having prepared that seat for himself, took a lodging in St Andrews before he went to London), accompanied with about forty horsemen.

In the end of November the King was married with Queen Catharine of Portugal, being a Papist, by a proxy. He wrote a letter to the Secret Council, desiring them to require all ministers in their public prayers to pray for his Queen Catharine, his mother Mary, and his brother the Duke of York; which the Council commanded to be done by open proclamation, and thereafter sent letters to the several Presbyteries for that effect; all which ministers cordially obeyed.

When the form and manner of the Scots Bishops' consecration was published it was palpably seen to be most superstitious and idolatrous, with bowing and kneeling before the altar, and receiving the communion kneeling before the altar, and thereafter offering their gifts upon the altar. But what will not men of corrupt principles do to gain their corrupt and wicked ends, being once engaged and driven on by the devil?

In the beginning of January 1662, Mr Blair gave in a supplication to the Secret Council for taking off his close restraint, and for liberty to retire to some place of the country for his health; which by reason of the want of air and exercise was wholly prostrate, so that he was forced to seek liberty for physicians to repair to him, who advised him to give in the said supplication, they subscribing a testimony of his sickness threatning death if he should continue so restrained. His supplication was granted, January 2, and he confined to the parish of Musselburgh. So about January 12, Mr Blair retired and dwelt in a house in Inveresk, which was judged the most wholesome air in that parish. After he came to the country his health grew much better, and he took himself to his book again, continuing his writing upon the

Proverbs, which was thus occasioned:—One of the General Assemblies, before the controverted Assemblies, appointed a committee for dividing the whole bible among the godly learned ministers of Scotland, that they might write annotations thereon, as Messrs Dickson and Hutchison had done on Matthew, Psalms, the smaller Prophets, &c. That committee assigned the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes for Mr Blair's part of the bible. Mr Blair, not being a member of that Assembly, when it was made known to him by Mr Dickson (who was the first contriver and great promoter of that good work) what was his part assigned to him by the General Assembly, was not well pleased that they had appointed him to write on these books; for though they judged that portion of Scripture suitable to his wise, prudent, moderate, and calm spirit, yet he himself was more desirous of some other portion of Scripture, wherein there was more of the everlasting gospel, well ordered and everlasting covenant, and of the mysteries of the new covenant, such as the Prophesies of Isaiah, or some of the gospels or epistles; for Mr Blair was then judged to be in his own element when he was preaching, speaking, or writing on the mysteries of the New Covenant. That subject was most suitable to his holy, heavenly, spiritual, and gospel spirit; so that, for some space of time, not being pleased with the portion assigned to him, he took no more notice of it than of any other part of Scripture, until Mr Dickson, after he had often written to him, did, in the name of the General Assembly, in a manner command him to accept of the portion assigned to him, which moved Mr Blair to resolve to lecture upon the book of the Proverbs, with a resolution to print the sum of these lectures; but he had only come the length of the 10th chapter in his lecturing upon the Proverbs, when Sharp procured and obtained him to be removed out of St Andrews *ut supra*. Now Mr Blair having entered upon that good work, (though he delighted more, and thought he was rather called to enlarge the kingdom of Christ by preaching the everlasting and new Covenant, by praying and conference with tempted, tossed, and experienced Christians, than by writing and publishing of books to

the world), set himself to continue it now in his confinement, being hindered from public preaching and praying.*

In the beginning of this year, the King wrote to the Secret Council, commanding them by open proclamation to inhibit all Kirk judicatories, until they should be authorised and ordered by the Bishops, &c. Some of the Council who were most moderate, or any ways friends to religion, thought it hard to forbid all Kirk judicatories and cast all loose, but nothing could be heard but the King's commands must be obeyed. So, January 9, the proclamation was to this purpose: The government now being changed to the ancient lawful government by Archbishops, Bishops, &c., the Kirk judicatories had no power or authority, and, therefore, they were inhibit to meet either in Synods, Presbyteries or Sessions, until they should be authorised and ordered by the bishops, which would be speedily, some of them being already consecrated, who were to repair to this kingdom shortly, whom the King commanded to be received with all tokens and testimonies of respect and honour, and discharging all to speak against them, or their place, authority, or calling, or to preach, write, or print any thing against them. Now the whole hedge is pulled down, Ps. lxxx. 12-16.

Notwithstanding of the prohibition in the end of the proclamation, there were very many satires made against the bishops, especially against Sharp and Leighton, and indeed it was very problematic, whether the one was more treacherous and Judas-like, or the other more hypocritical and dissembling.

About the beginning of April, many ministers that were Episcopal, and those that were to be consecrated bishops by the four consecrated at London, did repair to Edinburgh to congratulate the bishops' arrival thither; and so, upon the 8th of April, the bishops came to Edinburgh. The magistrates of Edinburgh commanded

* Blair completed that work, but it has never been published. "His son," [Mr David Blair], says Wodrow, "likewise told me that he had his father's commentary on the Proverbs revised and corrected for the press. But it was not printed, because of one passage in it which did not satisfy some who had it among their hands."—*Note of Wodrow, added to the continuation of Blair's life by his son, Mr James Blair.*

many of the towns people to go out and meet them. Also many gentlemen and others went out, so that they came in with a great train, and were feasted in the Abbey by the Commissioner's lady, (Crawford and the Commissioner being yet detained at Court), with sundry noblemen. Leighton had come to Newbottle some days before privately, who coming to Edinburgh, desired that the chapel royal might be repaired, that therein he might officiate as dean of the chapel; for now, he being unmasked, declared himself to be for the English liturgy, and all the English Popish ceremonies; yea it was suspected that he was Popish and Jesuited. Certain it was, that he had too great a latitude of charity towards the Papists, affirming that there were more holy men in the cloisters of Italy and France, praying against the Covenant, than there were in Britain praying for it. *

On the Sabbath after the bishops' coming to Edinburgh, Mr Murdoch Mackenzie and Leighton preached in Mr Robert Lawrie's kirk, he having declared himself to be Episcopal. All the rest of the town ministers, continuing constant and honest, kept their own kirks and preached honestly and freely. Mr Mackenzie was to be one of the fourteen bishops.

The 4th of May being the Lord's day, was appointed for the consecration of the rest of the bishops. Thereafter, immediately, the Parliament was to sit down, and all the bishops to sit in it. After the rising of the Parliament, they were to convocate their

* "By many" says Wodrow, "he was judged void of any doctrinal principles; and his close correspondence with some of his relations at Douay, in Popish orders, made him suspected, as very much indifferent to all persuasions which bear the name of Christian." Leighton's soundness in the faith can hardly be questioned by those who are acquainted with his *Prelectiones Theologicæ*, and his commentary on Peter. The real truth seems to have been, that he became enamoured with the system of the Jansenists, during his sojourn on the continent; and, indeed, in his writings, as in his life, there was a very decided leaning to the asceticism of the Jansenist school. We might refer, as a striking evidence of this, to his "Rules and Instructions for a Holy Life," the very phraseology of which is borrowed from the Romish devotees. Burnet informs us, that, "Leighton sometimes went over to Flanders, to see what he could find in the several orders of the Church of Rome. There he found some of Jansenius's followers, who seemed to be men of extraordinary tempers, and studied to bring things, if possible, to the purity and simplicity of the primitive ages. *on all which, his thoughts were much fixed.*"

Synods or rather Diocesan Courts, and settle the government in another way than before.

April 15, the Prelate Sharp came to Leslie. The Earl of Rothes wrote to many gentlemen and towns in Fife, to meet him at sundry places, to convey the Prelate to St Andrews, so that he entered St Andrews with a great train, though sundry gentlemen and burgesses that were written to came not. April 18, he sent a commission to Mr James Wood and Mr Andrew Honeyman, discharging them to pray in public, as they used to do, for Mr Blair; being especially offended that they prayed for his return to that place, and commanding them to pray for the government now established. Mr Wood replied, that he had the word of God for his directory in praying and preaching, and would take orders neither from him nor any man in these things; but Mr Andrew Honeyman said that he would study to discharge his duty in the most inoffensive way.

The Sabbath following, the Prelate preached before noon, on 1 Cor. ii. 2. He began with a large vindication of himself; that he had not advised the King to the changing of the government, that he had not sought that place to himself, that he was ever in his judgment for Episcopacy and the ceremonies, &c. Mr Andrew Honeyman preached in the afternoon, like himself, very cunningly and fox-like, and yet let out flirts against honest men, but did not pray for Mr Blair; and as for the government, he prayed, "Lord, sanctify this present dispensation of providence;" as if the pest had come to St Andrews; and, indeed, it was the worst pest that had come there these hundred years.

That Sabbath Mr Wood was not in St Andrews. Before the next Sabbath, some that had spoken with the Prelate came to Mr Wood, earnestly dealing with him, not to preach in the Old College Kirk, but to content himself to abide Principal of that College, and not to offend the Bishop by preaching freely and honestly. Mr Wood replied, that when he entered to the New College, he was lawfully called to the ministry in that city as well as any of the town ministers, and, therefore, as long as he had liberty and

was not violently hindered, he would preach in that kirk, and in the Town Kirk also, and speak what he judged to be the truth of God, according to his commission from Jesus Christ. And so the next Sabbath, April 27, Mr Wood preached before noon in the Old College Kirk, and Mr Andrew Honeyman in the Town Kirk, but Mr Honeyman quit lecturing. In the afternoon, Mr Wood preached in the Town Kirk, and both prayed for Mr Blair and against Episcopal government. That Sabbath the Prelate came not to the kirk. It was reported that he was taking physic. Sundry rotten-hearted and Episcopal ministers came from the north to St Andrews to visit the Prelate; some also in Fife came; so in this trying time the secrets of men's hearts were disclosed.

April 30, the Prelate returned again to Edinburgh. He rode out of St Andrews with fifty horses. O the vain pomp and godless glory of proud Prelates! The Earl of Weems met him with a great train, and accompanied and conveyed him to Burntisland. Such fools were our temporising, rotten-hearted nobles, flattering and fawning upon them that were to tread on their necks.

The consecration of the bishops was put off to May 6, the Commissioner (who was *sine qua non*, in all these execrable consecrations) not being yet returned from Court, who, upon May 4, being the Lord's day, entered Edinburgh with many cannon shot; and seeing he stood not to profane the Sabbath by travelling, neither did they, by pastime and finding their own pleasure. But these are but peccadillos to such men, prelates and profane courtiers, that have sold themselves to do wickedly; and, indeed, that man Middleton was raised up of God to work wickedness, and frame mischief by a law.

The consecration of the Prelates was again put off to May 7; and then there were six consecrated:—Messrs Patrick Forbes,* prelate of Caithness; John Paterson, of Ross; Murdoch Mackenzie, †

* Mr Patrick Forbes was son of the famous Mr John Forbes, minister of Alford, in Aberdeenshire, who had been banished on account of the Assembly held at Aberdeen in July 1605. He possessed the see of Caithness until his death, which took place in 1680.—*Keith's Scottish Bishops*, 218.

† Previous to his elevation to the Bishopric of Murray, Mackenzie was minister of Elgin.

of Murray; David Strachan, of Brechin; George Halliburton, of Dunkeld; and Robert Wallace, of the Isles.* The consecrators were the two Archprelates and the Prelate of Galloway, Hamilton. The first two were in their pontificals, with their lawn sleeves, rochet, surplice and tippet. One Dr Gordon preached at the consecration. His sermon was neither liked by the Prelates nor the nobles that countenanced that clagged devotion. They made use of the Book of Ordination and Service Book, and when they laid on their hands, &c., they said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." Some Episcopal ministers from Fife countenanced that cursed consecration. But Prelate Leighton was not present. He went to Dunblane, his diocese, and convened several ministers, and proposed some demands to them, all which they refused. But he carrying like a pawky prelate, refused the title of lord, or to take place of gentlemen; neither did he sit down in Parliament, May 8, (at the opening of which session of Parliament Mr George Halliburton, Prelate of Dunkeld, preached) as all the rest of the Prelates did.†

About this time, all the English soldiers that were still kept in the citadels (for they were retained over the heads of honest men even until this time, until the Prelates were seated in their saddle) were convened, and shipped in Leith Roads, with Morgan their commander, and sent for the aid of Portugal against the King of Spain.

About that same time, news came of the Queen's safe arrival to England from Portugal. Upon the occasion of these good news, the Commissioner and Chancellor sent for the Provost of Edinburgh, and desired that there might be some solemnity to testify their joy, by preaching in the Great Kirk in the forenoon, and bon-

* Mr Robert Wallace was for some time minister at Barnwell, in the shire of Ayr. He died bishop of the Isles in 1675.—*Ibid.*, 310.

† "He" (Leighton) "hated all the appearances of vanity. He would not have the title of lord given him by his friends, and was not easy when others forced it on him. In this, I always thought him too stiff: it provoked the other bishops, and looked like singularity and affectation, and furnished those that were prejudiced against him, with a specious appearance, to represent him as a man of odd notions and practices."—*Burnet, History of his own Times*, i. 205.

fires afternoon, &c. The Town-Council convening, they appointed Mr Douglas to preach. Upon the report of the news, and that Mr Douglas was to preach, there flocked great multitudes to the kirk; but a little before the ringing of the last bell, came Prelate Sharp to the Commissioner, (who, with the Chancellor and other nobles, were to be hearers), saying, with great fury and indignation, "Who dare appoint any man to preach at this time?" The Commissioner replied, "Since ye will have no preaching, there shall be none; but if my master may appoint any to preach, I may do it." So Mr Douglas was by the Commissioner discharged to preach, even when he was going to the kirk; and so the multitude of all ranks of people convened were disappointed. Another instance of that Sharp's prelatic presumption was, that immediately after he came from St Andrews to Edinburgh, he procured an order from the Commissioner, discharging Mr James Wood to preach any longer in the Old College Kirk. His wicked design in that was palpable, for Mr Wood being discharged preaching there, and the places in the town filled, Mr Wood was sheeled out of the ministry at St Andrews.

A little before this time, some ministers in the west, viz., Messrs William Adair, Alexander Nisbet, Matthew Mowat, John Carstairs, James Nasmith, Alexander Blair, John Nevay, James Rowat, and David Veitch,* were sent for by the Chancellor. After they had spoken with the Chancellor, he told them that the Parliament had some things to lay to their charge, and desired them to keep their chambers until they were called for. In the

* Mr William Adair was minister of Ayr. In Wodrow's List of the Nonconforming Ministers he is marked as confined to his parish. He afterwards became indulged minister at Ayr; but, some time before his death, he had been prohibited from preaching for not taking the test. He died February 11, 1684.—*M'Crie's Memoirs of Veitch, &c.*, 11. Mr Alexander Nisbet was minister of Irvine. (*Wodrow's History*, i. 327.) Mr Matthew Mowat was minister of Kilmarnock. He was a man of eminent piety. "I am greatly in love," says Rutherford, in one of his letters, "with Mr Matthew Mowat, for I see him really stamped with the image of God." Mr Alexander Blair was minister of Galston; and Mr James Rowat of Kilmarnock. Mr David Veitch was minister of Govan. He died on the 1st of July 1658, after labouring about four or five years in that parish, being then about the twenty-fifth year of his age. For some particulars respecting him, see *M'Crie's Memoirs of Veitch, &c.*, 14-18.

end of May they were brought before the Lords of the Articles, who tendered the Oath of Allegiance to them. The ministers said they were willing to take that oath, providing they would permit them to give their sense of it; and so they gave in to the Lords of the Articles, under their hands, an orthodox sense of that oath, which Primate Usher put upon it, and which the last Synod of Fife gave of it; but the Lords would not permit them to give any sense of it; neither would they receive any paper from them, but urged them to take the oath *in terminis*, as tendered to them. Then the ministers desired the Lords to give their sense of it, which likewise they refused; whereupon Prelate Leighton (who before that time had neither been in Parliament nor with the Lords of the Articles) spoke in favour of the ministers, saying, "These men have been misrepresented to be of unsound principles; but now I find them, upon a sound principle, acknowledging the King's lawful supremacy; and ought to be cherished and embraced; for they acknowledge his Majesty to be supreme civil governor, &c.; and in this sense the King himself acknowledges the oath, for he must either be supreme, civil, or ecclesiastic governor; but this last he is not; *ergo*, only civil he must be." But while he was thus debating, the Commissioner alleged he had no place to speak in that judicature, because he had not taken the oath himself. He replied he had taken it, though not as a member of Parliament; for he minded not to come to Parliament, but when they were about Church affairs; "neither had I (said he) been here to-day, were it not that I understood you were to be about Church affairs, and that which concerns ministers. But, however, I am ready to take the oath, but in that orthodox sense given by these honest men." Prelate Sharp alleged that he had been too bold and rash, to speak and debate in that question before he had asked liberty. But nothing could be heard that was spoken in favours of the ministers, and so six of them were commanded to be kept close prisoners in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. Some thought well of Leighton's reasoning in their behalf, others thought he spoke so from a Popish principle; for, in his sense, the Papists that were

members of Parliament took the Oath of Allegiance; yea, at this time all the Papists of the kingdom began to gather hopes that Popery would now again get footing in Scotland, which indeed was very much to be feared. But as concerning Leighton, it was difficult what to judge of his actings or sayings, he carried so smoothly among the ministers of his diocese. He preached in Edinburgh, June 1, the Sabbath after the imprisonment of the six ministers, and offended all the Prelates that were hearers. He spoke against their ways and courses, and desired them to consider 1 Peter, v. 2, 3.

In the end of May, the Parliament of England was adjourned, having laid on great taxes and impositions to increase the King's treasures, fearing foreign invasion.

In the latter end of May, Prelate Sharp returned to St Andrews for the consecration of Mr George Wishart and David Mitchell, and with him Halliburton and Mackenzie, Prelates of Dunkeld and Murray. June 1, being the Lord's day, Mr Andrew Honeyman preached before noon, and highly offended the Prelates, especially Sharp, first, because he lectured; secondly, because he preached against all the ceremonies of the Kirk of England. The truth was, Mr Andrew Honeyman all this while was wrestling with his conscience; for what he did, in complying with the Prelates and their courses, was against his light, having often, lately before, preached and prayed against Prelacy, averring that it was a weed that God never planted, and that holiness never throve under the shadow of it—praying the Lord to root it out, &c.; but fain would he, if it had been possible, 'have' pleased both parties.

June 3, at the consecration, one Keith, a young man, preached to the great grief of all honest people there. Mr Honeyman was so displeased with his sermon, that, immediately after sermon, he went out of the kirk, as seemed thereby to testify his dislike of the sermon, and to absent himself from the consecration, but, being called for by the Archprelate, came in again before their work was finished, and again went out, minding to absent himself from their feast; but he being searched out, was found and

brought to that cursed feast. Wishart (who formerly was in Mr Honeyman's place) was consecrated Prelate of Edinburgh, and Mitchell of Aberdeen. Now only there lacked one for Argyle, who was to be consecrated at Glasgow.

All the Prelates returned to Edinburgh, the Parliament being to sit June 6. All this while the truly noble and honest Earl of Crawford stays at Court with the King, which he judged to be his best and safest course, knowing how matters were to be carried in this black Parliament; for after that he, as Treasurer, had gained his point in the matter of the excise over the Commissioner's belly, he and others, his enemies, were enraged against him, and in spleen against him, especially devised this plot, that there should be an abjuration of the Covenants pressed by the Parliament, and likewise, that all that had been active in carrying on the work of reformation, since the 1638 year, should be fined; and so his enemies did as Daniel's—because they could find no accusation against him concerning the kingdom, because of his faithfulness, sought occasion against him concerning the law of his God, Daniel, vi. 4, 5. Crawford, hearing of their plot, went to the King, and shewed him the inconveniences both of the one and other, especially what an absurd thing it was, to press upon those that had taken the Covenant an abjuration of it; whereupon the King promised to him that it should not be urged. But his enemies, having intelligence of what had passed betwixt the King and him, assumed to themselves the Duke of York and Hyde, and made a fresh assault upon the King, and left him not until they got it under his hand, that it should be pressed upon all by virtue of an Act of Parliament. This being done, the Treasurer begged of the King to have leave to stay with his Majesty at Court, that he might not be pressed to go to the Parliament, foreseeing how matters were to be carried there.

Shortly after the Parliament convened, all means were used by Crawford's enemies to get him from Court to the Parliament; but notwithstanding, not only he, but Duke Hamilton, Lauderdale, and others abode at Court. Much was spoken about that abjura-

tion of the Covenants, many profane noblemen and others being bent for it; others would have it a Declaration against the Covenants, which in effect was equivalent; others reported that the King had written down to the Commissioner, discharging any such thing. But, in this hour and power of darkness, the Prelates are busy (as the devil in his diocese) to get all things enacted in this Parliament for establishing of them, their honours and revenues, and for rooting out Presbyterial government and honest men out of their places, unless they will conform to them and their sinful ways; for this was their course they intended to take, to cause the Parliament do all, and so to persecute ministers and honest professors, which, alas! this profane and prelate-pleasing Parliament was too ready to do; for, in the end of May and beginning of June, two acts were concluded by the Lords of the Articles, who did all. The first was, that all kirks planted since 1649, should be declared vacant, unless they were presented by the patrons, and got collation from the Prelates before the 20th of September. The pretext was, because the Parliament 1649 abolished patronages, putting the power in the hands of the people and Presbytery; and so they judged these ministers admitted by Presbyteries, but not presented by the patrons, to have been illegally entered; therefore behoved to be presented by the respective patrons, and receive collation from the Prelates, and so conform to them. Also they declared all kirks planted since 1638 year, whereof bishops were patrons, vacant, unless they were presented by the Bishops, and received collations before the 29th of September; laying their account either to put out many godly, learned ministers opposite to them and their ways, or to force them to conform to them. Also it was enacted, that no minister should employ any for his help at the celebration of the Communion, but such as were allowed by the Prelate of the diocese, fearing lest honest men's meeting, preaching, and exhorting at Communions would hold on people in ways opposite to their wicked designs, and strengthen honest ministers' hands to continue stedfast in their good course; and so, by all means and ways,

they strove to fix their own stake sure, that it should never be moved, &c.

About the middle of June the Parliament sent up to the King my Lord Tarbet. That which was given out to be his commission was this:—The Parliament intending to fine a very great number of persons, with him sent up a list of them to the King, to know his pleasure in the business. At the same time, the Commissioner commanded some of the Lifeguard to bring in unto Edinburgh some ministers in Galloway, because they had not kept the 29th of May, and did keep their Presbyterial meetings since they were discharged. The report of this coming to the ministers they retired from their houses and lurked, so they were not found. Of the six ministers prisoners in the Tolbooth, one of them, viz., Mr John Carstairs falling sick, upon the earnest supplication of his friends and Dr Cunningham's attestation, he got liberty to come out to his chamber in the town. The other five, viz., Messrs James Nasmith, Matthew Mowat, Alexander Blair, James Rowat, and David Veitch, being called for by the Lords of the Articles, and required to take the oath *in terminis*, they still declared their willingness to take it, with the declaration and explanation, which they gave in, subscribed, viz.:—"We, undersubscribers, being commanded on Monday last by the Lord Commissioner, his Grace, and the Honourable Lords of the Articles, to take the oath of allegiance, do, from the sense we have of our duty, which lieth on all his Majesty's subjects, and more eminently and exemplarly on the ministers of the gospel, in all ingenuity and plainness, upon every occasion to declare their loyalty to his Majesty, our dread Sovereign, and, in obedience to their Lordships' commands, heartily and cheerfully acknowledge that his Majesty is the only lawful supreme governor under God within this kingdom, and that his sovereignty reaches all persons and all causes, as well ecclesiastic as civil, having them both for its object, albeit it be in its own nature only civil and extrinsic as to causes ecclesiastic. All which we are most willing, in testimony of our loyalty, to declare upon our most solemn oath; and, accordingly,

upon that same oath, in the foresaid sense do declare, that in testimony of our faithful obedience unto our most gracious and undoubted Sovereign, Charles, King of Great Britain, &c., Defender of the Faith, we do acknowledge his Majesty, our said sovereign, to be only supreme governor in this kingdom, over all persons, and in all causes, and that no foreign prince, power, state, or person, civil or ecclesiastic, has any jurisdiction, power, or superiority over the same; and therefore we do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign judicatories, powers and authorities, and shall with our utmost power defend, assist, and maintain his Majesty's jurisdiction foresaid, and never decline this his Majesty's power and jurisdiction, as we shall answer to God. Subscribed at Edinburgh, May 28, 1662."

They still refusing to take the oath without this declaration and explanation formerly given in and subscribed by them, the Lords of the Articles passed a sudden sentence against them, that they should be banished the King's dominions, within a short time, which was referred to the Commissioner's pleasure. The ministers being surprised with this sudden severe sentence, some of them, viz., Messrs Nasmith and Blair, did plead for mitigation of it, they being free of the Remonstrance, Machline Moor business, &c., only being required to take the oath of allegiance, telling them in what sense they took it, which, as they understood, was the sense wherein the Parliament had taken it. They yet required fourteen days' time to deliberate anent the oath; and so they were all again commanded to close prison, and to June 24, given them to advise with the oath. When this time was expired all of them refused to take the oath, otherwise than they had offered before, which made appear that their desiring some space of time was only done of purpose to drift time, that in the meantime the fever and heat of spirit of the Lords might be allayed, the King possibly might be advertised, &c., or, if not, they might have space to prepare themselves for banishment. But while they are thus busied about these ministers' banishment, or what to do with them, (for it was thought that they repented that sudden sentence, seeing none of

them had yielded in the least) another civil business fell out, which they judged of greater importance, anent an intercepted letter of my Lord Lorn to Duffus, wherein Lorn reflected upon the Parliament; which occasioned the five ministers imprisoned to be set at liberty; only they were desired to stay in the town until they were called for. Mr Carstairs got liberty to live at Dalkeith for his health; others of them got liberty to retire to the country or their own houses until they were called for. Thereafter the Parliament adjourned for fourteen days, they having laid on five months' cess, to be paid within the space of some few days, &c.

The Archprelate came to St Andrews, June 30, and preached the Sabbath following, with prelatical pride and sinful passion railing most bitterly against Mr Wood for his honest preaching in that place. At this time he tendered the oath of allegiance to the masters of the university. All of them took it except Mr William Campbell, a regent in the Old College. The Prelate returned to Edinburgh against the diet of the down-sitting of the Parliament.

About this time Mr David Flesher was consecrated bishop of Argyle, by the Archprelate Fairfowl, in Glasgow. The consecration sermon was on our Lord's words to Peter, "Feed my sheep;" which occasioned a drolling gentleman, Belltrees, at the consecration feast to break a jest upon the preacher for choosing an impertinent text; "for," said he, "the *flesher* was not to feed but to kill the sheep, when they come into his hands." So now the number of the fourteen Prelates is made up, and their work now is to prick up this prelate-pleasing Parliament, to make acts for obedience to them and their wicked devices and courses. Therefore because they feared that many of their dioceses would not come to their Diocesan Synods, they put the Parliament on to make an act that whosoever should not come to the Bishops' Synods which were to be convocated shortly, they should, for the first time, be suspended from their office and benefice, and if they amended not thereafter, they should be deposed; also that no young men, chaplains, &c., should preach publicly but those that were allowed by their Ordinary, &c.; that none should teach a public school but those that

were so allowed; that none should preach, pray or speak against the government. These acts were published and printed. Others were spoken of among the Lords of the Articles, viz., that ministers at the giving of the communion should only employ their neighbouring ministers, one or at most two, and if any other were employed they should be allowed by their Ordinary, &c. This rescinding Parliament did also rescind the Act of Parliament 1592, allowing Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods and General Assemblies; which made it manifest that the new Prelates determined never to permit these Kirk judicatures again, condemning the former Prelates as simple, silly fools, that tolerated these; but they resolved, Pharaoh-like, to deal more wisely with us, Exod. i. 10.

Towards the latter end of July three of the ministers of Edinburgh, viz., Messrs James Hamilton, John Smith, and George Hutchison, being convened before the Town Council, were commanded to go to their Ordinary, the Bishop, and obey his commands; but apprehending what would be their answer, gave them eight days to advise upon an answer. The ministers departed, and, in the meantime, in their sermons, took leave of their people. They being again called by the Town Council, and refusing to obey what was enjoined them, were referred to the Parliament. All the ministers of Edinburgh, except Mr Robert Laurie, were unanimously resolved not to conform. Mr Douglas before this time was put from the Great Kirk, and ordained to preach in the Greyfriars. Mr Trail lurked, &c.

My Lord Tarbet now was expected, the Parliament doing little, either in the matter of fining or Lorn's business, (who appearing before the Parliament, and owning his letter to Duffus, and subscribing it in face of Parliament, was committed prisoner in the Castle of Edinburgh), or anent the ministers waiting to hear what was the King's pleasure in all these affairs. August 5, my Lord Tarbet came to Edinburgh. August 7, the Parliament sat down again. The three ministers of Edinburgh are silenced and discharged preaching in Edinburgh; but the time of their removing from Edinburgh, or their confinement was referred to the commis-

sioner. The King's Advocate is commanded to prepare a libel against my Lord Lorn. Also somewhat was spoken anent the appointing of a Committee for drawing up of an act of indemnity.

It was reported that the King had absolutely referred the Lord Lorn to the Parliament, and that he had taken many out of the roll of them that were to be fined, and restricted the Parliament as to others; and others he referred to them to be dealt with as they thought fit.

All this while the Treasurer abides at Court, notwithstanding of his enemies' plots and designs to have him down, that they might break him. The Commissioner likewise had evil against Lauderdale, and spared not to vent his spleen against him in particular, saying that he was glad that Lauderdale appeared now in his own colours, when he became bail for a traitor—he having become bail for Lorn's appearance before the Parliament; so that he designed not only to ruin Crawford, but Lauderdale, together with Argyle's family. The Lords of the Articles several times spoke of bringing Mr Blair (who all this while by-past lived at Inveresk, in this time of much outward trouble, and saddest overturnings and revolutions, enjoying much sweet inward peace, and often fervently praying for the King) upon the stage again; but the Lord ever stirred up some to speak for him, and sometimes they were so busied about others, that they still delayed to do any thing in reference to Mr Blair.

About the beginning of August, the Queen-mother came again to England with a natural son * of our King's, who was to be married to the Countess of Buccleuch,—so that now there were two Popish Queens at Court, 'and' many Papists 'were' flocking into England out of France and Portugal. All this was matter of mourning to the people of God in both kingdoms.

In the latter end of July Mr Crofton,† imprisoned in the Tower

* James, Duke of Monmouth, whose mother was Lady Walters. He was born about ten years previous to the Restoration.

† Zachary Crofton was born at Dublin, where he received the principal part of his education. He came to England during the civil wars, and soon after obtained the living of Wrensbury in Cheshire. He was afterwards presented with the living of St

for his free preaching and printing for the Covenant, was set at liberty again.

All this while the honest ministers and people in Ireland suffer hard things, all the honest ministers (except some few that Dr Colville kept in) being deposed,* and base curates, that could neither say nor sing, put in their places; and the good people that refused to hear them read service were fined by the Prelates' officials. Few ministers conformed. The outed ministers still lurked in the country, being well beloved by the people.

August 11, the Archprelate came to St Andrews, and, before he returned to Edinburgh, he filled honest Mr Alexander Moncrieff's place, at Scoonie, by intruding Mr John Ramsay, a minister in Angus, upon that parish, none of the heritors countenancing the intrusion, save Durie, the avowed enemy of Mr Moncrieff. Also he planted Mr Alexander Stewart in the Kirk of Crail. August 16, the Prelate returned to Edinburgh again. While the Prelate was at St Andrews, Mr Wood was in Edinburgh, being written for to come over and speak with the Commissioner, who, at their first meeting, spoke very kindly to Mr Wood; but in end, he discharged him preaching during his pleasure, which Mr Wood promised to obey. So he returned to St Andrews, but did not

Botolph, Aldgate, in which he continued till he was ejected under the Act of Uniformity. Soon after the Restoration he engaged in a controversy respecting the obligation of the Solemn League and Covenant, for which he pleaded with so much zeal and freedom, that he provoked the indignation of the Court, and was committed prisoner to the Tower. He died in 1672. He was the author of various tracts on controversial subjects, and of some sermons.

* The number deposed in Ulster was sixty-one, being almost the whole of the Presbyterian ministers settled in that province. They were deposed by the bishops of their respective bounds in 1661. "These ministers," observes Dr Reid, "enjoyed the painful though honourable pre-eminence of being the first to suffer in the three kingdoms; the Nonconformists of England not being ejected till the month of August in the following year, nor the Presbyterians of Scotland till the subsequent month of October 1662." The reason assigned by the same writer for the prior ejection of the ministers in Ireland was this:—"The old form of Church government and worship had never been abolished by law in Ireland; and, therefore, at the Restoration, Prelacy being still the legal establishment, was immediately recognised and enforced. But both in England and in Scotland it had been abolished by acts of their respective Parliaments, and the Directory substituted in room of the Common Prayer Book. It was necessary, therefore, that these acts should be first repealed, and new Acts of Parliament

preach anywhere; so that now, where lately before there was greatest plenty, there is greatest penury of preachers and preaching, none preaching there but Mr Andrew Honeyman.

All this time by-past, the Prelates and Episcopal party in England carry things very high. The Parliament passed an Act of Conformity, wherein all ministers are urged to abjure the Covenant, and the lawfulness of defensive arms, and to practise all the ceremonies, &c., otherwise to enjoy no benefice in England; so that all ministers that refused to conform were thrust out. Many ministers in the city of London there were that refused to conform. The city of London supplicate the King that the Act of Conformity should not be urged for a year, and that their ministers might have liberty to preach, promising to double their taxes that year. Also the unconform ministers in London humbly supplicate the King that they might not be urged with the Act of Conformity, and for liberty of preaching. The King referred these supplications to his Council, where the Prelates ruled all. So the supplications were refused, and the ministers commanded to obey the Parliament; so that there was a great outcry among the people, especially in the city of London; for upon one day,—viz., St Bartholomew's Day,—many hundreds of honest ministers were turned out.

The Lord Lorn, being often called before the Lords of the Articles and the Parliament, having liberty granted to him to make choice of his advocates to plead for him, he refused to make use of any; only he gave in a paper, wherein he declared that, by what he wrote in that letter, he neither meant the Commissioner, nor the Parliament, though he granted that he reflected upon some members of Parliament that were seeking the places that his father had, and his lands, and upon some other private enemies of his family. Yet, notwithstanding of his innocency, and of all that he had done and suffered for the King, and of his defences before the Parliament, in the latter end of August the Parliament pro-

passed, before the bishops had power to proceed against those who did not conform."—*Reid's History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, ii. 350.

nounced sentence of death against him; but as for the time of the execution of this sentence, it was referred to the King and Commissioner; and so the Lord Lorn was sent back again to the Castle of Edinburgh.

This summer there came down from England, to be a member of our Parliament, the Duke of Richmond, called in Scotland the Duke of Lennox. He was a most vicious and vile man,—a great whore-master, swearer, given to all kinds of profanity,—and yet he was a prime man, and ringleader in this the blackest Parliament that ever was in Scotland, (Is. xii. 8.)

And now, the great business that did take up the Parliament was—the Act of Indemnity, the fining of some persons, the excepting of some out of the Act of Indemnity, and the abjuration of the Covenants. As for this last, albeit when it was first mentioned, some leading men in the Parliament, viz., the Earl of Rothes, Sir John Gilmour, &c., abhorred it, yet they so charmed them, that they got it carried on, and at last concluded. There was a Committee appointed for imposing the fines. The Lord-Register named Mr Robert Blair to be fined, designing to get the gift of his fine, as he professed; and when some who befriended Mr Blair demanded the cause why he should be fined, the Register replied, "Because there were gross things deponed against him by two witnesses, under their hands and great oath," which depositions he caused to be read in the Committee of Fines, which the Committee referred to the Secret Council, who hearing these depositions read, the vile wicked men among them, (for now the wicked walked on every side when vile men were exalted), viz., the Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Dumfries, Lord Newburgh, &c., urged that he should be sent for, and imprisoned in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh before September 6. Mr Blair's enemies were many and great, his friends few and faint; and so the order was carried, that Mr Blair should be sent for presently, and imprisoned in Edinburgh Tolbooth. In pursuance of this vote, a messenger was sent out to Inveresk, where Mr Blair lived, and commanded to bring him in to Edinburgh, and an order was given to the magistrates of Edinburgh to keep

him prisoner in their Tolbooth. And now his enemies concluded him a lost man, and that no less should content them than his head; for that wicked duke had boasted that, ere he left Scotland, he should secure Blair's head.

In this mean time, Mr Blair enjoyed a sweet, inward calm peace, and spiritual heavenly security, often singing to God the seventy-first psalm, which he used to call *his* psalm; for while his enemies were plotting and speaking against him, as its 'said' verses 10, 11, he was praying to God, and trusting in God; (see verses 1-9;) and that God in whom he trusted, and to whom he prayed, did, by His own immediate hand and working, disappoint his enemies that thirsted for his blood; for, a little before the messenger came to Inveresk, to bring Mr Blair, according to his order, in to the prison-house of Edinburgh, the Lord laid His hand upon Mr Blair by a sore fit of the gravel, his familiar disease. He had some living pains of the gravel some weeks before, but on that Saturday morning before the messenger came to him, his pains were extreme and very violent. After the sight of the messenger's order, Mr Blair told him, he lying sick in his bed, that he was not able to travel; and while he and the messenger are debating, he called for the chalmer-pot, and passed some stones, which when the messenger saw, he thought he could not urge him farther. But the thing that made him the more willing to return without him was, Mr Oliver Coalt, minister of the place, wrote a testificate of his utter inability to travel, or to be carried; as also Mr Blair himself wrote a line to the Chancellor, promising that, if it were possible for him, he should come in the next Wednesday, September 10, which was to be a great Council day. As also, hearing that the Council had declared his place at St Andrews vacant, he resolved to send in to the Chancellor his presentation to that place, which was his legal right to his stipend. The testificate under Mr Oliver Coalt's hand was received, and approven by the Commissioner, Chancellor, and Rothes; but Mr Blair's friends, 'and' even the Chancellor, were not well pleased that he had engaged to come in to the next Council day, knowing the rage of these wicked men, his enemies, against him. However,

Mr Blair was minded to keep his promise if possibly he could; but the Lord, who many times had preserved him, and disappointed his enemies, again laid His hand upon him, September 10, so that he was sicker than before, insomuch that he sent for Dr Burnet, who wrote a testificate to the Council of his great sickness and utter inability; also Mr Oliver Coalt renewed his testificate. Thereafter, Mr Blair wrote to the Chancellor, that having heard that they had declared his place vacant, he, in token that he, as other honest ministers, submitted to that sentence, sent in his presentation to that place. The testificates were again allowed, and the former order given to the messenger recalled, so that Mr Blair is left in the same condition he was in when he was sent out to Inveresk. But the Council interpret Mr Blair's rendering up his presentation to the Chancellor a demitting of his place, so they expressed it in their act; but all discerning men see a vast difference betwixt demitting of a person's interest in their people and their charge,—which Mr Blair and all honest men judged unlawful,—and a person's rendering up any legal right to the stipend, which they could not enjoy; for it's one thing to demit their right to the stipend, and to demit their right to the people and their charge. But the Council were glad that Mr Blair had rendered up his presentation, and so they called it a demitting of his place; so that it was thought that the Prelate would presently fill his place before his ensuing Diocesan Assembly, which all Mr Blair's friends were glad of and desired, hoping that the Prelate would not farther trouble him.

About this time news came that the King had pardoned the Lord Lorn, and that he was to be set at liberty. As for the ministers against whom the Lords of the Articles had rashly pronounced a sentence of banishment, they were dismissed, and referred to their respective bishops. The rest of the ministers of Edinburgh, viz., Messrs Robert Douglas, Thomas Garvan, and Mr John Stirling, got liberty to preach to the 2d of October, with this proviso, that if they did not, before that day, go to their Ordinary and satisfy him, they should be silenced, and no more ministers of Edinburgh.

The 2d of October coming, and they not having gone to the Prelate, they are silenced, and commanded to leave Edinburgh before Martinmas ensuing; so that now there was no minister of Edinburgh but Mr Robert Laurie, now made Dean of Edinburgh. The first Sabbath of October, there was no preaching in all the kirks of Edinburgh, save two; so where there was greatest plenty, now there 'was the' greatest penury of the Word—even a famine of hearing the words of the Lord. As for Mr Robert Trail, though it was reported that he was gone over seas, yet he only lurked in Edinburgh; and the first time of his public appearing was at the celebration of the Communion in the South Queensferry, where he assisted in that work. Thereafter he supplicated the Commissioner that he might be in the same case with his colleagues, which was granted to him.

About this time also Mr Blair supplicated the Commissioner and Chancellor for liberty to retire to some other place, he not being well accommodated where he was. The Chancellor especially befriending him as much as he durst or could, he got liberty to go to any place to dwell, save Edinburgh, the west country, and the Presbytery of St Andrews; so he chose Kirkaldy for the place of his sojourning in this time of growing trouble and trials, whither some other outed ministers repaired.

The Parliament being adjourned, the Commissioner, and with him a quorum of the Secret Council went to Glasgow, and other parts of the west. At Glasgow, October 1st, they made an act and caused proclaim it to this purpose:—

"Whereas, there was an Act of Parliament ordaining ministers entered since 1649, to obtain presentations to their benefices from their patrons, and collations from the respective bishops, betwixt the date of the said act and the 20th of September, otherwise, their kirks to be declared vacant, &c., yet, notwithstanding, many ministers ordained since 1649, continue, since the 20th of September, to exercise the duties of their callings, they having neglected to get presentations from their patrons, and collations from their bishops; all which ministers are discharged any longer to exer-

cise any part of their ministerial callings, and all hearers and others discharged to acknowledge them as their ministers, and all heritors and others discharged to pay them any part of this present year's stipend, and they and their families are commanded to remove out of their parishes and Presbyteries, betwixt the date hereof and the first of November: Likewise, whereas there was an Act of Parliament for keeping of the 29th of May, &c., notwithstanding, some ministers have not observed the said act, it's ordered that all such ministers shall be punished by the want of their stipend this present year, and liable to other pains contained in the act."

This Erastian proclamation laid many kirks desolate through the kingdom; for, at the first report of it, all unconform ministers ordained or transplanted since 1649, did forbear preaching, and provided to remove themselves and their families according to the proclamation. The honest ministers were blamed by some for too sudden and ready obedience to this act at Glasgow before it was applied to every one severally, or they any ways distressed. But, considering how they were surprised, (not having liberty to meet and consult,) and how in such surprisals men's wits are not soon gathered; and, secondly, considering that the honest unconform ministers in England had given ready obedience to the like acts of their Parliament; and, thirdly, considering that the heritors and parishioners of the respective parishes advised their ministers to give obedience, declaring their intention to obey the act as to their part of it; all these things, I say, being considered, (together with what some ministers spoke when they took leave of their people,) may make their rigid censurers more mild and moderate in their judging of honest hearted ministers.

Albeit all meetings of ministers for consulting what to do in such troublesome times were discharged, so that there was no public avowed meetings, yet it pleased the Lord so to order matters, by private intelligences, and some brethren's meeting secretly, that all honest ministers in the Kirk of Scotland were unanimous in their judgment and harmonious in their practice; for after some

debates, it was resolved that no minister who was persuaded in his conscience of the *jus divinum* of Presbytery and sinfulness of Episcopacy, should repair to their Diocesan Courts or any of their judicatories, which are destructive of Presbyterial government, which by covenant we are obliged to maintain, and are essentially Prelatical, which by the same covenant we are sworn to extirpate and root out; yea, it was resolved that unconform ministers should not so much as repair to the place where their Diocesan Courts were to meet, because the command of the Secret Council in their proclamation was copulative to go to their meetings, and to attend and concur, and the going was only commanded in order to their attending and concurrence; so it was thought safest, and that which would give least offence, that unconform ministers should not go to the place of these meetings, so much the rather because it was known that Rothes was to be at the meeting at St Andrews, to command all who came to the place, in the King's name, to attend and concur with the Assembly, besides the Council's proclamation for keeping of the Diocesan Synods, and inflicting of punishments on those that obeyed not. The respective Prelates did summon all in their dioceses, commanding them to give obedience to the Council's proclamation, which was proclaimed, September 12.

The diets of the Diocesan meetings appointed by the Secret Council, to which all ministers were summoned by the Prelates, being come, all honest ministers absented themselves, which did not a little offend the Prelate at St Andrews. Of the Presbytery of St Andrews, at least fifteen were absent; of Cupar, ten; of Kirkaldie, seven; of Dunfermline, three, some of that Presbytery being in other dioceses. Few in Angus and Perth were absent, they, for the far greater part, being Episcopal. The names of the absents were taken up to be sent to the Secret Council, the next Council day, November 6. The Prelate laboured to persuade them that came that he was to innovate nothing, save only he declared it was the King's will that they should forbear lecturing, and only read Scripture to the people, and when it was inquired when any

hard place was read, if they might shortly give the sense of it, it was answered, No. Also he enjoined them to sing the doxology, "Glory to the Father," &c., and to say the Lord's prayer, and cause them that presented children to baptism repeat the creed; which last two were never laid aside by any act of the General Assembly, as the singing of the doxology and bowing in the pulpit were. In end, he named constant moderators in the several Presbyteries of his diocese. The Earl of Rothes came to St Andrews and heard the Prelate preach, but came not to the meeting. In his preaching, he spoke what he could against Presbyterian government, and the covenants, &c.

In the other Archprelate's meeting at Glasgow, there were only thirty-two present of above two hundered and forty ministers. He appointed a committee for censuring of insufficient, scandalous and seditious ministers, but did not refer the absents to the Council. None came to the meeting of the Prelate of Galloway, save his dean. The same was reported of the meeting of the Prelate of Argyle. Many ministers absented themselves from the meeting at Edinburgh. Few absented themselves from the northern Diocesan Courts.

Before the meeting of the Diocesan Court at St Andrews, October 1, the Prelate installed Mr Andrew Honeyman in the Archdean's office; which when a worthy man heard, he said, "O, Mr Andrew Honeyman! occidisti, possedisti!" meaning that he had first, as it were, killed Mr Blair, by informing against him, &c., and then possessed himself of his place and benefice, doubtless with an eye to the sixteen chalders of victual, spoken of p. 379, that shortly were to fall in to the Archdeanry.

But Leighton, that crafty Prelate of Dunblane, prevented [anticipated] the diet appointed by the Secret Council's proclamation, September 12, for the holding of his Diocesan Court. Convening his diocese shortly after the proclamation, after he had preached to them, he desired to know if they would elect a moderator, or if he should take the chair, and no man answering, he took their silence to be an allowing of him to moderate. He called no roll, and so took

no notice of absents, who were seven. All that he entreated of them was, that they would forbear lecturing,* and say the Lord's prayer, and forbear the use of the catechism, as too large, and above the capacities of the commons, promising to prescribe some form of catechism to them. These things he desired if they thought fit; if not, they might do as they pleased. He desired them to hold their Presbyteries and Sessions as before. These things he, as their brother, entreated of them, if they pleased. So he closed his Diocesan Assembly, and dined with them, offering to sit at the foot of the table. So it was thought by some to be a happiness to live in his diocese. Others thought he was but straking cream in their mouths at first.

But immediately before the adjournment of the Parliament their grand business was about the Act of Indemnity and fining of several persons, but especially about the excluding of some persons, excepting them out of the Act of Indemnity; and because the Commissioner's spleen was most against the Earls of Crawford and Lauderdale, he and a cabal with him, viz., Tarbet 'or' Cromarty,† Bell, Provost of Glasgow, &c., plotted that the Parliament should except twelve persons out of the Act of Indemnity, and declare them incapable of public trust; and so this cabal did deal with the leading men in every estate that Crawford and Lauderdale should be two of the twelve excepted persons. They devised a new way of voting who should be the twelve excepted persons, viz., every member of Parliament gave in a paper, wherein were twelve persons' names; all these billets, as they were called, were put into a bag; then the Parliament nominated eight persons, two of every estate, and commanded them to view all the papers,

* This must be a mistake. In his charge to the clergy, 1662, printed in his works, we find him exhorting them, "That, instead of lecturing and preaching *both at one meeting*, larger portions of the Holy Scriptures be constantly read;" and again, that "oftentime larger portions of Scripture be explained, and suitable instructions and exhortations thence deduced." This is what we would now, at least, term lecturing; and the Bishop himself has left behind him specimens of his own lectures on various portions of Scriptures, besides his well known commentary on First Peter, which is a beautiful style of lecturing.

† Sir George M'Kenzie of Tarbet, afterwards Earl of Cromarty.

and take notice of the twelve persons that had most votes and write them in a paper, destroying all the rest; but these eight persons were sworn not to reveal who were the twelve excepted persons, until the King were acquainted who they were; which being done, the Parliament was adjourned to May 1663. Now the Commissioner and his cabal, and other enemies to Crawford and Lauderdale, thought it sure that these two were among the twelve excepted persons. Wise men thought it strange that these men, so great friends to and sufferers for the King, should be excepted out of the Act of Indemnity, and rendered incapable of any public place or trust. Also before the Parliament adjourned they voted the renunciation or abjuration of the Covenants, and declared against defensive arms. So soon as Lauderdale got intelligence of their strange act of billets, and that he was one of the twelve excepted persons, he came to the King, and upon his knees desired that his Majesty would give him liberty to go over seas, seeing he was declared incapable to serve his Majesty, and that his Parliament in Scotland had excepted him out of the Act of Indemnity, &c.; whereat the King was exceeding wroth, saying, "Who durst attempt such a matter;" which made it appear that the King was not acquainted with their design against Crawford and Lauderdale. After this Crawford and Lauderdale were more in court and reputation with the King than before, and being wroth with the Commissioner, he did write to him with Tarbet (who was sent up to acquaint the King who were the twelve excepted persons) to come up to him with his first conveniency; but the Commissioner made no haste to Court, for he came not out of the west to Edinburgh until the last of October.

After the Prelates' Diocesan Courts, they having nominated constant moderators, for the several "precinct meetings," (so the Prelates called them, Presbyteries they were not, and should not be called so,) all the conform ministers (now commonly called "Curates," at the best "Conformists") did convene in their several precinct meetings. But there was at first some debate among unconform anti-Prelatic ministers; for though all judged it unlawful to keep Dio-

cesan Courts with them where the bishop was present, and did all by his sole power and jurisdiction, and which is a court constituted and made up of other persons than the Provincial Synods, viz. of all the ministers of the diocese, and where none has the freedom of a vote, but all come there to be censured—which court was devised to hold in the bishop's pains and travel in visiting all the kirks of his diocese every year, according to the canon law; yet some there were that pleaded that they might go to their precinct meetings, which the conformists still called Presbyteries, alleging the practice of unconform ministers in former times who never questioned the lawfulness of keeping these meetings. To whom it was answered, that our case and theirs in former times differed very wide; First, The King then did not set up bishops by virtue of his supremacy, but brought them in by kirk judicatories, though corrupted. Secondly, The King then did not discharge all kirk judicatories until they were anew authorised by the Prelates, and so other courts put in their place, but the judicatories continuing the Prelates intruded upon them, and usurped over them, therefore these honest unconform men resolved to hold what they could of these judicatories, and to keep their possession, still protesting against the intrusion and usurpation of bishops, and all innovations and corruptions, &c., the judicatories never being by the King or his Council discharged, or unconform ministers really disinabled to come to them, and to retain what they could of them. Thirdly, The King then did steal in the bishops, and made them intrude upon the standing judicatories *gradatim*, making them first commissioners to the Parliament to see *ne quid detrimenti ecclesia capiat;* then constant moderators; then bishops; then giving them high places in the estate, to be counsellors, extraordinary Lords of the Session; then giving them a High Commission, &c. Fourthly, Unconform ministers that were then deposed by the bishops (for none were deposed by the Parliament or Secret Council) were never hindered to preach publicly, wherever they got a call. And Lastly, The bishops then were more moderate, (especially Spottiswood) deposing but a few, and unconform minis-

ters that were not deposed were gently dealt with. But now the King by open proclamation, January 9, having discharged all Kirk judicatories, and the bishops being set up by his supremacy, and that *per saltum*, to the very height, at first authorising other judicatories in their place, of another nature, that were destructive of Presbyterial government, which all were sworn to maintain, honest ministers thought they could not countenance nor keep these meetings; so many honest ministers being already outed by the Parliament and Secret Council, and discharged public or private preaching. So in end it was concluded that they should not countenance these meetings.

The Secret Council meeting about the 6th of November, there was a cabal of them, (viz., the Commissioner, Chancellor, Register, the King's Advocate,* and the Archprelate Sharp), that sat in a close cabin council, plotting and contriving all things. Immediately thereafter summonses were issued out for sundry ministers to appear before the Secret Council; first for those six against whom they had formerly pronounced sentence of banishment; and besides these, for thirteen or fourteen others from the west, especially, and some from the north, viz., Messrs John Livingstone, John Nevay, William Guthrie, Andrew Cant, younger and elder,† George Meldrum of Aberdeen.‡ Also Mr Robert Trail was summoned to appear before them, &c. The Council pronounced a sentence of banishment against Mr Robert Trail, ordaining him to remove out of the King's dominions, within two months, under the pain of death; which sentence he subscribed before the Council. Also they pronounced a sentence of banishment against Mr John Livingstone,

* The King's Commissioner was the Earl of Middleton; the Chancellor, the Earl of Glencairn; the Clerk-Register, Sir Archibald Primrose; and the King's Advocate, Sir John Fletcher.

† Mr Andrew Cant, elder, has already been noticed, p. 185. Row appears to be mistaken in saying that Andrew Cant, younger, was at this time summoned to appear before a Council. It was Alexander, his brother, who was minister of a parish in the north. The former conformed to Prelacy, the latter did not.—*Wodrow's History*, i. 308.

‡ Mr George Meldrum at the Restoration was minister of Glass, in the Presbytery of Strathbogie. He afterwards became indulged minister at Kilwinning; and, subsequent to the Revolution, Professor of Divinity in the college of Edinburgh.

ordaining him within fifteen days to remove be-north Tay, and within two months out of the King's dominions. Also they pronounced the like sentence against others, viz., against Messrs John Nevay, James Simson, John Brown.* The rest of the ministers that were summoned were kept in process before them.

While the Council is thus dealing with ministers, the Prelate of Edinburgh is intruding some conformists in the places of the honest unconform ministers of Edinburgh; but O how unlike them! viz., Messrs Joshua Meldrum, transplanted from Kinghorn, John Robertson from Dysart,† and Archibald Turner from Northberwick,‡ and shortly after these, Mr John Paterson, Prelate Paterson's son. An honest man in Edinburgh, who was commanded to go north for him, coming to St Andrews for letters from the Prelate to him, broke his leg near St Andrews, and went no farther. Yet thereafter he was brought to Edinburgh, and one Mr Hannan. About this time Mr William Colinc [Colville] was transplanted from Perth to be principal of the college of Edinburgh, who sometimes preached in the Tron Kirk.§

* Mr John Brown was minister of Wamphray. On his banishment he retired to Holland, where he died about the end of the year 1679. He was a man of learning and ability.

† Mr Joshua Meldrum was admitted minister of Auchtertool in the Presbytery of Kirkaldy, February 17, 1642; translated to Kinghorn, June 26, 1651; conformed to Episcopacy 1662; and was translated to Edinburgh, Nov. 5, this year.—*Selections from Minutes of the Synod of Fife*, 227, 230. Mr John Robertson was admitted second minister of Kirkaldy December 1658, translated to Dysart 1661, and to Edinburgh November 1662.—*Ibid.*, 229, 232.

‡ Dr Archibald Turner continued one of the ministers of Edinburgh till his death, which took place suddenly, 30th March 1681. "He was of a ready wit," says Fountainhall, "and good parts; he was buried, at his own desire, under the elders' desk, in his own parish of the Old Kirk; which some thought superstitious."—*Fountainhall's Notes*, 15.

§ Mr William Colville was first minister at Cramond, and next at Edinburgh, where he continued till he was deposed by the General Assembly in 1648, for not preaching against the lawfulness of the Engagement. In 1655 he was restored by the Synod of Lothian, and was called to be minister of Perth, where he continued till about this time, when he was translated to be principal of the college of Edinburgh. "He wrote a treatise called the Righteous Branch, 8vo, 1673. Item, a Treatise called Refreshing Streams, in several Sermons, 4to, Lond. 1655. Item, Ethicam Christianam, 8vo, Edin. 1670. He was a grave and good man. He died about the year 1676."—*Charteris' Catalogue of Scottish Writers*, 42.

The Prelate came to St Andrews a little before the 25th of December, to keep that holy day. He preached that day, having given orders to the magistrates that no merchants' shops should be opened, and that craftsmen should not work on that day. He invited the magistrates, masters of the University, and others, to a feast. *Hæc initia malorum.*

While the minds of all honest men were in suspense what the Council would farther do anent ministers, especially concerning them that kept not the Prelates' Diocesan Assemblies, and were admitted before 1649, there was a proclamation made by them, December 23d, viz.:—Notwithstanding of the proclamation, October 1, at Glasgow, some ministers had not obeyed the same, by removing out of their Presbyteries, and that the most part had not obtained presentations and collations, &c., yet the Council would indulge them yet a farther time, to obtain presentations from their patrons, and collations from their bishops, viz., unto the 1st of February 1663, with certification, that they that did not obtain presentations and collations before the 1st of February, should, according to the former proclamation, remove out of the Presbyteries; but those of the dioceses of Glasgow, Galloway, and Argyle, were discharged to reside in any part of the dioceses of Edinburgh or St Andrews, and where they did settle they were discharged, two of them to dwell in one parish; and those of the dioceses of Edinburgh and St Andrews were commanded to remove be-north Tay; and because there were besides these designed, sundry ministers that did not keep the Diocesan Synods according to the proclamation, September 12, the Council did confine them to their own parishes until the next Diocesan Assembly, prohibiting them to break their confinement, without liberty asked and obtained of their bishops. Also, because some people did not keep their own parish kirks, all are commanded to resort to their own parish kirks, or to the next parish, if there be no preaching in their own; and magistrates in towns are ordained to exact twenty shillings of the delinquents, *toties quoties*. Also, ministers are discharged to employ any at the celebration of the Communion, save one only of

their nearest neighbours, and if they employ any other, they must be allowed by the Bishop.

January 8, 1663, Mr James Weems, Principal of St Leonards College, in St Andrews,* was ordained minister of the parish of St Leonards, still continuing Principal of that College; Mr Walter Comrie, formerly minister there, being now made Principal of the New College, in pious and learned Mr Rutherford's place. At the admission of Mr James Weems, the Bishop did read all the prayers, and questions, &c. out of the Service Book and Book of Ordination. Mr Andrew Honeyman, the Archprelate's Archdean; Mr John Middleton, in Leuchars;† and Mr Patrick M'Gill, from Angus, countenanced Mr James Weems's admission, who, at that time was also made Dean of St Andrews, and got some teinds of some parishes in the north, which formerly belonged to the Provostry of Kirkcleuch, which was an old benefice formerly belonging to the minister of Ceres.

All this while by-past, there was much talking of animosity and jealousies betwixt Crawford, Lauderdale, and the Commissioner, occasioned by the Act of Billets. But, still, Crawford and Lauderdale are in grace and favour with the King, yea, none was a greater courtier than Lauderdale. The Commissioner, though often written for to come up to Court, made no great haste; but at last he took journey about the beginning of this year.

About the beginning of February, the Prelate Sharp went to Edinburgh, whither all the Prelates convened. They kept a meeting which some called "a convocation." The Archprelate Sharp being to go to Court shortly, being written for by the Commissioner and the Countess of Wemyss, who was at Court about the marriage of her daughter with the King's son, now made Duke

* Row is mistaken as to the date of Weems's admission to St Leonards College Kirk. The Presbytery admitted him to be minister there, December 21, 1662, as appears from their records. He died in 1691.—*Selections from the Minutes of the Presbytery of St Andrews, &c.*, 79; *and Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife*, 213.

† Mr John Middleton was admitted minister of Leuchars, December 4, 1661; translated to Markinch, 1684; and demitted, 1695.—*Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife*, 210, 233.

of Monmouth, who were to be married shortly. The Prelates, after their meeting, gave in three desires to the Secret Council: 1. That they would be pleased to put their own acts in execution against recusant ministers, for sundry ministers in Lothian had not obeyed the last act of Council, but were still preaching; 2. That the stipends of vacant kirks might be given to them to be employed for pious uses; 3. That the ministers of Edinburgh that were not removed out of the town might be commanded presently to remove. As for the second of their desires, the Council referred it to the Parliament, and promised presently to take the other two [in]to their consideration.

About this time news came that the Lord Warriston * was taken in France by one Alexander Murray; a proclamation being made, promising a great sum of money to any that took him, &c. He was brought over to England, to stay there during the King's pleasure. His process was discussed before this time, by the Parliament. His case was lamented, especially for his compliance with sectaries. Shortly after the Prelates' meeting at Edinburgh, the Archprelate Sharp took journey for London. When the Commissioner, Middleton, came to Court, though, as appeared, he was graciously accepted and received by the King, yet neither Crawford nor Lauderdale took notice of him, and Lauderdale continued in greatest favour with the King, and carried all at Court. Reports came that the King would friend Lauderdale and the Commissioner, and that the Commissioner was to be sent over seas about some ambassage, and that Rothes would come down Commissioner.

In the month of March the ministers of Galloway, upon their Prelate's complaint to the Council, were convened before the Council; but whereas some harder sentence was feared to be given out against them, the Council only enjoined them to obey the former act of Council, which as yet they had not obeyed.

* Sir Archibald Johnston, Lord Warriston, was son of James Johnston, merchant in Edinburgh, by his wife, Elizabeth, second daughter of the celebrated Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton, advocate for the Church in 1606, and afterwards Lord Advocate. He was educated at the University of Glasgow, and passed his trials as an advocate, 6th November, 1633. The leading facts of his subsequent history are well known.

The Parliament of England sat down again in February. At their down-sitting the King spoke to them, labouring to vindicate himself of that aspersion, as if he inclined to Popery, or to tolerate Popery, which was cast upon him by occasion of his late declaration in the beginning of the year, (wherein he did avow the due sense he had of his Roman Catholic subjects having deserved well of his father and himself, &c.); which he desired the Parliament to take notice of, but withall entreating them to make laws against the increase or spreading of Popery in England. The House of Commons, taking the King's declaration to their consideration, passed several votes, giving the King thanks for several things in it, viz., That he resolved to observe the Act of Indemnity, not to introduce a military way of government in the kingdom; but anent that part of it wherein he promises some indulgence to tender consciences that would not obey the Act of Uniformity, they humbly advise his Majesty that it was altogether unseasonable, and so advise that no indulgence be shewn either to Presbyterians or Papists, and ordain a message to the King and a Committee to draw up their reasons of their advice to his Majesty. Whereupon the King appointed the Commons to attend him February 25; at which diet their Speaker delivers their humble advice, with the reasons of it; to the which the King returned a short answer, That he gave them hearty thanks for their many thanks, that never any King was more happy in a House of Commons than he, that there could be no difference betwixt them, but either when he did not rightly express himself, or they not rightly understand him; but because the papers given in to him were long, and many things in them, he would take a time to consider them, and thereafter return his answer to them.

The House of Lords (though there were sundry Papists in the House) did concur with the House of Commons in their advice to the King, shewing how unreasonable it was to shew any indulgence to dissenters from the Act of Uniformity, whether Papists or others, and that the King's promise of that indulgence, without the Parliament's consent, was not obligatory. Whereupon the King, not-

withstanding of his affection professed to Papists in his declaration, emitted a proclamation against all mass priests and Jesuits, commanding them all to depart off the kingdom, only excepting those that were allowed to attend upon the two Queens. But it was found that, notwithstanding the Parliament pretended great zeal against Papists in all this, yet the first and greatest blow was intended against Presbyterians that could not obey that Act of Uniformity, and that any favour that was to be shewn, Papists would get it.

This spring time the debates betwixt Lauderdale and Middleton grew greater and greater; for Lauderdale gave in sundry accusations against him to the Scottish Council at London, viz., the Act of Billets; another act, That no forfaulted person, they nor their heirs, should ever have access to supplicate the King, &c.; that needlessly he burdened the kingdom with continuing the Parliament so long to make up himself, and with keeping up some forces a-foot, and intending to levy a little army, whereof he was to be general; that he had fined the subjects contrary to the King's inclination or advice. Middleton being hard put to it, and not well able to answer for himself, all his creatures and favourites dealt for him. The Prelates in England and Chancellor Hyde dealt much for him. All the Prelates in Scotland met and wrote a letter to the King in his favours, which Prelate Sharp, being at Court, sealed and gave to the Lord Newburgh, desiring him not to deliver it to the King, when Crawford or Lauderdale were present; but ere it was delivered Lauderdale got a copy of it, and so their plot was blown up. The Conformists in Edinburgh wrote also a letter to the King in his favours, whereat the King was offended, and which did not a little tend to their prejudice. Matters thus going against Middleton, he kept his chamber for a number of days, pretending sickness, thinking that as formerly the King would have sent for him; but in that he played the fool, for still Lauderdale was playing his game at Court. Sharp, perceiving how Lauderdale carried all at Court, and that Middleton was like to be discourted, made a visit to Lauderdale, professing great re-

spects towards him, and that, as he had been so, he minded to continue his faithful friend and servant; which Lauderdale, having the patience to hear, returned no answer, but putting his hand into his pocket desired him to read the letter which he and the rest of the Prelates had written to the King in favours of Middleton, wherein were several reflections upon Lauderdale. It was reported, that though the King did still affect Episcopacy, yet his affection towards Sharp was much abated, perceiving him a self-seeking man, and one that could lie and dissemble.

Before this time the King, at the instigation and by the evil advice of Chancellor Hyde, had sold Dunkirk to the King of France for a great sum of money, which bargain was condemned by many wise statesmen, Dunkirk being a port so advantageous to our King.

The Prelates are now busied to fill the places of outed ministers, especially in the west where maniest were outed. For that end they brought from the north a number of most profane insufficient creatures. One Chalmers they put in Paisley. One Jaffray in Kirkcudbright. There was some stir and opposition made by some women at Jaffray's first coming there and offering to preach. This small opposition and stir was aggraged and artificially spread abroad by Middleton's creatures, and thereafter written up to Court, informing that the west of Scotland was up in arms against the bishops and ministers to be planted there; which they thought would not a little contribute to make good what Middleton had asserted, anent the necessity of levying and keeping a-foot a little army in Scotland. The matter being thus misrepresented to the King, for the first he resolved to send down some troops to the west of Scotland; but Lauderdale's friends in Scotland giving a true information anent the small stir in Kirkcudbright the King was pacified. In the beginning of May the Council appointed the Earls of Linlithgow and Annandale, and Sir James Turner, with two hundred and twenty foot soldiers, together with the King's lifeguard, to go to Kirkcudbright and examine the business, and do accordingly. They returning and informing the

Council of the truth of the business, and having but too severely punished any that were actors in that tumult, wrote the truth of the matter to the King; which, being known, incensed the King the more against Middleton and his creatures that had misrepresented the business to him. So every thing tended to Middleton's prejudice.

The diet of the down-sitting of the Parliament approaching, which was about the 20th of May, the King not having as yet declared his mind anent these grand debates betwixt Lauderdale and Middleton, neither having declared his mind who should be his Commissioner to the Parliament, by proclamation the Parliament was adjourned to the 11th of June. But still the King is aye the longer the more offended with Middleton, notwithstanding of all the supplications or letters in his favours. The clergy of Ireland drew up a supplication in his favours, whereof Lauderdale informed his Majesty; whereto the King answered, "I would see the man that durst present it."

In the latter end of May the King declared his mind anent his Commissioner to the Parliament, giving commission for that effect to the Earl of Rothes. With this news reports came, that Sir John Fletcher, the King's advocate, who was Middleton's creature, was to be put from his place, and that Sir Peter Wedderburn was to be the King's advocate. But because the Commissioner and noblemen at Court could hardly keep the diet, the Parliament was again adjourned to the 18th of June, and so the Commissioner, Crawford and Lauderdale, were expected at Edinburgh. Many noblemen and gentlemen, especially from Fife, went over Forth to meet the Commissioner. With these news (which by some were looked upon not only as great but good news, and as the forerunners of better) news came that the King of France was poisoned by a Jesuit, and deadly sick. But thereafter news came that he was convalesced, but had been poisoned, and that the hand of Joab (the Pope) was in the matter.

All the Diocesan meetings of the Prelates did hold in April and May, except the meeting of the diocese of St Andrews, the Arch-

prelate Sharp being at Court. The *primum mobile* being absent, the subalternate spheres moved little, so that little was talked of their meetings. Some did repair to them in this time of defection and covenant-breaking, that had not done so before. At this time Mr Andrew Cant, younger,* was vehemently suspected that he would conform; but in the time of the meeting of the diocese of Edinburgh he was gone to see his honest old dying father. The Prelate of Edinburgh, in his meeting, said that Mr Andrew Cant had satisfied him, and that he was necessarily absent. The Prelates of Galloway and Glasgow had planted sundry kirks in their dioceses with most corrupt, profane, and vitious men, where the most eminent and godly ministers had been. The Lord infatuated these Prelates, so that they filled the places of these godly, learned, and eminent ministers with a number of the very worst and most insufficient of the Episcopal gang, brought from the north and obtruded upon the west, that was most anti-Episcopal and opposite to all the corrupt and wicked courses of this time of defection and national perjury.

The meeting of the diocese of St Andrews not holding these unconform ministers that were confined within their parishes until the next Diocesan Synod, by the late proclamation, did hold themselves still confined until a Diocesan Synod came, only regretting that the time of their confinement was so short, hoping that nothing could be legally acted against them until that meeting came.

While the Treasurer, the Earl of Crawford, was expected with the Commissioner Rothes and Lauderdale, about the beginning of June, word came to Edinburgh that Crawford was not to come down with the rest, (this was looked upon by some as *malum omen*, and that the honest Earl of Crawford expected little good, yea feared meikle evil from this session of Parliament), but was to stay

* Mr Andrew Cant, son of Mr Andrew Cant of Aberdeen, was admitted minister of Liberton, 10th March 1659; conformed to Prelacy, 1662; was translated to the College Kirk, Edinburgh, July 13, 1673; and made Principal of the College, April 12, 1683.

still at Court. Very shortly thereafter news came that the Treasurer, Crawford, had demitted his place in the King's hands; which demission was thus occasioned:

The Archprelate Sharp, being grieved, and Chancellor Hyde not well pleased, that Middleton should be thus put off and decourted, they thought that at the least they should get unto him the Treasurer's place. Therefore, seeing they had not catched the Treasurer by the snare laid for him in the Act of Billets, they concluded to be sure of him another way. Knowing that he was fixed for the Covenant, and that he would never take nor consent to the abjuration of it, which commonly was called the Declaration; * they having plotted and contrived the business, Prelate Sharp came to the King and told him that neither he himself nor any about him, nor the estate of Bishops or the Kirk, could be in security so long as he kept about him men of corrupt and rebellious principles, that would not renounce that rebellious Covenant. The King said that he resolved to keep none such about him, and that he knew of none such about him. The envious and unthankful Prelate (Crawford being the man that first preferred him, first giving him a presentation to be one of the regents of St Leonard's College, thereafter a presentation to the kirk of Crail) replied, "Have you tried the Treasurer, Crawford, if he will take the Declaration." The King answered that he had not done it, but promised to do it at his first conveniency, nothing doubting but Crawford would be moved to take the Declaration. And so the

* By the fifth act of the second session of Parliament, 1662, it was statute, ordained and enacted, that all such persons as should hereafter be admitted to any public trust or office under his Majesty's government, within the kingdom of Scotland, should subscribe a Declaration, sincerely affirming and declaring that it was unlawful for subjects, under any pretence whatsoever, to enter into leagues or covenants, or to take up arms against the King, or any commissioned by him, and that the National Covenant, as explained in 1638, and the Solemn League and Covenant, were themselves unlawful oaths, and that there lay no obligation on the subscriber or any of the subjects, from the said oaths, to endeavour any alteration of the government, in Church or State, as it was then established by the laws of the kingdom. By the same act, it is remitted to his Majesty's commissioner to take such course as he should think fit, how those who were already in office might subscribe the said Declaration.—*Wodrow's History*, i. 268.

first time that the Treasurer came into the King's presence, the King put him to it, whether or not he would renounce the Covenant and take the Declaration. The well-principled and honest-hearted Earl of Crawford answered, That as he had suffered much for his Majesty, viz., nine years' imprisonment, forfaulture and the ruin of his fortune, so he resolved to continue his Majesty's loyal and faithful subject, and to serve him in what he could with a good conscience, &c., but as for the renouncing of the Covenant and taking the Declaration, that he could not do with a safe and good conscience. To this the King (as much surprised) replied, That he was heartily sorry for it, for he had engaged himself that none should bruik places of trust that refused to take the Declaration. Crawford said he thanked his Majesty for conferring that honour upon him, and now he laid it down at his Majesty's feet; which the King well took off his hand, giving him an ample testimony of an honest man, that had done and suffered very meikle for him, promising that he should not want his favour and kindness. But when Crawford came to Lauderdale and informed him of all that had passed, he was grieved and heartily sorry that he had demitted his place, and that he had refused to take the Declaration against the Covenants, fearing lest Middleton should obtain the Treasurer's place. Thereafter he dealt what he could with Crawford to persuade him to take the Declaration, alleging that he might do meikle good to the Unconformists, the Presbyterians in Scotland, by so doing. But Crawford replied that he was taught not to do evil that good may come of it. Also Sir Robert Murray (who was the King's great favourite) dealt with Crawford to take the Declaration; but he soon stopped his mouth, saying, "Why desire ye me to do that which ye yourself have not done, and judged it sinful." They not prevailing with Crawford by all that they could say for his taking the Declaration, Lauderdale advised him to beg of the King that he would confer his place upon his son-in-law, the Commissioner, Rothes, which the King easily granted; so that now Rothes is Commissioner, Treasurer, and President of the Secret Council. It was reported that the King had engaged to

pay unto the Earl of Crawford all that his father was resting to him as Treasurer, and to give him an yearly pension of £1000 sterling. For these he only had the King's word; and so the truly noble Earl of Crawford comes off honourably, yea christianly, with a good conscience, fixedly standing and retaining his good old principles. But he resolved to stay at Court until the Parliament was closed.

The Earl of Crawford instantly wrote down all that had passed to his most religious lady,* who was most deservedly praised of all that knew her; who, when all about her, and all Crawford's friends in Scotland were lamenting the loss of his place, she heartily rejoiced and blessed God that he had kept a good conscience and himself free of perjury and covenant-breaking, &c., trusting in God that he would provide for him and his. News of Crawford's demission of his place, that he might keep a good conscience coming to the Laird of Kilbirnie,† who then was sick and near to death, presently, he sent for his cousin the Countess of Crawford, and shortly spoke to her to this purpose: "I am glad to hear that my noble Lord, your husband, has quit his advantageous and beneficial place, to keep his conscience and retain his good old principles. I have a little fortune, and no son to enjoy it; I shall count it a credit and honour if my noble lord and your ladyship will consent that your second son‡ marry my young daughter § and enjoy the estate." The Countess of Crawford thanking him and giving her consent, and promising to write anent the affair to her husband, the Laird of Kilbirnie did presently deliver unto the Countess the charters and rights of his estate with his daughter, desiring that she might keep her and breed her until her second son (who then, with his brother the Lord Lindsay, was in France) came home, that thereafter they might be married.‖ This was by honest people

* Lady Margaret Hamilton, second daughter of James, second Marquis of Hamilton.—*Douglas's Peerage*, i. 387.

† "Sir John Crawford of Kilbirnie, member of Parliament for the county of Ayr." —*Ibid.* i. 391.

‡ The Honourable Patrick Lindsay.—*Ibid.* i. 391.

§ Margaret, his second daughter.—*Ibid.* i. 391.

‖ The marriage took place at the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, 27th December 1664.—

judged a speaking, yea, comfortable cast of providence for encouraging the Earl of Crawford and his Countess cheerfully to suffer loss in this time of trial.

Some days before the Commissioner came to Edinburgh, the Lord Warriston came and was received at the Watergate by the hangman, and was put in the Tolbooth. It was reported that he was under a disease, which was a kind of palsy, that he had lost his memory by reason of poison that was given to him by one that undertook to poison him, so that he should be infatuated, lose his memory, and thereafter die. This the man confessed on his death-bed, whereof Warriston had a testimonial under the hands of two physicians and a minister. He was brought before the Council, but could not speak nor carry himself as he was wont to do. His case was pitied by honest people, regretting his gross compliance with the sectaries at London; and even the Council inclined to spare his life, but that they had orders to the contrary. It was feared that they would take his life in the time of the Parliament.

The Prelate Sharp came to Edinburgh, June 14, being the Sabbath day, timely in the morning. Thereafter he went to bed, and lay resting him all the Sabbath day, in his profaning the Sabbath, which he many ways did pollute and profane. He was like his predecessor, Spottiswood, having all his evil and none of his good.

The Commissioner Rothes and Lauderdale entered the town of Edinburgh, June 15, accompanied with many noblemen and gentlemen, with a mixed multitude of all sorts of people. Immediately after the Commissioner's arrival, the Lord Lorn was brought out of the Castle and set at liberty. It was reported that his father's head would be taken down from the top of the Tolbooth, and Warriston's put up in its place.

Ibid. i. 391. It may be mentioned as a striking case, that this couple both died of a pestilential fever in one week, in October 1680,—Lady Kibirnie on the 12th of the month and her husband on the 15th. "The Sabbath before," says Law, "they were at the celebration of the Lord's Supper at the kirk of Beeth."—*Law's Memorials*, 165.

The Parliament sat down June 18. One Burnet, * who had been a minister in England, always Episcopal, now to be made Prelate of Aberdeen, preached at the down-sitting of the Parliament. The first thing that they did was the putting of the abjuration of the Covenant, (commonly called the Declaration), to all the members of Parliament. All, almost, that were not clear to take it, absented themselves, but alas! they were but a small number in comparison of the multitude of all ranks and degrees in the land. Besides Crawford, (who abode at Court), there were some few noblemen, viz., Sutherland, Lothian, Ker, Loudon, Burley, Ruthven, Melville, Cathcart, Borthwick; some few Commissioners of shires and burghs. The Lord Cupar in Angus, not apprehending that the Declaration would be put to them at the first down-sitting of the Parliament was surprised. He refusing to take it, went to the door.

Before this there were many reports of stirs in Ireland, and that there was a plot discovered at Dublin for overturning of Episcopal government there. The truth of the matter was this: There were some gentlemen and soldiers of fortune (as they are commonly called) that had served the King and his father in the late wars, to whom the King had given as the reward of their service, some lands in Ireland, that anciently belonged to some Spaniards. These now coming over out of Spain to Ireland, did claim their lands, and gave in their claims to the Court of Claims in Dublin. At last the business was referred to the King, who judged the claims of the Spaniards to be valid, and ordained them to be possessed in their lands, and the present possessors, his servants, that had hazarded their lives for him and his father, to be dispossessed; which, they taking so evil, began to bethink themselves how to

* Alexander Burnet was son of Mr John Burnet, a parochial minister in Scotland. "Upon the Restoration he became chaplain to General Rutherford, his father's first cousin, who was made Earl of Teviot sometime after. When this heroic lord was constituted governor of Dunkirk, Mr Burnet had an English congregation there. He was made Bishop of Aberdeen upon the death of Bishop Mitchell, *anno* September 1663, and the year after was translated to Glasgow; and after Bishop Sharp's murder, to the See of St Andrews, where he died, on the 24th of August 1684."—*Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, 42, 43.

defend themselves, and keep their own lands. But they, by the King's warrant and authority, before they could be in a posture of defence, were taken and disarmed, and all of them dispossessed of their lands, which were given to wicked Papists. At this time Papists were very numerous and proud in Ireland, openly avowing their religion, and boasting of great things. Yea, even in Scotland, there were many Papists, Jesuits, and seminary priests, openly going up and down in Edinburgh, but disguised. Their meetings were known to be in several parts of the town for their idolatrous mass; so that there were great fears that Papistry would again get footing in this land; and these fears were not groundless.

About the middle of July, there came out an act and proclamation from the Secret Council, concerning ministers (with many specious pretences in the narrative of it) concerning ministers admitted both before and since 1649, mentioning several former acts, viz., that at Glasgow, October 1, 1662; and that which followed concerning ministers admitted since 1649; and an Act of Parliament, ordaining ministers that did not come to the Episcopal Synods to be suspended for not coming to the first, and deposed for not coming to the second. In the second part of it, it ordained those ministers that had been admitted since 1649, and had still continued preaching, to be called before the Council, and censured as contemners of authority. And for those ministers admitted before 1649, they being by the Bishop suspended for not coming to the first, and deposed for not coming to the second Synod, their kirks are to be declared vacant, and they ordained to remove from them, their manses and glebes. In the close of this proclamation, penalties were imposed upon all ranks of persons that did not keep their own parish kirks; for, at this time, many persons disliking Episcopal government and the Conformists, did not hear them, but went and heard Unconform ministers in other parishes than their own. This proclamation being published, the Unconform ministers of the diocese of St Andrews, that were admitted before 1649, thought themselves secure, until the Prelate held

his Episcopal Synod in October, because he did not hold his Synod in April, being at Court. Neither did he, at his first Synod in October 1662, suspend any minister for not coming to the Synod, 'but' only referred them to the Council for censure.

The Lord Warriston having been several times before the Council and Parliament, was at last condemned by the Parliament to be hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh, July 22, and his head to be affixed on the Nether Bow. The sentence was intimate to him fourteen days before, which was granted to him as a favour, because of his sickness and distemper. He died resolutely and christianly, much regretting his gross compliance with the usurpers and sectaries at London, as his most gross and scandalous guiltiness. He read a paper upon the scaffold, especially declaring his adherence to his principles in relation to our unhappy divisions, but aggraging his defection by a gross compliance with the English. He was a godly, learned man, but of too fiery and hasty temper of spirit, in our shameful and sinful divisions.

About this time, both the Parliaments of England and Scotland being sitting, they were contending about matters of traffic and trading, making acts mutually entrenching upon others. But while they are thus contesting, the Secret Council is contesting with some ministers. There were several ministers summoned before them, some admitted before 1649, that were leading men, especially in the west and south; others since 1649, who had not obtemperat the act at Glasgow, October 1, 1662. Of this class there was only one censured at this time, one Mr Hardie.* His censure was, that he should remove from his kirk twenty miles, to any place, providing it were six miles from any bishop's seat, and three miles from any royal burgh. This wilily, but wickedly contrived censure, was thought to be the brood of Sharp's brain, whose word now was a law to the Secret Council, none daring to oppose what he proposed. This censure Mr Hardie obeyed; but it was

* Mr John Hardie, minister of Gordon.—*Wodrow's History*, i. 371.

given out that it was to be a common censure to all Unconform ministers.

About the beginning of August, the Prelate Sharp wrote letters to his constant moderators, that they should summon those ministers that were admitted since 1649, and put them to give their reasons, why they had continued preaching, and yet did not keep the precinct meetings, (for some ministers, upon several accounts and supposed warrants, had returned to their charges), being discharged by Acts of Parliament and Secret Council; and to show them, that if they did not keep the meetings of the brethren for exercise, before the 15th of August, they would be proceeded against as contemners of authority, and the laws of the kingdom; and that they should make intimation to ministers admitted before 1649, that if they did not keep the meetings for exercise before August 15, they would be noticed as contemners of authority and the laws. Where the moderators were discreet and moderate they did little in obedience to this letter; only they made the fashion to confer with Unconform ministers, to drift time.

About the middle of August there came out an act of the Secret Council, concerning unconform ministers, to this purpose, That whereas there had been an act at Glasgow, October 1, 1662, and other acts, discharging ministers admitted since 1649, to preach, &c., and commanding them to remove from their kirks and manses, yet several ministers had continued preaching at their kirks, scandalously in contempt of authority; therefore the Secret Council commands them, within twenty days, to remove from their kirks twenty miles, six miles from any bishop's seat, and three miles from any royal burgh.

When this act was under debate, several, both noblemen and others, did profess that it was an unreasonable and sharp censure. But the truth was it was devised by the Bishops, especially by Archprelate Sharp, to redact ministers unto greatest straits, and to render it impossible for them to educate their children at schools and colleges, they not being able to maintain them unless they lived in these places.

As for those ministers admitted before 1649, they were commanded under highest pains to attend the Synods in October. About this time Mr Wood, provost of the Old College at St Andrews, is summoned over by the Council. Mr Wood at his appearance before the Council, was interrogated anent his entry to that place in the Old College, (he having entered to it under the English), and challenged why he continued in it after the act at Glasgow. To the which Mr Wood answered modestly and pertinently. But Mr Wood being removed and called in again, his place in the Old College is declared vacant, and he confined in the town of Edinburgh during the Council's pleasure. Doubtless it galled the Prelate Sharp that this while by-past he had lived at St Andrews and had never so much as made a visit to him. The truth was, after Mr Blair's removal from St Andrews, Mr Wood was the Prelate's great eye-sore, for he looked upon him as the main ringleader of the Non-conformists in that place. Thus did he requite Mr Wood for advancing him, by procuring him first to be discharged preaching, and now to be outed of his place in the College, and discharged to dwell in St Andrews, where he was born and bred. Shortly after this Mr Andrew Honeyman, by the Parliament is appointed overseer of the Old College, and so it was thought that he was to be provost of that College; so that in one year he might get two Naboths' vineyards. Two of the masters of that College protested, and took instruments against the order of Parliament ordaining Mr Honeyman to be overseer of that College, as being contrary to their oath at their admission. Yea, Mr Honeyman himself confessed that it clashed with the fundamental laws of that College, yet he accepted of the place, and obeyed the Parliament's act, being now of a debauched conscience by his own confession; for preaching against Episcopacy, he said, "If we should again turn to abjured Episcopacy, ye may call us men of a debauched conscience." Shortly after this, Mr Wood's father at St Andrews fell sick. Mr Wood supplicated the Council for liberty to go and visit his old father in his sickness. After some delays the Council sent an order to Mr Wood, permitting him to repair

to St Andrews to visit his father in his sickness, and to abide there during the Council's pleasure, until he should be called for by them. So Mr Wood returned to St Andrews.

While our Parliament and Secret Council are dealing thus with unconform ministers, the Nonconformists in Ireland are in a more sad condition; for after they were outed and lurking in their parishes, all of them almost are seized on and imprisoned. There were three of them more strictly kept than the rest, because they had (being circumvened by the craft of their enemies) confessed that they knew of a plot against the Bishops,* and had not revealed it before that time, though they told that they neither believed it nor did approve of it. The three ministers were Mr John Greig, Mr John Hart, formerly minister at Crail, and Mr Andrew Stewart. Some thought that their life was in hazard. Several † persons suspected of that plot were apprehended and executed at Dublin. After the ministers had for a long space been detained in prison, in the latter end of September, all of them except the three forenamed, were dismissed, upon bond to depart that kingdom, with a pass that they had no accession to the late plot, and so the most part of them in the north of Ireland being Scotsmen, came to Scotland, which occasioned the Council to make an act, September 7, relating to a former act, February 22, *anno* 1661, to this purpose:—

"Whereas the Parliament by their act, February 22, 1661, finding that many fanatics were coming out of Ireland, expecting shelter here, &c., and that it much concerned the public peace that such wasps should have no countenance, &c., did declare that none coming from Ireland, without a sufficient pass of their peaceable carriage, and conformity to the laws, should be allowed any residence here, but that they should be seized upon and imprisoned

* This was a conspiracy formed by some members of Parliament and others, who had been deprived of their lands, which had been restored by Charles to the Papists. In this plot the notorious Colonel Blood took an active part.—*M'Crie's Memoirs of Veitch*, &c., p. 136, &c. *Reid*, ii. 371, &c.

† Here a leaf is wanting in our MS., but the matter is preserved in the MS. belonging to J. J. Gibson Craig, Esq., from which we print for several pages.

unless they would remove out of the kingdom within fifteen days; as also that they that had such passes should appear before the Parliament or Council, and make known the causes of their coming over, and give bond for their peaceable carriage, otherwise to remove within fifteen days, or else to be dealt with as seditious and factious persons, &c. But seeing persons were not nominated before whom they should appear, &c., by reason whereof several ministers are come from Ireland, not acknowledging Parliament or Council, taking upon them to preach, &c., the Council renews the said act and ordains it to be put in execution, and for that end nominates Glencairn, Eglintoun, &c., or any one of them, to call before them persons coming from Ireland, wanting sufficient passes, and to secure them in prison and examine them anent their coming over, and to take security of them for their peaceable carriage, &c."

Moreover the Council taking to their consideration, that notwithstanding several acts made for preventing of separation and disobedience to authority, divers persons separate themselves from the meetings of divine worship, where ministers are legally settled, and that some do pervert the true meaning of the Act of Parliament against separation: therefore the Council declares that they shall be proceeded against as transgressors of the act, who withdraw from their parishes after three public admonitions after divine service, and does discharge persons, who being formerly elders, take upon them to pervert people and to misinform them, &c., and requires all such as shall be called by ministers to assist them, &c., to accept of the office, and requires all persons in office to assist ministers to exact penalties from delinquents. And all are required, as they will answer, to put this act in execution.

The main business that did take up the Parliament was the Act of Billets. The King in his letter to the Parliament did declare his very great dissatisfaction with that most unjust, unreasonable, and illegal Act of Billets; desiring the Parliament accurately to search out and try who were the contrivers and authors of that act, and to report their diligence to him. The Commis-

sioner, after the reading of the King's letter, urged that the Parliament without delay would set about the trial of these unhappy billeters. His desire was seconded by Lauderdale, several noblemen, and the Prelate Sharp, calling it "that wicked Act of Billets." But there was another faction in the Parliament, (whereof Dumfries, Aboyne, and Prelate Paterson of Ross, were the chief leaders), who set their wits a-work to cast in remoras [obstacles] to retard the trial of the billeters. So after some votes about the way of proceeding for obedience to his Majesty's letter, a committee of seven was nominated, who were commanded to use all diligence for the trial of these billeters, that report might be made to the King. Those upon the committee were the Commissioner, Lauderdale, the Bishop of St Andrews, Sir John Gilmour, &c.

After the Committee had sitten and done all possible diligence for the finding out of these billeters, their report was read in Parliament. The depositions of several persons were read, shewing the accession of several persons to the contriving and carrying on of that design; but the persons' names were not read. Dumfries and others being displeased with that way of procedure, called it a second Act of Billets. After much debate, it was concluded by vote of Parliament, that the report of the committee should be sent to the King, with the names of the persons, still concealing them in Parliament; and Sir William Bruce was sent to the King with the report of the committee, and the Parliament's letter thereanent. The Middletonians to prevent what might tend to their prejudice, sent up Gradane's brother to the King. The King being in his progress, it was some space of time before Sir William Bruce was despatched with the King's answer to the Parliament. Besides this there were some other things about the which the Parliament desired to be advised by the King, viz., anent the business of fining, and what course should be taken with Nonconformists, especially the prime men of that way, and particularly what should be done with Mr Robert Blair; for it did not a little gall the Archprelate Sharp that he was permitted to dwell in Kirkcaldy. Several attempts were made by the Prelates

to get him put out of Kirkcaldy, and put either into Inverness or Dunnotar Castle. But still the Lord disappointed them.

The King wrote to the Parliament with Sir William Bruce, returning them many thanks for the great pains they had taken in trying out these billeters. But what was further to be done in that affair, he wrote that he had sent instructions to his Commissioner; as also anent the other particulars in Sir William Bruce's instructions. After some debate in Parliament, in end, all was referred back again to the King, viz., whether the plotters of the Act of Billets should be incapacitated or not, or what should be their punishment; as also anent the matter of fining, who should be fined, what their fines should be, &c. So these two great matters being thus ordered, the Parliament hasted to a close, making an act in favours of those that had suffered in the King's service in the late troubles, viz., Crawford, Lauderdale, Sinclair, &c., that they should get abatement of eight years' interest of sums resting to their creditors. The like favour was likewise to be allowed to their sureties.

The Bishops also obtained an Act of Parliament for convening of a National Synod, as they called it, or a convocation of the clergy for fully settling of their government, but the time and place thereof were left to the King's determination. The closing and riding of the Parliament being delayed, (occasioned by a letter from the King to them, desiring that the tailzie of the estate of Buccleuch to the Earl of Tweeddale might be broken, anent the which businesses the Parliament sent up Henry Mackie to the King), the Archprelate Sharp came over to St Andrews, September 12, to consecrate Dr Burnet, who was elected Bishop of Aberdeen, Mitchell being dead. The consecration was September 18. Some months before this, the old Prelate Sydserff died; and in the beginning of November ensuing, died Fairfoul, bishop of Glasgow. After the consecration the Archprelate returned to Edinburgh, September 21. Shortly thereafter Henry Mackie returned with instructions to the Commissioner about the breaking of the foresaid tailzie, which was done by an Act of Parliament, carrying this express proviso

and caution, that in nowise it should be a preparative for the future. All this was done in favours of the King's base son, the Duke of Monmouth and Buccleuch, now married to the heiress of that estate, that he might succeed to it, though she died shortly, or had no children.

Matters being thus ordered and concluded, the Parliament did close and ride according to their old custom, October 9. Of the fourteen prelates only eight did ride. The Archbishop Sharp was offended that they did not all ride in state or pomp. Some did excuse themselves that they were not provided with horses and footmantles, being superexpended by attending the Parliament so long. As for Burnet and Leighton, they pretended that they desired not that worldly pomp and state. Bishop Fairfowl did ride up the street, but falling sick in the afternoon, was not able to ride down again to the Abbey. After some few weeks' sickness he died, (though he could not be persuaded that he would die, still hoping to recover), unregretted by good men, yea, not by those of the clergy over whom he lorded it. So at this time there were two Sees (as they called them) vacant, viz., Glasgow and Orkney. These being two great benefices, there were many dogs striving about these two fat bones. In the close of the Parliament, the Lord Lorn, the Lord Argyle's eldest son, was, by the King's gift, restored and declared to be Earl of Argyle. He most unjustly refused to pay his father's debts.

Shortly before the closing of this Parliament, the honest Earl of Crawford came to Edinburgh. He was looked upon as the great patron of the Presbyterians, and as a stout assertor of the Covenant. After his third daughter was married to her cousin Sir Robert Sinclair, (which was judged a second cast of kind and liberal providence, providing so well for his second son and third daughter), he retired himself to his private dwelling at the Struthers in the beginning of November. But while he is retired, enjoying the peace of a good conscience far from Court, the grandees are contending about places, court favour and their interests. The Earl of Rothes, treasurer, and Lauderdale, secretary, posted to Court

immediately after the riding of the Parliament. Before their going there were great animosities and jealousies betwixt Rothes and Glencairn the Chancellor; so that it was thought the Chancellor's ruin and breaking was concluded betwixt Rothes and Lauderdale; for Lauderdale did deeply resent the Chancellor's accession to the Act of Billets, and that he strove to uphold Middleton.

Also, after the riding of the Parliament the Archprelate came to St Andrews, and there convened his Diocesan Court in the end of October. Some few days before the meeting, all the unconformed ministers were summoned by a messenger-at-arms to come to their meeting except four ministers, viz., Mr David Forret, Mr George Hamilton, Mr Colin Adams,* and Mr William Row. Of those that were summoned none came to the meeting. Only two sent their excuses, Mr Frederick Carmichael, and Mr Henry Wilkie.† Of the rest four were censured, viz., Mr John Wardlaw, minister at Kemback; Mr Henry Rymer at Carnbee; Mr George Belfrage at Carnock;‡ and Mr Robert Young at Dumbarney. The first was deposed; the other three were suspended. Mr Wardlaw's sentence, who was not *simpliciter* deposed, was grounded upon Acts of Parliament and Secret Council; and, therefore, because the civil sword was drawn and shaken in his sentence against him and the rest, he submitted to the sentence, as did the other two who were suspected. As for Mr Robert Young he still continued preaching, because in the sentence of suspension there was an alternative, (whereas the sentence of deposition was absolute), that either they should desist from preaching and other ministerial duties, or else shew a reasonable cause why not, &c. The consideration of this alternative moved Mr Young to continue

* Mr Colin Adams was admitted minister of Kilrennie, in the Presbytery of St Andrews, 1634; and translated to Anstruther Easter, November 1641.—*Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife*, 202, 208.

† Mr Henry Wilkie was admitted minister of Portmoak, February 25, 1633; translated to Weems, November 30, 1642; died October 7, 1664.—*Selections from the Minutes of Synod of Fife*, 233, 234.

‡ Mr John Wardlaw was admitted minister of Kemback, July 2, 1656.—(*Ibid.*, 207.) Mr Henry Rymer was admitted minister of Carnbee, April 24, 1644. He was alive at the Revolution.—(*Ibid.* 203.) Mr George Belfrage was admitted minister of Carnock June 2, 1647.—(*Ibid.* 235.)

preaching, resolving to think on reasonable causes of his so doing, &c.

The Prelate of Dunkeld, at his court, suspended four or five ministers, Mr John Crookshank,* Mr Andrew Donaldson,† Mr John Robertson, &c. Prelate Fairfowl's place not being filled, there was no meeting in his diocese, where there were maniest unconformists. The Prelate of Edinburgh in his meeting censured no unconform ministers, saying, that there were acts of Council and Parliament against them, and he would let them stand to their hazard for contravening them. This Prelate Wishart did, as was thought, to make Sharp the more odious for his violence and persecuting of Nonconformists in his diocese. Yea it galled Wishart that he was so high in Court, and so promoted by the King; for the King and Secret Council had given him more power than ever any bishop or primate had in Scotland, viz., that he should have the filling of all the vacant sees, naming bishops for them; that he should have a negative voice in the convocation that was to be; and that he should be in effect *sine quo non* in all Kirk affairs. Yea, such was his subtlety and wicked policy, that he obtained from the rest of the Prelates, by a trick devised by himself, that no information to the King should be accounted valid but what was allowed by himself, either anent Kirk or State affairs. And now he thinks that his mountain stands so strong that it can never be moved.

Shortly after this Diocesan Court at St Andrews, he went to Edinburgh, and shortly thereafter to London, with the Prelate of Aberdeen, Burnet. Prelate Leighton also followed them to Court. But before Sharp took journey for London he had a bitter invective speech in the Secret Council, saying, that

* John Crookshanks was minister of Rogerton, in the Presbytery of Perth. He joined the party of the Covenanters who, in 1666, rose up in arms; preached before the renewing of the Covenants at Lanark; and was slain at Pentland Hills' engagement.—*Wodrow's History*, i. 328; ii. 25, 30.

† Mr Andrew Donaldson was minister of Dalgetty, in the Presbytery of Dunfermline.—(*Ibid.* i. 328.) He was admitted to that parish in 1644, Dalgetty having been erected into a separate parish in 1643. He was outed in 1664, but was restored to his old parish in 1688, and died in 1695.—(*Ibid.* 237.)

he was assured that there was a most dangerous plot of dreadful consequence in hand betwixt disaffected noblemen and recusant ministers, and therefore willed the Council to look well to themselves, to bestir themselves; especially he did chide them for not putting in execution their own acts made against recusant ministers. But being desired by some of the Council to inform the Council of these plots, what they were and who were the plotters, that they might be condignly punished, he replied, that he would not be the delator of any man; but still he did chide them for not putting in execution their acts. This he did and said to stir up the Secret Council to be his executioners and burriers against ministers and other honest people that durst not comply with the sinful course of the time; or if he had any pretext for or suspicion of what he spoke anent plots, it was thought to be because the Earl of Crawford, when he came along to the Struthers, did, upon the street, and even at the cross of Kirkcaldy, speak to Mr Blair, (whom he had not seen for thirteen years), his wife and children, and that in the hearing of the magistrates and many indwellers in Kirkcaldy; so that unless pure malice had stirred up Sharp, being against Crawford and Mr Blair, he could never have fancied that they would then and there have plotted, yea, or spoken any thing against him or his kingdom, but *mala mens, malus animus.*

But the Council knew there were no such plots as the Prelate pretended, nor any such thing betwixt noblemen and honest ministers, who did most loyally obey the Secret Council's and Parliament's acts; yet they wrote letters to their respective sheriffs and their deputies, or sheriff-clerks, desiring them, that betwixt the date thereof and the 1st of January 1664, they would delate and give up to the Council the names of such ministers as do not in every thing obey the last act and proclamation. Neither did the persecuting Prelate's rage and malice there sist; for shortly after this had passed in the Secret Council he went to London, enraged against all Nonconformists and godly people that durst not comply with all the wicked courses of this time of defection and national perjury. And what was his wish and negotiating at

London shortly appeared by the effects; for not long after his coming to Court the King wrote down two sharp letters to the Council. In the first he did expostulate with them, yea, and chide them for not putting in execution their own acts made against Nonconformists. In the other he ordained the Secret Council to put all persons in public trust in the state to take the Declaration against the Covenants, otherwise, for the first, to lose their places, &c. Some of the Lords of Session refused to take it, viz., Lord Stairs, Arnistoun, &c.; some advocates, viz., Mr Robert Burnet, &c.; some writers, viz., Mr John Bain, &c.; and other honest and godly people in towns; but comparatively there were but few, yea, very few, who did refuse it, Deut. xxix. 10-16, and 24, 25 verses.

All this while by-past, Mr Blair sojourns and lurks in Kirkcaldy. But though he was debarred from public preaching, and other duties of his calling among the people of his charge, from whom he was violently thrust away, yet he was not idle; for, first, he was perfecting his Annotations on the Proverbs; and besides his lecturing and praying every day twice in his family, he kept the last day of every month as days of humiliation, &c.; some few of the godly people of that town being admitted to join with his family in that blessed and most necessary exercise, and as his near relations and Christian friends came and visited him, he still had short lectures and prayers to entertain them with. And now about this time, the places of honest outed ministers being filled, with, for the most part, insufficient and scandalous men, especially in the west, and those that conformed giving offence to the godly by so doing, there were many and great debates among ministers, anent hearing the Conformists, who are commonly called Curates. Some thought it unlawful to hear any Conformist; others did class them. Some of them had been orderly called and ordained by Presbyters. Others were thrust in upon parishes over their belly, and admitted by the Prelates in a sinful way, and they again either intruded and put in the places of outed ministers that were living, who were twice intruders, or thrust into the places of honest ministers that were dead. But of them all they were looked upon with the

worst eye that not only were intruders, but thrust in by Sharp, who in England had quit his ordination and was re-ordained by the English Prelates. Those that thus ranked and classed them, thought that they of the first class might be heard with some cautions and caveats. Others, though they acknowledged some difference among them, yet they called them all one gate* as cattle of one gang, and either heard none of them or heard them all. Thus there were diverse opinions and practices among unconform ministers and people. Mr Blair, who always shunned unwarrantable extremes, and was not for a total separation, his opinion and practice was, that those ministers that were orderly called by parishes, and ordained by Presbyters, might be heard, (especially they that professed they were in their judgment Presbyterian), so long as they kept the doctrine sound and the worship unmixed, but with these cautions: first, that the person intending to hear them should first before hearing, speak to such Conformists, laying out to them the guilt of their defection and apostacy, by their conformity, and declaring to them that they did not look upon them as their honest lawful ministers; secondly, that they should not hear them constantly; thirdly, that they should not submit to be catechised by them. But as for intruders, either those that were thrust in by the Prelates in living ministers' places, or in the charge of honest dead ministers, his opinion was that they should not be countenanced nor heard. Neither did he ever advise honest people to hear such.

Mr Blair now, in the time of his retirement, to recruit himself, being wearied with studies, lecturing and preaching, (being of a very public spirit), he gave himself much to learn intelligence of foreign affairs, especially how it fared with the Kirks over seas, and how the Lord of Hosts did reign, rule, and overrule, in the kingdoms of men. And, therefore, it shall not be amiss here to record some of the chief actings of the armies over seas, this winter, harvest and summer by-past, especially of the Great Turk's wars

* *Called them all one gate*—Sc., sent them all one way.

in Germany, Hungary, &c. They prevailed strangely in Hungary, yet there was a stronghold, Newhausel, that most courageously stood out, notwithstanding of a long continued close siege, and many fearful assaults of the Turk's great army, whereof he lost 30,000 men in that siege. At last they were forced to capitulate, and rendered upon honourable conditions, which were kept unto them. But as for Moravia, Silesia, Croatia, Austria, &c., they were wholly laid desolate, and whole Germany terribly affrighted; which ought to be matter of astonishment and wondering, that the Lord permitted that blasphemous infidel so to prevail over Christians, and their successes, and their standing monarchy, so long to continue as a stumbling-block and let in the way of the Jews, hindering their conversion and return to Zion. Yet that bloody house of Austria was made to drink blood from the Lord's hand, 'which' was thought a just thing from the Lord that uses often to repay sinners in their own coin.

But as the victories and successes of the Emperor of the Turks increased, so did his pride and blasphemies, not only against Christians, but against Jesus Christ himself, which may appear by a blasphemous letter written by the Emperor of the Turks to the Emperor of Germany, whereof the copy follows:—

"Mahomet, son of the Emperor, son of God, thrice heavenly and thrice known by the renowned Emperor of the Turks, king of Grecia, Macedonia and Moldavia, king in Samaria and Hungary, king of Great and Lesser Egypt, king of all the inhabitants of the earth, and the earthly paradise, guardian of the sepulchre of thy God, lord of the tree of life, lord of all the emperors of the world, from the east even to the west, king of all kings, grand persecutor of the Christians and all the wicked, the joy of the flourishing tree, the chieftain and guardian of thy crucified God, lord of the hope of thy nation, We send greeting to thee, Emperor Leopold. If thou wilt be our friend and submit to our dominion, then we will that thy greatness be ample. Since these times thou hast violated and slighted our friendship, without having ever been offended either by war or by fighting, of God, thou hast taken secret designs with

other kings and other confederates, in envy to shake off our yoke; in which thou hast done imprudently. This is it for which thou and thy people ought to live in fear, and to have no other hope but death, for which cause thou hast prepared thyself. But we tell thee we will go forth and be thy conqueror, and we will pursue thee from the east even to the west, and will make thee know our majesty even to the utmost confines of the earth. Thou shalt know our effects to thy great damage, of which we assure thee, and will have thee to expect our greatness. Thy hope shall melt away which thou hast in thy cities and fortresses. We resolve to beat down and raze all that appeareth any thing considerable in thine eyes, and thou shouldst not expect any other thing, and shouldst not put confidence in thy strong walls, for we have resolved to destroy thee without remedy. It pleaseth us for forage Germany, and leave it to the memory of our sword, to the end all these things may be manifest to all. It pleaseth us to establish our religion and root out thy crucified God; neither can there be any succour for thee, that thou mayest escape our hands. It pleaseth us also to condemn to the chain thy holy priests, and to deliver to the dogs, and other savage beasts, the dregs of thy women. Therefore thou shalt do very wisely to renounce thy religion, otherwise we do order and appoint that all be delivered to the fire. This which is said may satisfy thee, and thou mayest comprehend by this, if thou wilt, what our will is toward thee."

O the long-suffering, patience, and riches of forbearance of our blessed Lord Jesus Christ, that suffers such blasphemies and blasphemous wretches to live, yea to prosper! But while the Turks are thus prevailing, killing and plundering in Austria, Moravia, Silesia, &c., there was one Count Nicolas Sereni that did much molest the Turks in Germany, killing many of them. But, notwithstanding the Turk's prevailing in Moravia, &c., where he took up his winter quarters, still alarming whole Germany, yet there was little appearance of a cordial conjunction amongst the Christian princes against the Turks; so they did help these blasphemous infidels against themselves, undoing themselves by their un-

happy divisions. All this time by-past there was great appearance of open war betwixt the King of France and the Pope. Sure the King of France was making great preparations for war, and that there were great fears at Rome; and indeed they had more reason to be afraid of the King of France than of the Great Turk; for it is clear from Scripture that not the Turks, but those kings that formerly had given their strength to the whore, should destroy her, make her naked, and burn her with fire, Rev. xvii. 12-16. While the Christians in Moravia, Helvetia and Croatia, &c., are sorely distressed, their towns burned, and many of them killed by the Turks, the Protestants in the vallies of Piedmont, formerly called Waldenses, are sore distressed. At this time also the Kings of Spain and Portugal are bickering against others.* Also the King of Poland has great armies in Poland and Lithuania. What his designs were was not well known. In this meantime our King keeps a garrison in Tangier, (which he got from the King of Portugal at his marriage with his daughter). Lord Rutherford, formerly governor of Dunkirk, now made Earl of Teviot, is governor of Tangier, and kept it with a strong garrison against the natives.

While the great ones abroad are thus contesting and contending, the Turk against the Emperor, the King of France against the Pope, the King of Spain against the King of Portugal, the Governor of Tangier against the Moors in Africa, &c., our great ones at Court and at home are hotly skirmishing and contending, especially the Secretary, Lauderdale, against Middleton. Lauderdale gave in many accusations against him to the Scottish Council at London which Middleton could not well answer. So Middleton, succumbing, he is discharged of all his places he enjoyed, viz., his lieutenantry over the forces in Scotland, his keeping of the Castle of Edinburgh, &c., the King causing him deliver up his commissions for these places. Middleton thus decourted, and all his places taken from him, being ashamed to come to Scotland, it

* *I. e.*, against each other.

was reported that he entreated for a pass to go over seas; but he still abides at London, and Lauderdale carries all in Court. Rothes also is high in Court and the King's favour, being fully for all the sinful courses of the time.

While Middleton is thus decourted and all his places taken from him, the Chancellor has much ado to keep his place, Lauderdale and Rothes being set and banded against him, and at Court having the King's ear. Some reported that the Archprelate Sharp would get the Chancellor's place; others, that the Earl of Tweeddale would get it, being now bent for the sinful courses of the time. But in this meantime the Chancellor's place is confirmed to him, yet so as the proud Prelate of St Andrews is ordained by the King to have the precedency of him, which never any Prelate in Scotland had before; so that now the Archprelate of St Andrews is the second person next to the King. This did not a little grieve and gall Glencairn's proud spirit. But now he and others find it true that was told them by honest, anti-Prelatical ministers, viz., that they would find, by dear-bought experience, but too late, that if they set up bishops again, they would aspire higher than ever any bishops before them, and would tread upon their necks. This and much more was told him and others, but they would not believe it, but said they would defy them, for they were only for primitive and moderate Episcopacy, *Episcopus preses*, not *Episcopus princeps;* to whom it was replied by Mr Douglas,—"Pick a bishop to the bones, he'll soon gather flesh and blood again."

About the beginning of January 1664, the Archprelate of St Andrews, still aspiring higher and higher, obtains from the King a patent to be Primate of whole Scotland, and is called "Your Grace." He is also made one of the Lords of the Exchequer, &c.

Middleton falling, his creatures fall with him, viz., the Lord Tarbet, the King's advocate, &c. The advocate's place is declared vacant, but was not disposed of to any, he refusing to demit his place, affirming that he would bide a trial; his place being given

him, *ad vitam aut ad culpam*. So he continues in the exercise of his place.

About the beginning of February, the Prelate Sharp, now called Primate, your Grace, came to Edinburgh. He brought with him a commission as terrible as the High Commission, the tyranny whereof, with the urging of the Service Book, was the occasion of the downfall and ruin of the Prelates *anno* 1637 and 1638. It was entitled commission for executing the laws in Church affairs.

"CHARLES REX.

"Our Sovereign Lord ordains a commission to be passed and expede under his Majesty's Greal Seal of the kingdom of Scotland, making mention," &c. See the printed copy. *

There were many noblemen, bishops, gentlemen and burgesses upon this commission, with great and ample power given to them, but the quorum was small, viz., five, an archbishop or bishop being one of the quorum. It was given at Whitehall, the 16th of January 1664, and passed the Great Seal on the 24th of February. The first diet of the High Commission was March 2, at Edinburgh. The Primate brought also with him patents to the vacant Sees, viz., a patent to Mr Andrew Honeyman, Archdean of St Andrews, to be Bishop of Orkney; another to the Bishop of Aberdeen, Burnet, to be Archbishop of Glasgow; and a third to Mr Patrick Scougal, to be Bishop of Aberdeen.

Towards the close of February the Prelate went from St Andrews to Edinburgh. In his going to the water side, he visited the honest Earl of Crawford, telling him that he must not supplicate for favour for any unconform ministers, nay, not for the minister of his own parish, where he dwelt, because now he was resolved to shew no favour or forbearance to any except Mr David Forret. His cruelty and violence against all honest professors, especially against unconform ministers, appeared so soon as he came to Edinburgh. For before his coming, the Laird of Earlston in Galloway was challenged by the Council for keeping of conven-

* See this document in Wodrow's History, i. 384-386.

ticles, and not hearing his own minister; he ingenuously confessed that he had no clearness to hear that man that was put in over their bellies by the Bishop, in the place of Mr John M'Millan, their minister, and that, when honest ministers came to his house they exponed scripture and prayed. The Council, until the matter should be tried, confined Earlston to the town of Edinburgh. But the Bishop coming, did challenge the Chancellor for remissness, and not executing the King's laws against delinquents, and, in particular, for confining of Earlston to Edinburgh, alleging it had been better to send him to his own house in Galloway than to detain him among the fanatic wives of Edinburgh. So Earlston is again brought before the Council; and though it was known that the Council intended no heavy censure to be put upon him, he having many friends in the Council, yet, (the Chancellor and others, not daring to displease the Bishop, but basely devoting themselves to be his burriers), by the Prelate's instigation, the Council is moved to pass a sentence of banishment against Earlston, banishing him out of Scotland; and so he first passed to Newcastle, and, after a short stay, he passed to London.

March 2, the High Commission sat down, and though their commission ordained them to summon and call before them all Popish traffickers, resetters of Jesuits and seminary priests, and all who say or hear mass, whereof there were many in the kingdom, and even not a few of them in Edinburgh, yet they only ordained some ministers in the West (where there were maniest outed, and most insufficient and scandalous curates thrust into their places over the bellies of the honest unconform people) to be summoned to their next diet, April 15. Also some complaints were given in against people that would not hear these hirelings thrust in upon them in the places of their honest ministers. These, many of them being gentlemen, were ordained to be summoned to their next diet by the curates whom they did not acknowledge to be their ministers. This commission was ordained only to endure until the 1st of November, and after, till it be discharged by his Majesty.

All this winter Mr James Wood is under a great decay in his

body; but in February, his sickness increasing, he was apprehensive of near approaching death. A little before the Prelate went to Edinburgh, he came and visited Mr Wood. Thereafter he spread reports that Mr Wood had fallen from his zeal for Presbyterian government, and that he had said, that if he were to live, he would be content to live under Episcopacy, &c. Mr Wood, being informed of these reports, judged it absolutely necessary to vindicate himself; which he did first by word of mouth before some ministers, March 1, in the afternoon, and upon the morrow he did dictate this testimony:—

"I, Mr James Wood, being now shortly to appear to render up my spirit to the Lord, find myself obliged to leave a word behind me for my just vindication before the world. It has been said of me that I have resiled, in word, at least, from my wonted zeal for Presbyterial government, expressing myself concerning it as a matter not to be accounted of, and that no man should trouble himself in the matter of the practice thereof. Surely any Christian in this Kirk that knows me, will judge that this is a wrong done to me. It's true, being under sickness, I have sometimes, in my conference about my soul's estate, said that I was taken up about a greater business than any thing of that kind, and what wonder I said so, being under such wrestling anent my interest in Jesus Christ, which is a matter of far greater concernment than any external ordinance; but for my estimation of Presbyterial government, the Lord knows that since the day he convinced my heart, (which was by a strong hand), that it is the ordinance of God, appointed by Jesus Christ, for governing and ordering of his visible Kirk, I had never the least change of thoughts concerning the necessity of it, or the necessity of the use of it; and now I declare before God and the world, that I still so account of it, and that, howbeit, there be some more precious ordinances, yet that this is so precious, that every true Christian is obliged to lay down his life for the profession of it, if the Lord shall think meet to put him to the trial; and for myself, if I were to live, I would count it my glory to seal this word of my testimony with my blood. Of

this my declaration, I take God, men and angels to be witnesses, and have subscribed it with my hand, at St Andrews, March 2, 1664, about seven hours in the afternoon, before Messrs William Tullidaff, * John Carstairs, my brother-in-law, † and John Pitcairn, writer hereof." ‡

First the report, and then the sight, of this paper did much enrage the Archprelate. He alleged that it was framed by some ministers that about that time came and visited Mr Wood, and that Mr Wood was forced to put his hand to it after he had lost his memory and judgment;§ and therefore he caused summon not only the three witnesses, but five others, who at that time came to visit Mr Wood, (viz., Messrs Alexander Wedderburn, James M'Gill, George Hamilton, Henry Rymer, and William Row), to appear before the next diet of the 'High' Commission, April 15, for keeping of conventicles at St Andrews to the disturbance of the peace, and in contempt of the authority of the Kirk, &c. The Archprelate's Diocesan Synod convened at St Andrews April 5. He had a sharp and invective sermon, inveighing against nonconformists. He pronounced the sentence of deposition against Messrs Henry Rymer and George Belfrage that were suspended at the last meeting. He continued the sentence of suspension against Mr Robert Young, who came to St Andrews in the time of their meeting, and conferred with some of them; but they did not accord; yet the Prelate did not depose him, because they that conferred with him said that there were hopes that he would be gained, which he himself said was a lie and a wronging of him. Also, at this meeting, he pronounced the sentence of suspension against six that were

* Mr William Tullidaff was admitted minister of Weems in 1688; translated thence to be principal and minister of St Leonard's College, St Andrews, in 1692, and died in 1695.—*Selections from Minutes of Synod of Fife*, 213, 234.

† Wood was married to the only sister of Mr John Carstairs, minister of Glasgow.

‡ Wood died on the 15th of March, about a fortnight after subscribing this solemn testimony for Presbyterian government, leaving behind him a widow and six children. —*M'Crie's Memoirs of Veitch, &c.*, 492.

§ In proof of the falsehood of these allegations, the reader is referred to a letter written by Mr John Carstairs to Chancellor Glencairn, inserted in Appendix to Memoirs of Veitch, &c., p. 491.

admitted before 1649,—(gladly would the Prelate have had the Council to have outed them, as they had done those ordained since 1649, and therefore, in his former meetings, he referred them to the Council; but the Council not doing it, now, but too late, some of them, especially the Chancellor, repenting what they had done, perceiving the Prelate's design to put the odium of all over upon them),—viz., against Messrs Robert Bennet, James M'Gill, Alexander Wedderburn, David Guthrie, Robert Weems, and William Row, together with Mr William Violant,* admitted since 1649; but the time of the intimation of this sentence of suspension against these seven ministers is referred to the Prelate's pleasure; so they continued preaching. It was thought that he would not intimate the sentence before the next Diocesan meeting, being spoken to by the Earl of Crawford and others for that effect.

April 11 was the day of consecration of Mr Andrew Honeyman, Prelate of Orkney, and of Mr Patrick Scougal of Aberdeen, and of installing Prelate Burnet, Archprelate of Glasgow. Mr Robert Honeyman† (who, as his brother, Mr Andrew Honeyman, had preached against bishops while he was minister of Dysart), having now intruded himself in Mr John M'Gill's place at Cupar, preached the consecration sermon, but did not please the Prelates. Of those that were summoned before the Commission anent Mr Wood's testimony, Mr John Carstairs compeared not. He is referred to the Council. Mr William Row's not compearing was excused, the Archprelate Sharp having engaged to the Earl of Crawford that he should suffer no prejudice by his not compearing, being informed

* Mr Robert Bennet was admitted minister of Kilrenny, March 23, 1642.—*Selections from Min. of Synod of Fife*, 208. Mr David Guthrie was admitted minister of Anstruther Wester, July 23, 1645.—*Ibid.*, 202. Mr Robert Weems was admitted minister of Elie, in the Presbytery of St Andrews, August 16, 1649.—*Ibid.*, 205. Mr William Violant was admitted minister of Ferry-Port-on-Craig, May 21, 1656. He became afterwards, in 1669, indulged minister at Cambusnethan, and was admitted Principal of St Mary's or New College, St Andrews, 1691, but did not long survive, having died in November 1692.—*Ibid.*, 206, 214.

† Mr Robert Honeyman was admitted minister of Newburn, April 27, 1653; translated to Dysart, March 1657; conformed to Episcopacy, 1662; was translated to Cupar, August 6, 1663; and to the second charge of St Andrews, April 1681. He died in 1686.—*Selections from Min. of Synod of Fife*, 210, 212, 220, 229.

by the said Earl that he was sent in by him at that time to visit Mr Wood, and that he was altogether free of that business. Of those that compeared, Mr William Tullidaff was first called, and, after examination, was put in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh for subscribing that seditious paper, as it was called by them. The Commission was adjourned to April 18, at which diet Mr Tullidaff was liberated out of prison, upon bail that he should compear again whensoever he was called. As for Messrs George Hamilton, Alexander Wedderburn, and James M'Gill, they were confined to their parishes, and discharged to celebrate the communion. Mr Henry Rymer, being deposed, was not censured. The lately installed Archprelate of Glasgow, who was thought by some to be of a mild and moderate temper, proves as violent as any in his Diocesan meeting. At the meeting of the Prelate of Edinburgh there was a protestation made (while the Prelate was about to depose a minister) by Mr James Nairn,* with this alternative, that if the Bishop acted in that censure as the King's delegate or commissioner, without the votes of the Synod, he had nothing to say; but if he acted in it without the votes of the Synod, as a Lord Bishop, taking the whole power of jurisdiction to himself, then he protested against such usurpation. Mr Lawrence Charteris† adhered to this protestation. Thus, some that formerly had preached and prayed against Episcopacy did delude themselves with that vain distinction, submitting to the Prelates, and keeping their meetings as the King's delegates, not considering that the King cannot give them that which he has not, or should not have, himself. Others that thought their meetings might be kept distinguished betwixt *Episcopus preses* and *Episcopus princeps*. Thus some began, "after vows, to make inquiry," and to find out new and strange glosses of the second article of the Solemn League and Covenant.

* Mr James Nairn was minister of the Abbey Church at Edinburgh. He was a popular preacher, and was one of "the Bishop's evangelists" sent to the west in 1670, to convert the Presbyterians to Prelacy.

† Mr Laurence Charteris was some time minister at Yester and Dirleton, and afterwards Professor of Divinity in the College of Edinburgh. From this last situation he was turned out for refusing to take the test. Wodrow describes him as "a man of great worth and gravity." Several of his works were published after his death.

The Parliament of England having convened in February, was by the King, May 17, adjourned to November, unless they were advertised to meet in August. This alternative was because of dissension betwixt the English and the Dutch, and appearance of wars betwixt them, there being great preparations on both sides for war. All this spring and summer time the pest raged in Holland. Prayers were poured out for the preservation of the banished ministers in Rotterdam, and other good people there.

The Lord Stairs—one of the Senators of the College of Justice that refused the Declaration—going to London, thereafter to France, and returning to London, is persuaded by the King to take the Declaration, which he did at his returning to Edinburgh, and sits down again in the session. This man, while a regent in the College of Glasgow, and an advocate in Edinburgh, was well thought of. Sure it was, that he was the man that was the penner of the Western Remonstrance; but after he took the Declaration he proved an unfriend to honest people, and in end a bitter persecutor.

This while by-past, the Earl of Argyle (being restored to his grandfather's honours and estate, so defrauding his father's creditors,) becomes a great courtier, and so he must comply with all the evil courses of the time. He likewise, at his first coming to Edinburgh from Court, takes the Declaration. *O tempora! O mores!* Ps. xxxix. 5. Argyle's becoming a courtier produces two effects: 1. There comes a letter from the King to the Council, commanding them to take down Argyle's head, that it might be buried with his body, which was done quietly in the night-time; 2. The King's Advocate, Sir John Fletcher, who was most active and instrumental in taking off that noble head, is ordained to answer to things laid to his charge before the Council, upon the peril of losing his head. There were many things libelled against him, especially bribery. Prov. xx. 26, and xxi. 1.

Towards the end of May, Glencairn the Chancellor fell sick of a fever. It was certainly known, that before he sickened he sore repented what he had done in being so instrumental to set up

bishops, especially after that Sharp got the precedency of him. He then granted that he had raised a devil that he could not lay again. He sore regretted in the time of his sickness the persecution of honest ministers and people, especially he did cry out against Sharp, that had ruined all, divided all, &c.; and calling for Mr Douglas, who then was in the Struthers visiting the Earl of Crawford, he desired to tell him that he had found Mr Douglas to be too true a prophet. After some days' sickness he died, being much regretted, even by honest men, to whom secretly and as much as he could he was friendly. His funeral was long delayed, even to July 28.

About the time of the Chancellor's death, the Earl of Teviot, governor of Tangier, was killed.

In this spring time the Lord of armies, by his immediate hand, did much diminish the great armies of the Turks, by sending the pest among them in their garrisons and the fields, so that they were nothing so formidable to the Imperialists as formerly. In the summer time they were defeated in Hungary by Count Sereni. In Germany, after the Turks had taken a stronghold, killing some general persons in the view of the Imperial army, for the which their General Montecuculi was blamed, they were defeated by the Imperialists in a pitched battle at Rahab, wherein many of their Bashaws and Janizaries were killed. The Imperialists divided their army to pursue the victory.

All this summer the pest rages in Holland; notwithstanding in the treaty with our King they are very high in their demands. Sir George Dunning is in Holland the King's envoy extraordinary. His demands are likewise high. As the pest rages in Holland, so persecution in Scotland against the godly Nonconformists. The High Commission men were the persecutors, and among them especially Sharp, who, now the Chancellor being dead, is preses in that Court, which put some to a strait appearing before them, who were not clear to give to Sharp any titles of honour, either Lord or Grace, how to speak to him when he interrogated them. But such at their first appearance gave them all the title of Lords.

Thereafter, when interrogated by the Prelate, 'they' gave him no title at all, which doubtless did not a little gall him. Many gentlemen were brought before them for not hearing of conform intruders, and were fined in great sums of money, and some of them relegat to the north, Inverness and other parts, who dwelt in the south. Several ministers were summoned; some for helping at a communion at Yarrow, by preaching to those without in time of serving the tables, they being deposed; others for helping, not being the minister's nearest neighbours, and being more than was allowed by the act of the Council; others for preaching in the fields, and baptising of children, &c. Deposed ministers, not compearing, resolved to trust to the Lord's hiding them, Jer. xxxvi. 26. Orders were issued out for apprehending of these ministers. Some ministers that compeared, trusting to their innocency, were confined to their parishes, and fined in a year's stipend. Two from Fife compeared before the Commission, Mr William Violant, minister at the Ferry, and Mr James Wellwood,* a minister in the south, now living in St Andrews. The first is commanded to remove out of the parish of the Ferry, and discharged to preach there or elsewhere. He gave a testimony against their usurping the power of ecclesiastic judicatories; whereat the Prelate was highly displeased. The other, as a perverter of the people of St Andrews, is commanded to remove six miles from St Andrews. Though both thir honest men had legal defences, and though they could prove none of their allegations, yet they gave out such unjust sentences against them. But the honest men had much inward peace and holy security. Mr Wellwood being removed, sitting down in the outer room at the Commission house door, fell fast asleep, (Psalm iii. 3-5), and awakened not till he was called on, having more peace and calm-

* This was probably Mr James Wellwood, minister of Tindergirth, in the Presbytery of Lochmaben and Synod of Dumfries, who was the father of Mr John Wellwood, whose life is given in the Scots Worthies. He was ejected from his parish after the Restoration of Charles II. for nonconformity. He was also the father of Mr Andrew Wellwood, the author of the "Glimpse of Glory," and of James Wellwood, doctor of medicine at London, and author of "Memoirs of Scotland."

ness of spirit than his arch-persecutor; for one speaking to him of a change, he answered, "Highland fool, what speak ye of a change? Whence should it come? Ye may as weal speak of taking off my head." Yea, he was so troubled, that it was reported that he could not sleep for some nights; and Mr Violant, after his preaching a very honest and free sermon, answered to one telling him that his head was in hazard for preaching so, "There's a greater matter, even as if a man could not be happy without his head."

July 28, the Chancellor was buried in great state, carried from the Abbey to the Great Kirk, and there interred. All this while it's not known who should succeed him. Some spoke of Tweeddale, some of Dumfries, others of the Archprelate Sharp, his opinion being that a churchman should have it. The common report was, that Sharp must go to Court before the Chancellor's place be filled. So, August 22, he takes journey for London. After his coming to Court the King wrote for Rothes. So, September 16, Rothes takes journey to Court.

The pest still raging in Holland, yet the Dutch still are high in their demands, being exceeding rich, and assisted by the French King. It was thought, notwithstanding of the pest, that their navy was readier than our King's, there being a great backdrawing in England; being more unwilling to engage in this war than in Oliver's time. It was said that Monk told the King that the reason of England's unwillingness was because there was a discontented people in Britain, because of the change of the government of the Kirk; and that the King, resolving to abate somewhat of the rigour used against Nonconformists, was dissuaded by the Bishops of England and the Prelate Sharp. However it was, the King wrote to his Council in Scotland for five hundred seamen, which the Council granting, the men were pressed. But the Dutch perceiving that the King was making earnest of it, sending out many ships with Prince Rupert, they became somewhat more calm and reasonable in their demands.

The King's advocate, after a long process, perceiving that he

was not able to defend himself demitted his place; which demission was taken off his hand, and thereafter the King disposes his place to Sir John Nisbet. But there were many debates at Court anent filling the Chancellor's place, Rothes, Lauderdale and Sharp consulting with the King; yet they could not agree they were so divided.

The time of the Prelates' Courts approaching, Sharp biding at London, sent a commission to Prelate Honeyman (who all this while lived still at St Andrews, with his bishoprick, keeping still the archdeanry of St Andrews) to supply his place at that meeting. So nothing was done then against Nonconformists, the sentence against the six suspended 'ministers' not being intimated. The Bishop of Dunkeld deposed all Nonconform ministers in his diocese, except Mr Thomas Black, for whom the Countess of Rothes interceded. The Archprelate of Glasgow deposed several in his diocese, yet not all that were unconform.

Towards the latter end of October the Earl of Rothes came to Edinburgh from Court, and within some few days the Archprelate Sharp followed. But yet there's no man named to fill the Chancellor's place, the King not knowing how to please all parties. But as for Sharp, the King then was convinced of his deceitful and double dealing in that affair; for when the King, to try him, offered the Chancellor's place to him, he refused it, and yet he earnestly dealt with the Archprelate of Canterbury to be very earnest with the King for the place to him, which Canterbury told the King. But though there was none named to succeed the Chancellor, yet, in the interim, the Treasurer Rothes is make keeper of the Great Seal, and so Chancellor *pro tempore*. Also he was made the King's Commissioner for Kirk affairs, (there being a convocation to be kept in May 1665), General of all the forces in Scotland, and Keeper of the Castle of Edinburgh. All these things were a grief of heart to his honourable and nearest relations.

In the latter end of this year news came that there was a peace concluded betwixt the Emperor and the Turks. In December, this year, there appeared a comet, which was much observed and

looked on. At that same time there was a tumult in Edinburgh, occasioned by some merchants refusing to pay some dues imposed by the law. In this tumult and uproar, some persons very Episcopal were threatened, and some wounded. This did so alarm the Prelates that were in the town, that they feared a popular insurrection against them and their state; Psalm xiii. 5; Levit. xxvi. 36.

In the end of the year, the pest that had raged in Holland is abated. Likewise, in the very close of the year, some seeds of war betwixt the English and the Dutch are sown; for the English take some Holland ships, and again the Dutch take Guinea from the English, putting them all to the edge of the sword, men, women and children. Thereafter the Dutch take sixteen ships of the English East India fleet, which was a great loss to the English.

Towards the latter end of January 1665, the sentence of suspension given out against Messrs Robert Bennet, James M'Gill, Alexander Wedderburn, David Guthrie, Robert Weems and William Row, in April 1664, was intimated to them, a messenger-at-arms coming to them from the Archprelate Sharp. Some of them preached a farewell sermon the Sabbath before the intimation of their sentence, having gotten intelligence that the sentence would be intimated to them before the next Sabbath. The sentence coming to Mr William Row betwixt the second and third bell, on his week preaching day, though he resolved to have preached after the intimation of the sentence, yet, being advised by his elders and others not to preach, refusing to hear him, because it would wrong them, there being many out of several parishes about convened, he caused call the people out of the kirk to the kirkyard, and there, in a harangue, delivered to them what he intended to preach on 1 Thessalonians ii. 17; and so took he leave of his congregation, Acts xx. 19, 32.

At this time the Archprelate Sharp did intimate to Mr Robert Young the sentence of deposition against him, which, when he had received, he caused detain the messenger until he wrote an appeal, appealing from the Prelate's unjust sentence, to the King's

Majesty for redress, setting down the causes of his appeal. He closed his appeal in a letter to the Archprelate. The messenger, not knowing what was enclosed in the letter, did deliver it to the Prelate, which did not a little trouble him, and he was so incensed against the messenger that he never thereafter employed that messenger. But he knew not well how to help himself.

In the end of January the comet disappears.

About this time there being several persons fined for not hearing the intruded Conformists, or for hearing unconform ministers preach or pray even in families, their fines were exacted. Also some gentlemen refusing to take the Declaration, were fined, and their fines exacted. Also at sea the English rencounters with the Dutch Smyrna fleet, chases and takes some of them, but lost two of their best ships in the pursuit, on sand banks, upon the Dutch coast.

April 6, Sharp's Diocesan Court met. The six ministers before mentioned that were suspended, and the sentence intimated to them, were then deposed. When in the privy conference, (where all things are concluded that are done at these meetings), the Prelate told them that he resolved to depose these six that were suspended, and now their sentence intimated to them, some of that cabal that had not lost all humanity, ingenuity, [ingenuousness], or kind respect to their innocent brethren, began to plead, some for one of the six, some for another. The Prelate, enraged and incensed against them, said, "I see there is none of thir [these] six but some will plead for them. Come, come, this is the thing that I have resolved to do, and it must be done." Thereafter none durst open his mouth against what the domineering Prelate said.

In the beginning the Prelate offered to put the matter to the vote of the Synod; but fearing lest, as in the privy conference, (which cabal is made up of his most confidents), 'where' some favoured the suspended ministers, so in the meeting many would vote against their deposition, he did not put it to the vote of the meeting; arrogating to himself a negative vote, and the sole power of jurisdiction, most prelate-like. The intimation of the sentence was a little

delayed, and the act of deposition was thus framed. They were threatened with the intimation of the sentence of deposition and execution thereof according to the laws, if they came not in to the precinct meeting of St Andrews (though one of them was of the precinct meeting at Cupar) upon the 26th of April, and declared their willingness to keep all the Kirk judicatories, and act with their brethren in these judicatories, according to the laws, that then 'and' in that case their kirks would be declared vacant, and they holden for deposed, &c.

They not coming in to the precinct meeting at St Andrews, April 26, were by the Prelate looked upon as deposed, though their deposition was neither intimated to the respective patrons nor parishes; so illegally did the Prelate deal with these ministers. Yea, one of them who was not summoned to the Prelate's Synod, offered a conference with the precinct meeting, before the intimation of the sentence of suspension, and named the person with whom he desired to confer. This offer being accepted by the precinct meeting, they met and conferred, and appointed a second diet of meeting and conference. And when the constant moderator told the Prelate of the conference, he promised that nothing should be done against that person until the conference was closed; yet, notwithstanding, contrary to his promise, he caused intimate his sentence before the second diet of the conference came. False to God, never true to man.

This spring both the English and Dutch make great preparations for new engagements and sea fights. In April another comet appears bigger than the other, but not blazing. In this month the Prelate of Dunkeld, Halliburton, died. It was observed that after he deposed Mr Andrew Donaldson and some others, immediately he sickened and never recovered. He was so full of ulcers and boils that his wife and nearest relations refused to come near him. In the beginning of the year following, the Prelate of Argyle died. After these great preparations for war at sea, the first rencounter was betwixt two English frigates and three of the Dutch. The two English take the three Dutch frigates.

April 12, there was a great Council day; but before that Council day there was an oath of secrecy required of all the Counsellors, which was renewed at this great Council day; when after debate it was resolved upon that the country should be put in a posture of defence. But Prelate Sharp opposed the motion, for fear lest weapons being put in mad men's hands they should turn the edge of them against prelates. The Council also at this time passed an act for disarming disaffected persons to the government; so the west country was for the most part disarmed, and yet all this was thought not to be the thing that they intended to keep as a secret, for concealing whereof they required an oath of secrecy of all the Counsellors.

There were days of humiliation and fasting kept both in England and Scotland, not for the apostacy, perjury, and manifold provocations of the times, but only for success to the sea war against the Dutch. The like was done in Holland in the beginning of June. About this time the pest was raging in England in several places, and was evil at London, insomuch that the Court removes out of London, but the pest follows it; so the Court is dissipated. The Duke of York goes to York.

June 3, there was a sea fight betwixt the two navies. Reports went that the English had the better of it. However there was kept in England and Scotland a day of thanksgiving for the victory over the Dutch at sea. In this fight, the ship wherein Opdam, the Dutch Admiral was, is blown up. De Ruyter, who, at the time of this engagement was roving up and down the sea, taking many prizes from the English, was much longed for in Holland to supply Opdam's place, there being a hot contest anent the admiralty, betwixt Tromp and Aversone de Witt. Both nations make new preparations for a new engagement. The English crave new assistance from Scotland, both men and money. For this assistance, especially for levying of money, there is a Convention of Estates called August 2. This convention lays upon the country a taxation for five years of 200,000 merks *per annum*.

In June, Mr John Forrest, minister at Tulliallan, celebrated the

communion, at which occasion there was a great confluence of people; the Earl of Kincardine, many gentlemen and outed ministers being there. The Prelate Sharp complained of it to the King, making many lies, that outed ministers did preach, and that there was preaching in the kirkyard and fields, &c. Especially he complained of the Earl of Kincardine, who wrote the truth of all the matter to the King, and apologised for himself. The Prelate Leighton, in whose diocese Tulliallan is, connived at least at the precinct meeting their processing and deposing of Mr John Forrest. Also, about this time, Mr David Williamson's colleague at the West Kirk having preached for the ceremonies, and Mr David having refuted him, his colleague having complained, Mr David was accused before the High Commission. He flinched from his testimony, and craved pardon for his rashness, yet, notwithstanding of this, he was discharged to preach at the West Kirk. About this time there came from Court a patent for Mr Harrie Guthrie,* (who had been very forward for the Reformation in the years 1637 and 1638, &c.) to be Prelate of Dunkeld, and another to Mr Young to be Prelate of Argyle. Young dies at the receiving of his patent. About the beginning of August, Mr Harrie Guthrie was consecrated by an express warrant from the King. Also about this time the Prelates, and all those that were highly Episcopal, were feared for an insurrection against them; therefore they caused to apprehend and imprison some persons whom they suspected, viz., Colonel Robert Montgomery, General Major Hepburn, and Sir George Monro. Psalm liii. 5; Lev. xxvi. 36.

De Ruyter leaving the most part of his ships in Borill, [Brille] for a blind, privately steals into Holland, which puts an end to the

* Henry Guthrie, son to John Guthrie, of the family of Guthrie, in Angus, was first chaplain to the Earl of Mar, and then became minister of Stirling. He was deposed for malignancy on the 14th of November 1648. After the Restoration he was replaced in the ministry, and, in this year, made Bishop of Dunkeld, which See he possessed till his death, which took place in 1676 or 1677. He wrote Memoirs of Scottish affairs from the year 1637, until the murder of King Charles I.—*Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, 98. These Memoirs, which were published after his death, are suspected of interpolations, and are far from being what they profess to be, "An impartial Relation of Affairs."

controversy betwixt Tromp and De Witt, for De Ruyter carries the flag, and commands in chief, with the assistance of a triumvirate. The English judging themselves affronted by De Ruyter's getting into Holland, a squad of their navy comes to Borill and demands his ships from the captain of the castle, but in vain; for they being beaten from the castle, lost many men, and their ships were sore shattered. Yet, thereafter, at several times, they took from the Dutch ten men of war and many merchant ships. Some of them were richly laden.

In harvest there was kept a day of humiliation for the pest in London, the Parliament then sitting at Oxford to raise monies for the war. At this time the Dutch navy bravades the English upon their coast, dissipates a navy going to Tangier, and takes some of them, and some colliers upon their coast; yea some of them come up our Frith to Leith Road. At this time the Bishop of Munster by land, as the English by sea, vexes the Dutch and prospers against them; but the French assist the Dutch, and send 6000 men to rencounter Munster. Again our King assists the Bishop of Munster with sums of money, and promises men, &c. The war betwixt England and Holland is of that great concernment and importance that it divides whole Europe almost in parties. On the one side there is the Dutch, the French, Denmark, and the Emperor; on the other side, England, the Pope, (who sent a consecrated sword to the Bishop of Munster), and Munster. But Sweden lies neuter; so that now there are wars and rumours of wars in all nations of Europe. There is great appearance of war betwixt England and France.

One Mr Smith,* an outed minister, was apprehended for keeping a conventicle in Edinburgh. When he appeared before the High Commission, because he gave not the accustomed titles of honour to Sharp, he was put in the basest prison, viz., the thieves' hole, and in iron bolts, where there was a madman imprisoned; but the furious madman was so by the Lord restrained that he did not

* This was Mr Alexander Smith, minister at Cowend. He was now residing at Leith.—*Wodrow's History*, i. 393.

hurt the minister, but held the candle to him when he read; yea he blessed God that had sent a minister to him who would do him meikle good. But they being ashamed for putting a minister in the thieves' hole, and that with a furious man, did take him out and put him in the Tolbooth, among the basest prisoners, to whom he preached and did meikle good. One of them, at his death, when he was executed, left his blessing to Mr Smith, saying he never heard the gospel preached but by him. The Prelates hearing that he preached to the prisoners among whom he was, caused banish him to Shetland, where he was very busy preaching, praying and exhorting wherever he was, and aye doing good.*

Of the six vacant kirks before mentioned, three, viz., Kilrenny, Mr Bennet's; Forgan, Mr Wedderburn's; and Largo, Mr M'Gill's kirk, were planted by the Prelate Sharp.

At this time Leighton, pretending to be displeased with the rest of the Prelates' proceedings, especially for outing of so many honest ministers, and filling their places with so insufficient, and, for the most part, scandalous men, was desirous to demit his place, and told so much to many, yea even to his Diocesan Synod. One Mr Robert Young, who formerly had been a Papist, was transported from Cramond to St Andrews, and made Archdean. But Honeyman, Prelate of Orkney, still lives at St Andrews; which made some say that he would convert the people of Orkney by writing epistles to them; but if his rents and revenues came to St Andrews he was satisfied. After this, one Mr James Tyrie,† a Papist and a most profane atheist, was by Sharp made one of the ministers of the New College of St Andrews, he having renounced

* He continued in Shetland many years. "I am told," says Wodrow, "that for four years he lived alone in a wild, desolate island, in a very miserable plight; he had nothing but barley for his bread, and his fuel to ready it with was sea-tangle and wreck, and had no more to preserve his miserable life."—*Wodrow's History*, i. 393. On the 12th of December 1667 he was ordered by the Privy Council to be brought to Edinburgh to appear before them. He appeared in July 1668, when he was banished to Orkney, and required to confine himself to the island of North Ronaldshay.—*Ibid.* 99, 112.

† Mr James Tyrie was admitted second master or Professor of Divinity in St Mary's or New College of St Andrews, 1667.—*Selections from Minutes of Synod of Fife*, 214.

Popery before the precinct meeting; and yet, notwithstanding, the Prelate Sharp had the impudence to say that he outed no man but he put as good in their place.

At this time there came from Holland the "Apologetical Narration," &c., thought to be published by the honest ministers banished to Holland, especially by Robert M'Ward, who, a little before this, had published pious and learned Mr Rutherford's letters, written by him during his confinement at Aberdeen in 1636 and 1637, and some few written by him thereafter. These letters were much thought of abroad, as appears by the testimony of Matthias Nethenus, (who published Mr Rutherford's Examen Arminianismi), who was professor of theology at Utrecht. In his preface to the reader he says, "Vir Dei, Samuel Rhetorfortis, natione Scotus, doctrina magnus, sed sanctitate, pietate, zelo domus Dei et Regni Christi, quem spirant omnia ipsius scripta, sed maxime omnium Epistolæ post obitum ejus ante quadriennium editæ." &c. These letters were also much commended and praised in England, especially at London, by unconform ministers.

Towards the close of this year, some west country gentlemen, and others, are imprisoned in Edinburgh for keeping conventicles in the west; and, in the latter end of the year, the Declaration is pressed upon these persons that had been fined, and had paid the one-half of their fine. They that refused the Declaration paid the other half, though some of them had gotten a remit thereof from the King; so persecution waxes hotter and hotter. And at this time Popery increased, and Papists multiplied and conceived big hopes that all would go well with them, and that Popery would yet be set up in the land. In Aberdeen there was avowedly said, in nine places, the mass, whereas the Gospel was preached only in two places of the town. Also in Edinburgh there are masses said avowedly in many places, especially in the Canongate; yea, the mass was said in Cupar of Fife, which, of all the shires of Scotland, was freest of Popery and Papists before this time; for, about Martinmas this year, the infamous Lady Anne Gordon, the Mar-

quis of Huntly's sister, with her mother, brother, and sister, came and dwelt in Cupar.

About the middle of December there are issued out by the Council two proclamations; the first against conventicles, which then abounded in Edinburgh, and other places where honest unconform ministers dwelt. At this time many outed suffering ministers lived and lurked in Edinburgh, viz., Messrs Gilbert Hall, George Johnston, James Kirkton, George Campbell, Robert Fleming,* John Scot, &c., who were very busy preaching in the town, especially in the winter time. In Kirkcaldy there were Messrs Robert Blair, Robert Rule, James Wilson, John Law.† The first two were very busy in preaching and lecturing, ordinarily, and at extraordinary occasions, especially on the last day of every month. There were three old ministers in St Andrews' Presbytery that were not outed, Messrs David Forret, George Hamilton, and Colin Adam; and in Cupar Presbytery, Mr Walter Greig; and in Kirk-

* Mr George Johnston, at the Restoration, was minister of Newbottle, in the Presbytery of Dumfries. During the persecution he was a noted field-preacher. He was opposed to the Indulgence, but held the same moderate views as John Welsh respecting the duty of exercising forbearance towards the ministers who accepted it.— *Wodrow's History*, iii. 23. He survived the Revolution. Mr James Kirkton was, previous to his ejection, minister of Mertoun, in the Merse. On September 3, 1672, he and Mr John Greig were named, by act of Council, as indulged ministers for Carstairs; but of this indulgence he did not avail himself. After the Revolution he became minister of the Tolbooth Church, Edinburgh, where he continued to preach till his death, which took place in September 1699. He is the author of a History of the Church of Scotland during the Persecution.—*Biographical Notice of Kirkton, prefixed to his History.* Mr George Campbell was, previous to his ejection, minister of Dumfries. He survived the Revolution, and became Professor of Divinity in the College of Edinburgh. Mr Robert Fleming was minister of Cambuslang. He afterwards became one of the pastors of the Scottish Church in Rotterdam; and died at London on the 25th of July 1694, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. He is the author of "The Fulfilling of the Scripture," and various other works.

† Mr Robert Rule, brother to the celebrated Dr Gilbert Rule, was minister of Stirling, before his ejection. In 1672 he became minister of the Presbyterian Church in Derry, Ireland, where he officiated till the year 1688, when he returned to Scotland, and was admitted minister of Kirkcaldy, July 24, 1688, and translated to Stirling, April 1693.—*Reid's History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, ii. 407; *Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife*, 231. Mr James Wilson was admitted first minister of Dysart, 1653, and deposed in 1661.—*Selections, &c.*, 229. Mr John Law was, at the Restoration, minister of Campsie, and, after the Revolution, became one of the ministers of Edinburgh.

caldy Presbytery, Messrs Thomas Melvill and Thomas Black;* and in the Presbytery of Dunfermline there lurked some outed ministers, viz., Messrs George Hutchison, Andrew Donaldson, who were busy preaching; so that, as yet, there were no field-meetings in Fife for preaching, neither were they needed.

The second proclamation was an enlarging of that most unreasonable proclamation against outed ministers, and rendering it more unreasonable, so that it was, in some cases, almost impossible to obey it. *First*, It enjoined ministers to remove from their kirks twenty miles, not only they themselves, but their wives and children, and whole families. *Secondly*, There behoved not to be two of them in one parish. *Thirdly*, All magistrates in towns, sheriffs, justices of peace in the country, are commanded to execute this cruel proclamation. This was judged by all moderate and sober men, even amongst the Prelatic party, persecution to the height; and it was observed that the Prelates' trick was, in the depth of winter, to compel honest ministers to transport their wives and little children in frost and snow twenty miles, and if there was any outed minister there before them, they must yet wander up and down, though it were to the Highlands, and Isles of the sea, before they can find a resting-place; but they contrived it so, that they might not live in towns, nor near them, for breeding of their children. This was an old trick of their father to root out true religion, and to ruin them and their families. Yea, Sharp said he should starve them out of their opinions and principles; which being told to an honest outed young minister, Mr Andrew Spence,† (the only outed minister in Angus), he said, "He'll have meikle to do with it, so long as the oats are for forty shillings Scots the boll!"

About this time, one Mr James Scot, an old Episcopal minister,

* Mr Walter Greig was admitted assistant and successor to Mr Thomas Douglas, minister of Balmerino, previous to 1638, but in what year is uncertain. He died January 31, 1672.—*Ibid.* 217. Mr Thomas Melvill, "brother to the Laird of Raith," was minister of Kinglassie, to which charge he was admitted December 16, 1630.—*Ibid.*, 231. Mr Thomas Black was minister of Leslie, to which he was admitted 1645.—*Ibid.*, 232. In the same work it is said that he was outed in 1663.

† In some lists of the ejected ministers he is called minister in Brechin.—*Wodrow's History*, i. 329.

is planted in Ancrum, being thrust in by the Prelate, in honest Mr Livingstone's kirk. Some zealous young men in that parish make some opposition when Mr James Scot was thrust in upon that people. The Council being stirred up thereto, especially by Sharp, ordained them to be whipt through Edinburgh, burnt in the cheek, and thereafter banished to the Barbadoe Isles; all which were quickly executed. But the honest young men being poor, were well provided for by the honest people in Edinburgh. As much money was collected as bought them from the merchants to whom they were sold, that so they might be freemen when they landed in Barbadoes, and not made slaves. Also, at this time, the Council condemned the book called "The Apologetical Narration," &c. And there were some houses in Edinburgh searched if there were any of these books in them. The book being found in Mr James Guthrie's relict's house she was imprisoned. Mrs Trail went out of the town with some others.

In the latter end of this year, the King of France recalls his ambassador from England, as our King did the Lord Hollis, his ambassador, from France. There were some acts of hostility betwixt the two kingdoms, especially in the Mediterranean sea and Channel. The King of France levies 40,000 men to strengthen his army. So there was appearance of war betwixt England and France.

One Mr Hugh Peebles * is relegat to the north, for keeping of conventicles in his house in the west, and especially for protesting against that judicatory, the High Commission, and declining them, and for not giving to Sharp his titles of honour; for by this time it was judged sinful by all unconform ministers to give to Prelates titles of honour upon any account, even by them who formerly had done it in the former Prelates' time. And though this time was

* Mr Hugh Peebles was, previous to the Restoration, minister of Lochwinnoch in the shire of Renfrew. He was confined to the north for several years by the High Commission Court. On the 12th of December 1667, he is allowed by the Privy Council to go west to order his affairs, upon giving a bond of £100 sterling, to answer the Council when called. He was brought before the Council on the 28th of August, 1670, and declining to engage in time coming not to keep conventicles, he was confined to Dumbarton and a mile around it.—*Wodrow's History*, ii. 99, 153.

very sad, persecution waxing hotter and hotter, especially in Galloway and Nithsdale, yet some conceived good hopes, if not of a delivery, yet of some abatement of the persecution, and thought that they heard the clattering of the dry bones. There were some contrivances of rising and taking of arms in the west and Galloway; for they were most oppressed and persecuted by the Prelates, who stirred up the Council to use all severities, cruel means and ways to ruin the west and Galloway, after they had disarmed them, fined them, imprisoned the chief leading men, and had done what they could by quartering on the country people, to lay waste and desolate that whole country.

The Bishop of Munster prospers against the Dutch, kills some of the Dutch and French that assisted the Hollanders.

In the beginning of the year 1666, (a year much talked of, and written of by many divines, especially chronologists, so that some conceived hopes of the downfall of the Pope and Prelates that year), there were great preparations for sea fights betwixt the English and Dutch. About the middle of January, the Prelate Sharp goes to Edinburgh, having placed one Mr David Taylor* in Anstruther Wester, in Mr Guthrie's place. About the beginning of February, the King of France denounces war against England, declaring that there was an ancient league betwixt France and the United Provinces, so that he behoved to look upon all their enemies as his enemies. He commands his subjects to fall upon the English as their enemies by sea and land. In the beginning of March there was a proclamation at the cross of Edinburgh and pier of Leith, denouncing war against France, whereas the King of France had not denounced war against Scotland but only against England. So stout would we appear to be in our proclamations and paper skirmishes, even against France, betwixt whom and Scotland there was a very ancient league. Arms were to be brought to Scotland; but the Prelates in England, with Chancellor Hyde, as well as our own at home, were

* Mr David Taylor was admitted minister of Anstruther Wester May 13, 1668.—*Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife*, 202.

against bringing of arms to Scotland, for fear of putting weapons in mad men's hands, foreprophesying that they would be employed against themselves and the Episcopal party. In March, the King's Commissioner for Church affairs, Rothes, and Prelate Sharp, return to Fife, these two being too closely linked together.

About this time, the King of Denmark having declared for the Hollanders, the Swedes did not as yet declare either for the English or the Dutch, but mediate with our King, the King of France, and the Dutch, for peace amongst them; and for this effect ambassadors are sent to them. Also about this time there is drawn on a treaty of peace betwixt the Bishop of Munster and the Hollanders. The Bishop writes to our King anent the treaty with the Dutch. The Swedes denounce war against the Danes in the Sound, and so declare for our King.

In the beginning of this year Mr Blair did finish his Commentary upon the Proverbs, and made it ready for the press. And being desired, likewise, to write upon Ecclesiastes, he said that the second edition of the English annotations upon that book was a sufficient commentary upon it. While he was at Kirkcaldy, being wearied with studying and preaching, he did recruit himself partly with teaching his youngest sons the Greek tongue and the logicks, and partly by composing some poems, one whereof was *In praise of Christ*, viz.—

In laudem Christi.

Quis tibi dilectus amabilisque?
Quem sitis tanto vehementer æstu?
Nomen et mores doceas velimus
Dic et amores?

Gloriæ Patris nitidus character,
Atque personæ radians imago,
Cœlites cujus faciem beatam
Semper adorant.

Ora velantes propria, et fatentes
Se triumphatos jubaris nitore
Talis et tanti, et proprias coronas
Projicientes.

Fons inexhaustus bonitatis almæ,
Qui rigas pleno sitibunda rivo
Corda sanctorum, penitus medullis
Insitus imis.

Ut novus sponsus nitide politus
Gemmeis totus radiis refulgens,
Sic mihi afflicto et spoliato amicis
Gaudia spirans.

Hic mihi Sol justitiæ serenus,
Semper inspirans vegetum vigorem,
Usque propulsans tenebras jacenti
Mortis in umbra.

Iste quem totus videt Orbis ingens,
Isque procurrens rediensque numquam,
Sive tu sponsum vocites jocose
Sive gigantem.

Si tamen quisquam velit inter istos
Impares multum nimiumque longe,
Calculis justis rationem inire et
Ponere lances;

Hic statim noster pudefactus omni
Orbe detrusus, velut in culina
Quid nisi prunæ fugiens favilla
Parva videtur.

Ille cœlestis patriæ refulgens
Lampas et lumen, rapiens amores
Abstulit nostros, habeatque semper
Me sibi jungens.

Ille dejectum fluviis amoris
Languidum semper recreat fovetque, et
Carneam molem sibi suscitabit,
Tabe ruentem.

Spiritus qualis Domino est futurus,
Quamque divinus macula expiatus,
Quando compages similis futura est
Carnea Christo.

Robertus Blarius.

To another long poem, wherein he did refute the grossest of the Popish heresies, he prefixed this title :—

In bellarminum et Socios Papæ pedissequos.

Tu bellum, arma, minas indicis vestra neganti
Effata: hic audit protinus hæreticus.
Ille meretricis mos est affingere crimen
Vicinæ proprium quod sciat esse sibi.
Divinis placitis hominum commenta prophane
Æquas; quæ recipi vis pietate pari.
Ast homines æquare Deo blasphema superba,
Hæresis est, superans dogmata prava procul. &c.

And when Mr Blair did see the ship sailing by Kirkcaldy, wherein his dear brother, Mr Livingstone, was carried going to Holland, in obedience to the sentence of banishment pronounced against him by the Secret Council, he composed two epigrams :—

Chare Levistone salve, multumque valeto,
Invidia ipsa crepet, te mea musa canet.
Tu lachrimis madefacte tuis, nos linquis in alto
Stertentes somno, lethiferoque malo,
Sed tralio et sociis suavis comes ibis in oras,
Quas debit Omnipotens visere propitius. &c.

After Mr Blair had abode at Kirkcaldy three years and four months, the Archprelate Sharp hearing that Mr Blair did keep days of humiliation with some honest people in the town of Kirkcaldy, and others; that he did often lecture and preach besides his ordinary family exercise morning and evening, and that he was visited often, and sometimes by persons of quality; did in the Secret Council complain that Mr Blair did not obey the late proclamation, living still in the town of Kirkcaldy, there being also other outed ministers there, especially Mr Robert Rule.* Mr

* An act of Council was passed, Nov. 17, 1664, requiring all ejected ministers to remove from Edinburgh, and other places forbidden by act of Council, dated August 13, 1663, within forty-eight hours after the publication of the act.—*Wodrow's History*, i. 402. But Blair on petitioning the Council had been allowed to remain in Kirkcaldy, as appears from the following act. "*Edinburgh, 24th Nov.* 1664.—The Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council having considered a petition presented by Mr Robert Blair, desiring that, notwithstanding the late act of Council discharging ministers who have not conformed to depart forth of the town of Edinburgh, and not to reside there, nor within several miles of the place they last preached at, he may have the liberty to come to Edinburgh or Leith for having the help and advice of physicians, being sore diseased, at least liberty to stay still in Kirkcaldy, where he now is, do remit the desire of the above written petition to the Lord Archbishop of St Andrews, and, in the

Blair being hereof informed, and knowing the Prelate's envy and malice against him, and that he would never cease until he obtained an order for thrusting of Mr Blair and his family out of Kirkcaldy, he resolved as soon as he could to remove out of Kirkcaldy to some place in the country, twenty miles from St Andrews, three miles from a town, &c., that he might (if possible) obey the late proclamation, and act in all the particulars of it. And so, in the latter end of February this year, 1666, Mr Blair removed out of Kirkcaldy, and came and dwelt in the house of Couston, in the parish of Aberdour.

In April this year the Bishop of Munster concludes a peace with the Dutch without our King's consent, who had assisted him with money and men. He sends one to the King to excuse himself at his hand.

May 1, the Prelate Sharp goes to Edinburgh, intending thence to go to court. Athole follows him.

This spring time our King's navy goes first to sea, being strong and having in some land soldiers. Their first design was against the King of Denmark to surprise the Castle of Elsinore. The Swedes join with him in this against the Danes, though, in respect of the war with the Dutch, they yet abode neuter. Also the Scottish capers* take many great prizes, the Dutch not apprehending danger from the Scots at sea. Some of our grandees get much by their caping; but men of tender consciences would not meddle with it. The Dutch fleet comes not to sea till towards the latter end of May. The King of France sends his fleet to sea with the Duke of Beaufort, and with him there is about sixteen Dutch men of war. This made the English to divide their fleet. Monk has with him about fifty-four sail to attend the motions of the Dutch; Prince Rupert another squad to attend the Duke of Beaufort. Monk first falls on the Dutch and provokes them to

meantime, grant warrant to the petitioner to stay at Kirkcaldy."—*Decrects of Privy Council.*

* *Capers*—Sc. privateers. *Caping or cappering*—Sc. seizing vessels. "In Scotland some private persons made themselves rich by *caping* or privateering upon the Dutch, but the public had no great cause of boasting."—*Wod. Hist.* i. 420.

fight, June 1. They engage and fight terribly. The Dutch send out sixteen fresh ships June 2. So the second day Monk is worsted and retires; and on the third day, while Monk is still striving to make a safe retreat, at evening Prince Rupert comes to his aid. So the fourth day there is a most bloody fight. At night they part like two tired cocks; both of them brag of the victory. The Dutch take some of the greatest of the royal ships, and many prisoners, and some of the King's prime officers die of their wounds.

In June Dr Scrogie is consecrated Bishop of Argyle at Glasgow, though he understood not a word of Irish [Gaelic.]

About the beginning of July the Dutch navy sets to sea very strong, with twenty-five ships and many land soldiers. They bravade the English upon their coast. But the King's navy is not yet ready, though there was a great press in England for seamen.

There was a fast indicted by the King, July 11 and 18, for good success to our King's navy and forces, but never a word of sin, the cause of all our troubles and losses; for the land-destroying sin durst not be named, viz., breach of covenant. There are great preparations in England to resist the French and Dutch, in case they should land men on the English coast. Also in Scotland there are orders to levy some troops of horse, beside the King's lifeguard, and some companies of foot, the horse to be commanded by the Dukes Hamilton, Rothes, &c.; the foot by Linlithgow and Sir George Munro, who at this time was set at liberty, and thereafter made General-Major of the foot. Some few stands of arms were sent to Scotland by the King, the Bishops of England and Hyde refusing to send many.

The Dutch, with the French and Danes, lie along the English coast, strong and insolent, and give many alarms.

Our King's navy sets to sea, towards the end of July, ninety sail, with eighteen fireships. July 25, they engaged with the Dutch. There was a very bitter and bloody fight for five or six hours. There being a discord between De Ruyter and Tromp, and

some of De Ruyter's captains deserting him, he made a handsome retreat into the Tessell [Texel], and other harbours, losing many men and some few ships. At last Tromp was beaten and fled. For this victory days of thanksgiving were kept in Scotland, August 23 and 30. Immediately before this sea fight, Prelate Sharp came from Court to Edinburgh. Reports did flee abroad that he had brought with him the English Common Prayer or Service Book, to be obtruded upon and established in Scotland, and orders for pressing the Declaration upon all in places of power or trust. But whatever truth was in these reports, it was certain that the troops and companies were levied (which was a heavy and insupportable burden to the impoverished country), for no other end than to guard and uphold the Prelates, and to persecute all the godly and honest conscientious people of the land, that would refuse to go along with the Prelates' wicked courses, and all the abominations of this time of grossest defection, perjury and apostacy. Yea, now there were rational and probable grounds of fear, that many of the Prelates, both in England and Scotland, and some of the grandees in both kingdoms, with some of the officers of the forces, were contriving how to carry on a Popish design, and in order thereunto to introduce the Liturgy or English Service Book, only as a further step to Popery in Scotland, as was intended in the year 1637.

After the late sea fight, wherein the English were victors, they, bearing towards the Holland coast, thought to have interrupted a Dutch fleet, returning home richly laden; but the wind hindering, they got into their harbours. Yet one Captain Homes landed 1000 musketeers in an isle called Ulie, and burnt the town and a hundred and fifty merchant ships. They passed from that isle to another, called Skylling. They killed all without mercy, and burnt their houses; thereafter returned to their ships; which cruelty and great loss of ships, together with the Scots capering [privateering], did not a little irritate the Dutch.

In this summer there was a peace concluded betwixt our King and Gylland, king of the Moors, upon the coast of Africa, near

Tangier. Gylland offers his assistance to the Governor of Tangier, in case the French should offer injury to the garrison that our King kept in Tangier, whereof Middleton was made governor; for after he was decourted, degraded, and in effect disgraced, and had for some space lived obscurely at London, he was by the King sent over to Tangier, to be governor there in the Earl of Teviot's room. After he had for some years been governor there, he arose out of bed in his sleep, and fell over the stairs and broke his arm, so that the bone of his broken arm was thrust into his bowels, which presently brought him to an untimely and violent death. This is that man Middleton, who sometime was most active and forward for the good cause, and famous for being instrumental in carrying on the Lord's work in Scotland, but thereafter was as infamous for breaking down the carved work thereof, Psalm lxxiv. 5, 6. He was the man employed as Commissioner to the Parliament 1661, to break the Kirk of Scotland and the Covenant, and he falls and breaks his arm and the thread of his own life, Psalm x. 15; ix. 16.

After Mr Blair came to Couston, in the spring time, his health grew much better than it had been in winter time in Kirkcaldy; so that sometimes he walked out and recreated himself in the fields. All this spring and summer time, until Lammas, Mr Blair was busy keeping days of humiliation, especially the last day of the month. Some godly persons from Kirkcaldy and Burntisland, and some few about Couston, resorting unto him, he did much commend Richard Alleine's first two pieces, making much use of them morning and evening in his ordinary family exercise. He was sometimes visited by honest outed ministers and some persons of quality. To the young ministers that were laid aside, he often sadly regretted that so many pious, able, well-qualified ministers were hindered from public preaching of the gospel, and going about all the other pastoral duties among their flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers, saying, "As for me, who am an old hag that must shortly die, it is not to be regretted that I am laid aside; but it breaks my heart, and I cannot bear up any longer under this

oppressing burden, that so many young men whom God hath made able ministers of the New Testament, should be laid aside;" but still he encouraged them, exhorting them in the meantime, to be busy where, when, and as they might, and to be amending their nets, preparing for more public employment.

After Mr Blair had lived five months and some few days at Couston, being worn with old age, but much more with sorrow and grief of heart for the desolations of the Lord's sanctuary and house in Scotland, England and Ireland; about the 10th of August, he was much distempered by reason of obstructions; but after Dr Cunningham had sent over John Kennedy to him, who gave him physic, he recovered a little, so that his wife and relations had some hopes that it would please the Lord to continue him with them for some space yet longer; but still Mr Blair entertained most serious thoughts of near approaching death, ever commending, praising and extolling his good Lord and Master whom he had served from seven to seventy-three. His sickness increasing, he was visited by several godly and gracious persons, to whom he uttered and spoke many gracious and edifying words. At one time, when they told him of some severe acts of the Council which they made, being instigated thereto by the Prelate Sharp, he said "O Sharp! Sharp! there is no rowing with thee; Lord open thine eyes, and give thee repentance and mercy, if it be thy will." To Mrs Rutherford he said, when some were speaking of the Archbishop Sharp, "I would not exchange my condition, though I be now lying on my bed of languishing and dying, with thine, O Sharp, for thy mitre and all thy riches and revenues, nay, though all that's betwixt thee and me were red gold to the boot." Several ministers visited him, to whom he expressed some hopes of an approaching delivery, saying that it was to him a token of good, and he thought it a kind of beginning of our delivery that the Lord was casting the Prelates out of the affections of all ranks and degrees of people; and even they that were most active in setting them up, did now most hate and loathe them, perceiving their pride, falsehood and covetousness. And when he was asked, if he thought the delivery of the people of

God was near at hand, he said, he would not take upon him peremptorily to determine times and seasons, which God keeps in his own hand and power, but this he thought, that before our delivery came the people of God behoved to endure and patiently suffer a sad storm, &c.

After he had very christianly, gravely and solemnly blessed his wife and all his children, speaking to them severally, commending or admonishing them as he judged expedient; his eldest son that was then alive said to him, "The worst and best of men have their first and second thoughts, they have their thoughts and after-thoughts. Now, sir, God has given you time for your after-thoughts of your way and carriage in the world, and we would hear what are now your after-thoughts." To whom he said, "I have again and again thought upon my ways, and communed with my heart, and as for my public actings and carriage, in reference to the Lord's work, if I were to begin again, I would just do as I have done." Thereafter his son said, "Now sir, when the Lord is to remove you from us, though we have often heard you express yourself in reference to the Lord's work and his people, we desire to hear of you what are now your hopes of the Lord's reviving his work and delivering his people?" To whom he said, "David, you know that I never pretended to a spirit of prophecy, though this I will say, that the Lord hath revealed much of his mind and will concerning myself and near relations to me, and I have foretold somethings concerning myself and my nearest relations; but as touching the certainty of the thing, I mean the reviving of the Lord's work, and thereby the delivering of his people, I have no doubt of it, though I cannot say that the set time is come, yea, I doubt not but the Lord will (and with the next three words he lifted up his right hand) rub, rub, rub, (still lifting up his hand higher and higher, and then brings it down with a thump), shame upon Sharp and all his complices." He often repeated the words of the twenty-third psalm, especially verse 4. One time he repeated the whole seventy-first psalm, which he used to call his own psalm.

He was visited by Mr Hutchison two days before his death, when his speech began to fail; to whom he spoke little, because he spoke with pain, and sometimes could not be well understood. He then made mention of some eminent saints that were dead, whom God had highly honoured in their lifetime, and of some then living, to whom he desired Mr George Hutchison to carry his Christian remembrance of them, praying earnestly that the Lord would bless them. When he mentioned the Countess of Crawford, he said "My Lady Crawford, set her alone, set her alone among women." When Mr Hutchison retired from Mr Blair's bedside, he said to his wife, children, and others that waited upon him, "Truly, I think persecuted Mr Blair, whom the Prelates have all along persecuted, is now dying a martyr. Is it not a martyrdom to be thrust from his work of the ministry, that was his delight and comfort, and hindered from doing good to his people and flock, which was to him his joy and crown of rejoicing, and to be worn and wasted with heaviness and sorrow for all the injuries and wrongs done to the Lord's people, covenant, and cause; and at last, after he was put from place to place by the persecution of the Prelates, and especially by the malice and tyranny of Sharp to be driven to this unwholesome place, to dwell on a loch-side, being surrounded with water and marshy ground? Let others think what they will, I say Mr Blair is dying, not only a persecuted minister, but also a faithful martyr of Jesus Christ."

August 20, being the Lord's-day, he slept much, but spoke little, and that which he spoke with pain, could hardly be understood. All that Sabbath night he lay breathing, not able to speak any thing; his wife, children, and some ministers, that did pray by turns, surrounding his bed until four hours in the morning, August 27, 1666, at which time Mr Blair fell asleep, and died in peace in the Lord, in the seventy-third year of his age.* His

"This month," says Kirkton, "Mr Robert Blair, that godly and able minister, departed this life in his confinement, whither he was sent by the State at the Bishops' request. He was a man of great piety, ability, and high experience; and though he died a sufferer, yet he died full of hope that the Lord would deliver Scotland, and

body lies buried near to the kirk wall, in the burial-place at Aberdour, in the which parish the house of Couston, where he died, is. There is erected upon the side-wall of the Kirk of Aberdour, above his grave, a little tomb or monument, whereon is engraven :—

Hic reconditæ jacent mortales Exuviæ
D. Roberti Blarii, S. S. Evangelii apud Andreapolin
Prædicatoris fidelissimi. Obiit Augusti 27° 1666,
Ætatis suæ 73°.

This, and no more, was judged fit and convenient to be put upon his tomb, by reason of the iniquity of the time. Shortly before his death he composed the following lines. Take them for his epitaph :—

Quæris quis Blarius, quæ vita, quis exitus? audi,
Multus amor Christi, multaque lucta fuit.
Insidiæ, dolique hominum, Satanæque furores
Me cito, me multum, me tenuere diu.
Mi variæ sedes, tentata America, Jerne
Bis culta; et patriæ reditus inde meæ.
Me tamen podagra, gonagraque exercuit ingens,
Et latebras renum calculus ussit atrox.
Sed divina tui dulcedo plurima verbi
Melle mihi istud fel condiit omne mero.
Christus inexhaustus fundebat, fœderis almi
Divite luxurians ubere semper opes.
Ite foris podagræ cruciatus, ite vesicæ
Tormina, me lætum balsama dia fovent.
Vivo, Agnumque sequor vivum per celsa Sionis;
Grex conjunx, soboles, guadeat in Domino.
Plebs Andreana Evangelii
Spreti dedisti sat graves
Pœnas; dabis gravissimas
Ni resipiscas, et Dei
Zelo magis tu ferveas.

Mr Blair's epitaph, composed by him at the death of his brother-in-law, holy Mr Cunningham of Holywood, with some small change, may be turned, and taken as an epitaph on Mr Blair himself, thus :—

very confident God would rub shame (as he expressed it) upon Bishop Sharp, as it came to pass."—*Kirkton's History*, 228.

Blarii magni recubat Roberti hic
Corpus. O qualis genius latebat,
Quamque divinus fragili involutus,
Pulvere in isto!

Acrius nemo intonuit superbis;
Nemo dejectos magis erigebat;
Sed Dei fœdus prædicando, vicit
Seque aliosque.

THE CONTINUATION

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE TIMES

AFTER MR BLAIR'S DEATH, 1666, AUGUST 27.

SEPTEMBER 2, being the Lord's day, at two hours in the morning, there was kindled a fire in the city of London, in Pudding Lane. At the first it was thought the beginning of the execution of a plot for a massacre; so that people did not run to quench the fire, but ran to their arms, setting upon some Frenchmen whom they suspected, till the fire so prevailed, that it was impossible to quench it, it being designedly and industriously fomented in several places of the city. It was a most dreadful burning; for of ninety-seven parishes (so many there are within the walls) eighty-four were burnt. The Royal Exchange, where the Covenant was, by the hand of the hangman, burnt, was burnt unto ashes. The King was much affected with this speaking dispensation; but the mayor and aldermen of the city comforted and encouraged him, saying that the city should be rebuilded more glorious and stately than it was: and for that end a new draught and cess, shortly after the burning, was drawn; Is. ix. 10; xxvi. 11. Upon the report of the burning of London the Dutch set their navy to sea again, the French joining with them, under the command of the Duke of Beaufort. In the latter end of September there were tempestuous winds, which made the Dutch and French retire into their harbours; so did our King's greatest ships. The Scots capers prosper.

About the middle of October, (after the Prelates had kept their Diocesan Courts), there was a proclamation more severe and strict

than any former, against those that did not resort to their own parish kirks, shewing that, former acts and proclamations not being obeyed, now all landlords, heritors, &c., are commanded to be answerable for all under them, their tenants, servants, cottars, that they keep their own parish kirks, communicate there, &c.; if otherwise, to make void their tacks, cause put them to the horn, confiscate their goods, &c.; that when they set tacks or houses, that that shall be a clause that they shall repair to their own kirks, &c.; and if landlords be deficient, that the justices of peace, sheriffs, and their deputies, do it, &c. The English Parliament sit down in the latter end of September.

After the burning of London the Dutch send a trumpet to the King, making offer of a treaty of peace; but it was thought that the French hindered the treaty, for they minded no peace.

In the beginning of November there were great storms and tempests at sea and land. A ship laden with coals, going from Newcastle to London, was blown in to St Andrews; a Danish ship was blown in to Stonehaven, and another to Peterhead, strongly manned, well armed, &c. The prisoners confessed that there were twelve of them sent out with a commission to apprehend the Scots capers, and to burn towns on the coast of Scotland, especially in the north.

About this time the Earl of Rothes is sent for by the King; so, November 9, he takes journey, and repairs to Court. That same day there was a proclamation for the meeting of a convention of Estates at Edinburgh, January 9, 1667.

All this while Popery abounds. At London the Papists grow more and more numerous and insolent, so that there were great fears of a massacre from the Papists at London. The House of Commons make an act against Papists for disarming of them, banishing of them, &c. The King consents to this act, providing, and in case that the Papists refuse to take the Oath of Allegiance, &c.

All this while the honest people in the west of Scotland are fearfully oppressed, and only not altogether ruined, especially after the

late proclamation. Many families were impoverished and turned out of doors. Major Turner was most active in ruining them. After long and sore oppression, which makes wise men mad, first those of the stewartry of Galloway (by occasion of the inhuman and barbarous usage of a man whom some few soldiers had bound as a beast for the slaughter, and were carrying him away) did arise and join in arms. Their first design was against Major Turner; so, November 15, they enter the town of Dumfries, and take Turner out of his bed, and carry him away with them. Their number still increasing,* immediately after their surprising and taking of Turner, the town-clerk of Dumfries posts to Edinburgh, and informs the Council of their arising in arms, and taking of Major Turner. The Council ordered the Lieutenant-General, Dalziel, with all the foot-companies and troops of horse, to march towards Glasgow against them. Annandale, Nidsdale, &c., raise forces against them. November 21, there is a proclamation issued out against them, declaring them rebels and traitors, and if, within twenty-four hours, they do not lay down arms, and come in to the lieutenant-general, they may expect no mercy, &c.; forbidding all to join, assist, or correspond with them, under the pain of treason; and commanding all to be in readiness to go against them, and those that refuse to be dealt with as traitors, &c.

They come out of Galloway, through Carrick, and their number somewhat increased, they enter the town of Ayr, where they got some arms. They marched from Ayr to Lanark, where they did very solemnly renew the Covenant. The ministers with them

* Law observes, that those who rose in arms were, at first, few in number; but that, in the end, they increased to fourteen or fifteen hundred men, whereof eight hundred were horse. "The grounds of their insurrection," says he, "as they declared, was their oppression by the soldiers there, who fined them for not keeping of the church, and hearing of those whom the Bishops put in the charges of their ministers, now thrust out. They declared for the King and the Covenant, and only their quarrel was at the Bishops newly set up in the land." And, speaking of the Covenanters who were executed for being concerned in that rising, he says, "All of them died with this declaration, that they were not against the King, nor intended any hurt to him; but only against the Bishops and that new form of Church government established, as their declaration, yet extant in writ, can declare."—*Law's Memorials*, 16, 17.

preached in some kirks in these bounds, the curates having run away. Their commanders were Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace, Major M'Culloch of Barholm, Major Learmont of Armpeth, Captain Arnot, Maxwell of Monreith, younger, Barscob, John Neilson of Corsack, Wicketshaw, Mr John Crookshanks, &c.* There were some ministers with them, viz., Messrs Gabriel Semple, Samuel Arnot, John Welsh,† James Smith, &c.; some probationers, viz.,

* Colonel James Wallace had distinguished himself in the Parliamentary army during the civil war, when he was raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. On the loss of the battle at Pentland hills he made his escape, and after concealing himself for some time, got safely out of the kingdom. For the sake of security he wandered for several years from one part of the continent to another, and died at Rotterdam in the end of the year 1678.

Major John M'Culloch was "root-master" (master of horse) for Wigton and Kirkcudbright in 1645.—*Act Parl. Scot.* vi. 194. He was fined £800 by Middleton's Parliament in 1662.—*Ibid.* vii. 428. He was executed, for being at Pentland, on the 7th of December 1666.

Major Joseph Learmont succeeded in making his escape. He survived the Revolution, and died in his own house of Newholm in the eighty-eighth year of his age.

Captain Andrew Arnot was brother to the Laird of Lochridge. He was appointed by the Parliament of 1649 "root-master," (master of the horse) to the troop of horse in the sheriffdom of Fife and Kinross, commanded by Lord Elcho.—*Act Parl. Scot.* vi. 389, 392. He was a protester, and subscribed the Protestation against the lawfulness of the General Assembly in 1651, which sanctioned the Public Resolutions.—*M'Crie's Memoirs of Veitch, &c.* 429. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Pentland, and executed on the 7th of December 1666.

John Maxwell, younger of Monreith, is described by Gabriel Semple as "excellent Monreith, a laird in Galloway, the greatest Christian that I knew in his station." Some time after the battle of Pentland he went to Ireland, and at Dublin contracted a tympany, of which he died at Benbarb or Armagh.—*Ibid.* 381, 400.

John M'Lellan of Barscob was afterwards forfeited in life and fortune.

John Neilson of Corsack is described by John Blackadder as "a meek and generous gentleman." He, with three others, had made Sir James Turner prisoner at Dumfries, but when the chief of the party offered to shoot Turner, Corsack interfered, saying, "You shall as soon kill me, for I have given him quarters." He was taken prisoner at Pentland, and, after being cruelly tortured in the boots, was executed.

William Lockhart of Wicketshaw led a party of Carluke men.—*Wodrow's Hist.* ii. 22.

Mr John Crookshanks seems to be erroneously included among the commanders of the Covenanters at Pentland. The person named is probably the minister from Ireland, who was with the army, and who has been previously noticed, (p. 455.)

† Mr Gabriel Semple was the second son of Bryce Semple of Cathcart, and brother of Sir William Semple.—*Douglas Baronage*, 468. He was minister at Kirkpatrick-Durham, in Galloway, at the Restoration, and, after the Revolution, at Jedburgh. He died on the 8th of August 1706, in the seventy-fifth year of his age.—*M'Crie's Memoirs of Veitch, &c.*, 384. Mr Samuel Arnot was, at the Restoration, minister of Tongland. He was declared a traitor for being with the Covenanters at Pentland, and

Messrs Alexander Robertson, Hugh M'Kail, &c. They marched through Clydesdale, where the forces with Dalziel and their forces were near 'each' other. Many blamed them for not fighting in Clydesdale, immediately after Dalziel's forces had wade through 'the' Clyde. From Clydesdale they marched towards Edinburgh, expecting assistance from Edinburgh, Fife, &c.; but all ferries and passes were stopped, and all heritors commanded to rise against them, &c. They marched unto Pentland hills, where, upon the 28th of November, they engaged with Dalziel's forces, and many others, noble and gentlemen, now convened in arms against them. They fought valiantly more than an hour, and forced Dalziel's troops to give ground; but they coming off their advantageous ground, and being overpowered, three being against one * of them, they gave back and were routed. Night drawing on, few prisoners were taken then; about thirty or forty only were taken that night; but after the fight more prisoners were taken by the country people and others raised with Annandale, Nidsdale, &c.

News of this rising comes to Court immediately after the Earl of Rothes his coming there, which made the King presently send him back, with the Earl of Carlisle, with some forces to guard the borders and to suppress these rebels. More forces were appointed to come from England, if need were; but before Rothes, the King's commissioner, came the length of the borders, the Westland forces were beaten and scattered. December 4, there was a proclamation against all that reset or harboured any of these rebels that were

on the 6th of February 1679, the Council offered three thousand merks Scots as a reward to any who should apprehend him.—*Wodrow's History*, iii. 15. Mr John Welsh was, perhaps, the most intrepid of all the outed ministers. He was also at the battle of Bothwell Bridge. He died at London January 1681.—*Fountainhall's Notes*, 7.

* Law says that Dalziel's forces consisted of six hundred horse and two thousand foot, besides the country gentlemen who joined them, according to an act of the Privy Council ordering the shires of Stirling, East and West Lothian, to be in arms to assist the King's forces, which act many obeyed.—*Law's Memorials*, 16. Blackadder says that the army of the Covenanters was scarce nine hundred, and that the enemy was eight thousand horse and foot, besides a great multitude, attendants of noblemen and gentlemen in the country.—*Blackadder's Memoirs*, 126.

beaten and routed. The names of some of their commanders, ministers, and others suspected to be with them, were in the proclamation.

After the prisoners were incarcerated at Edinburgh, two of them, viz., Mr Hugh M'Kail and John Neilson of Corsack, after they were again and again examined (the Council suspecting that they were not ingenuous, being the contrivers and plotters of this rising in arms, at least being party to the contrivance and plot) they were most cruelly tortured, being cawed in the boots* by the hangman, December 4; especially Mr Hugh M'Kail, whom they most suspected to have been a contriver of the insurrection, and privy to all designs and intelligence relating to the Westland forces (who were never above 1000): when they came near to West Lothian, they emitted a declaration showing why they arose and took arms, and what were their designs and intentions, which also they declared in their last speeches, when some of them were executed, *ut infra*. But notwithstanding of the extremity and painfulness of the torture, even to ten or eleven strokes, yet he sustained it most constantly and christianly, expressing no impatience or bitterness, declaring with a solemn attestation, as in the sight of God, that he knew no more than he had confessed, viz., That, to the best of his knowledge, the rising in the west was no contrived or plotted business, but merely occasional, upon a discontent betwixt the people in the stewartry of Galloway and Sir James Turner, to which every one did run, as their hearts moved them, when they heard of it.

Upon the 7th of December ten of the prisoners were executed at the cross of Edinburgh, viz., John M'Culloch of Barholm; Andrew Arnot; John Gordon of Knockbrex; Robert Gordon, his brother; John Ross; John Shields; James Hamilton; John Parker in Bosby; Christopher Strang; Gavin Hamilton. They left a joint testimony, subscribed by them all in prison the same day that they were hanged at the cross. Another testimony was also

* *Cawed in the boots*—Sc. driven into the boots; an expressive phrase for that barbarous mode of torture.

left by some of them that were in the same chamber with Thomas Paterson, merchant in Glasgow, who died of his wounds before his sentence was executed, who did assent thereunto; also Captain Andrew Arnot left a testimony; also John Shields, a yeoman, one of the ten that died December 7, left his testimony.

December 14, three of the prisoners were executed at the cross of Edinburgh, viz., Mr Alexander Robertson, a probationer, John Neilson of Corsack, and George Crawford. Every one of them left their testimony.

December 22, five of the prisoners were executed at Edinburgh, viz., Mr Hugh M'Kail; John Wodrow; Ralph Shields, an Englishman; Humphrey Colquhoun; and John Wilson. Each of them left their testimony. All their testimonies and last speeches on the scaffold were much commended, especially the last speeches and testimony of Mr Hugh M'Kail, who was a probationer for the ministry. They all acknowledged and declared for the King's just right and authority, and that being grievously oppressed and their supplications rejected and condemned, they arose and took arms to obtain liberty to supplicate the King against the tyranny and barbarous cruelty of the Prelates, whom they were bound to extirpate according to their sworn Covenant, which they had renewed. All of them left their blood on the Bishops, and died hoping that the Lord would revive his work, and execute vengeance upon all the enemies of God, his people and cause, in his own time, manner, and measure.

The day before Yule day the gibbet whereon they were all hanged was taken down and removed, because they would not profane the holy days of Yule with more executions, intending to execute the rest in the Borrow-moor, after the holy days of Yule were ended, because the multitude of people on the street were much affected with the last speeches of those that were executed, and with their singing of psalms on the scaffold, wherein the multitude of people on the street joined. As for the Prelates, they resolved to use all severities, and to take all imaginable cruel and rigorous ways and courses, first against the rest of the prisoners, and then

against the whole west of Scotland, and not only against them, but against all the godly that would not conform to their wicked ways and courses. In this meantime the King sends down a pardon to the prisoners that were not executed, and ordered them to be carried to Barbadoes; and for that intent they were given to one Bruce, who died shortly thereafter. This pardon came to Prelate Sharp's hands before Mr Hugh M'Kail, and the other four with him were executed; but he most deceitfully and cruelly concealed it; yea after Mr M'Kail was cruelly tortured, he coming over to St Andrews, (for that was his ordinary deceitful policy and trick after he had plotted and contrived greatest wickedness and severities against honest people, and had engaged the Council to act what he had contrived, and set them on; then to withdraw and come to St Andrews, and after the mischief was acted, to say that he was free of it—he was not there, &c.), did write over to some of the prime counsellors, that they should take care that whoever were spared that Mr Hugh M'Kail should not be spared; and yet he had the impudence, when he returned to Edinburgh, to say that he was free of Mr Hugh M'Kail's death. Psalm cxx. 3, 4.

In the time of thir last executions Rothes, the King's Commissioner, is at Glasgow, where he caused execute four persons that were apprehended after Pentland hill's fight. He caused beat drums when they began to speak upon the scaffold, so that their last speeches were not heard. The Commissioner keeps Yule at Glasgow with Sir James Turner, who escaped in the time of the fight at Pentland hills. Last, there were twelve executed at Air and Dumfries; but William Sutherland, the hangman of Irvine, refused to execute them. The heads and right hands of the persons executed were set up in public places in Glasgow, Lanark, Air and Dumfries. The rest of the prisoners were detained in a base prison in Edinburgh, called Haddock's Hole,* but were well seen and provided for by the good and charitable people in Edinburgh.

* Haddock's or Haddow's Hole, was "a part of the High Church of Edinburgh, so denominated from Sir John Gordon of Haddo, who was there confined previous to his execution for his loyalty to King Charles the First."—*Kirkton's Hist. Note by Editor*, 247.

Some of them escaped in women's clothes, others of them died in their wounds.

January 9, 1667, the Convention of Estates met at Edinburgh; unto the which Prelate Sharp repaired. And now, about this time the Lord was beginning to accomplish the word of his dying, faithful servant, Mr Blair,—rubbing some shame upon Sharp; for it was certain that now he was not so great in Court as he was formerly. Yea, by an express from the King, he was put from the chair in the Convention of Estates, and Duke Hamilton placed in it; which did not a little grieve and vex his ambitious and proud spirit; and Lauderdale, Rothes, Duke Hamilton, and others of the grandees, were now turned to hate and loathe him upon several accounts; and it was known that when he was at Court he accused Tweeddale and Kincardine, who thereafter were highly incensed against him, and turned his sharp and bitter enemies. And now the Archprelate of Glasgow is the great courtier. He took journey for Court the latter end of January.

The Convention of Estates lay on heavy cess upon the country. They ordained some troops to be levied. These impositions upon the impoverished country occasioned great grumbling, especially in the west, where the people were in a most lamentable condition. Some were imprisoned and almost starved in base prisons; some were driven from their houses; others that took themselves to the fields died for hunger in the fields, or were killed by Dalziel's soldiers, who lay in the west to ruin that country; so that all in the west are cruelly dealt with, even as those that arose at the first, for there was a second rising, and a great troop coming to assist those that rose first, with whom there were some ministers, but they were routed before they came to them. All these and others that favoured their cause were cruelly dealt with and persecuted. As for the gentlemen that were either in the first or second rising their estates were given to the commanders of the forces that came against them. Dalziel gets Caldwell's,* Drummond, Kersland's,† &c., so that, unless the Lord prevent it, nothing

* William Muir of Caldwell. † Robert Ker of Kersland.

but famine and desolation are looked for in the west. Mr John Crookshanks was killed at Pentland hills, fighting valiantly, and with him an old man whom they called the goodman.

In January this year, Lieutenant General Drummond is sent to Court by the Council. It was conceived that it was to shew the King the necessity of pressing the Declaration; for Lauderdale had advised them not to do it.

About this time the King concludes a peace with Spain and the bloody house of Austria; which increased honest people's fears of a Popish design carried on.

In the latter end of January, there falling out some misunderstanding betwixt the King and his Parliament in England, (as appeared by the Parliament's speech to the King and his answer to them), the King commanded the Parliament to rise, proroguing them. They continued to sit some few days; thereafter rise peaceably in February. At this time our caperers set to sea.

All this spring time the Prelate Sharp abides at St Andrews, and though he was advertised and desired to come over to the Council, yet he went not. He gave it out that he would not go to the Council until he heard from his brother Burnet from whom no good was expected by honest men. Thus the Lord was still rubbing more shame upon Sharp. Yea it was confessed, even by his followers, and others of the Prelatic party, that he was under a cloud.

Meanwhile Drummond returns from Court with an order from the King to the Council to press the Declaration on whomsoever they pleased; whereupon was issued out a proclamation anent the pressing of the Declaration, especially upon all the western shires, and upon all suspected persons with sad certifications. Thereafter return from Court Tweeddale and Kincardine; Tweeddale's son being married to Lauderdale's daughter at Court with great pomp and solemnity.

In this spring time several offers are made to the King of a treaty of peace with the Dutch. After some debates anent the place of the treaty, it was concluded that Breadhall [Breda] should be the place. The King the more willingly accepted of the offer

of a treaty of peace, because it was known that the Dutch had in a readiness their fleet to set to sea; whereas our King could not get his navy so soon recked out, the Parliament rising discontented, refusing subsidies, and London being burnt. All that the King was able to do was to set out some squads of small ships with Sir Jeremiah Smith and others, to be a guard to the coasts. In the latter end of April commissioners were sent from the King to Breda in order to the treaty.

In this month of April there was set to sea by the Dutch a considerable fleet. They ranged up and down the seas, and bravaded the English upon their coasts. A squad of them, commanded by Her Van Ghent, came up our Firth, April 29, and the next day discharged many cannon shots upon Burntisland, but did little or no harm. Some cannon shot from the forts at Burntisland made them retire down the Forth again. There was only one fisherman killed by them at Buckhaven. This was a great alarm to the coasts of Lothian and Fife. Upon the coast of Fife there was a regiment of foot soldiers in arms besides many country people. There was another regiment in Leith, besides the fencible men of Edinburgh, Leith, &c. It was reported that Van Ghent's orders were to burn Leith, Burntisland, &c.; and all this was because of the Scots capering.

The treaty at Breda goes on after some interruption, occasioned by the King of France sending word to the Dutch that our King was casting among them a fire ball that would blow them all up. About this time the French King emitted a manifesto, that he was to pursue his title and right to West Flanders, in order whereunto he had made a league, offensive and defensive, with the King of Portugal against all except the King of Britain, which implied, as was thought, that he intended peace with our King, and, if so, it was thought that the Dutch would be necessitated to make peace with the King. However, in May, the whole Dutch fleet are at sea very strong, commanded by De Witt, De Ruyter, &c. With them the French fleet lies upon the coast of England. They took in a fort near the mouth of the Thames, killed some

men, and burnt some houses. Thereafter they go up the Thames, even to Chatham, where many of the King's best ships were lying. They burnt eight or nine of them, and take away the Royal Charles, one of the King's best ships; yea were it not 'for' Colonel Douglas's regiment's valour and hardiness in opposing of them, after the English had fled, they had taken or burnt all the King's ships that were lying there. This occasioned hot alarms, especially in London and at Edinburgh. Also there were great fears of the landing of the French and Dutch. There were great levies in England of horse and foot, besides the train bands. In the beginning of June there was a proclamation especially for protecting of the curates in the west, injury being offered to some of them (the troops being come out of the west) the parishes are ordained to make up their curates' losses, if they did not protect them, or hotly pursue those that injured them, &c.

About this time Sir Robert Murray came from Court to Edinburgh. There were some hopes of good by his being sent down by the King at this nick of time to give him a true and just account and information of the estate of the country, and the great burdens imposed, there being such an outcry by reason of sad impositions to uphold the Prelates and bear down honest people. But the hopes of honest people were soon much blasted by Sir Robert Murray's taking the Declaration (which till this time he had refused). When he first sat down in the Secret Council he brought with him a commission to Rothes to be Chancellor, which he accepted, after a modest refusal, and writing up to the King. Rothes being treasurer, the Treasury is now to be managed by four, viz., Tweeddale, Lord Cochrane, Ballenden, with Rothes, and these to be accountable to two controllers, viz., Lauderdale and Sir Robert Murray. At this time the Prelate Sharp was put off the Exchequer, and in his room Kincardine put on, who also was made an extraordinary Lord of the Session.

About the close of June, the treaty continuing, there was great appearance of peace. The King of France recalled his fleet, and sent his ambassadors to the Dutch, signifying, that it was his plea-

sure that they should make peace with the King of Britain upon the conditions offered, otherwise he would make peace with him, and then let them see to themselves. But the black and base coats* caused a rumour to run, that the west was up again in arms, that the regiments and troops might be kept up. The peace was concluded with the Dutch.

Immediately after the affront that the English received at Chatham the King ordained the Parliament to convene, July 22; but when met there were many jealousies and animosities betwixt the King and the Parliament; and many of the English nation grieved and discontented, partly by the King's misgovernment and way of living, partly by the Prelates' usurpation and oppression, the King as being afraid of the Parliament drew his forces near unto London; but the city would permit none to guard the Parliament but themselves. At their very first down-sitting they began upon matters not very pleasant to the King; which made him adjourn them for four days. When they convened again, they demanded of the King that he would presently disband the new levied army, and give an acccount of the monies received. The King promised to disband the army, August 15, hoping that the treaty would come to a peaceable closure against that time. The King shortly thereafter adjourned the Parliament unto October. In this session of Parliament Buckingham, being set at liberty, did sit. About this time honest people's fears of a Popish design were not a little increased; for now it was clear that the Papists burnt London, and that they had often attempted a massacre. But in the meantime the Presbyterians in London had great liberty, many outed ministers preaching publicly and freely, yea, the people spoke very freely and boldly against the Prelates, the abominations of the Court, and the corruptions of the time, even at Whitehall.

About the beginning of August, the treaty is closed and signed by our King, the Dutch, and the plenipotentiaries of some of the

* In Dr Lee's copy, instead of "coats" it is "prelates."

princes concerned in the treaty; but it was not to be proclaimed until all the princes concerned, the Kings of France, Denmark, Sweden, &c., should append their great seals. The capers in the narrow seas were to retire within twelve days; those farther off in this hemisphere, within twelve weeks; those in America, within twelve months. This was a most solemn and important transaction; but wise men wondered that the Dutch did not require the Parliament to sign the treaty, considering the King's inconstancy and unfaithfulness in other more solemn treaties and covenants. Towards the latter end of August there came an express to the Chancellor for proclaiming the concluded treaty; which was done August 28, at Edinburgh, with great solemnity, and to the joy of all. The peace being proclaimed, there were some debates and different opinions among the counsellors anent the disbanding of the troops. Many, especially the nobles that commanded them, were for their standing to hinder the western shires rising again. In end, it was concluded that all should be disbanded except the King's lifeguard, commanded by Athole, the Chancellor's troop, and some foot companies commanded by the Earl of Linlithgow.

About this time, Chancellor Hyde was decourted and disgraced, and there were many changes of places of State at Court. August 31, the King took from Hyde the great seals (so he was unchancellered) and gave them to Sir Orlando Brightman, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, into whose place Sir Edward Turner, speaker of the House of Commons, was put. Duke Albemarle was made High Stewart in the Duke of Ormond's place. Hyde retired himself to his country house. The disgracing of Hyde and Middleton was observed, they being the two persons that were most active in setting up the Bishops.

The King of France, after great success in Flanders, taking in sundry towns, after the taking of Lisle returned to Paris, and was received as in triumph. But the Dutch are jealous of the King of France's success so near them; but our King permits both the King of France and of Spain to levy forces at London. Monsieur

Ravigny, the French ambassador, is expected to treat about a stricter alliance; another is expected from the Dutch.

In September there was a great Council day. An Act of Indemnity was motioned, for the honest people in the west that arose in arms, excepting some more persons than were excepted in the proclamation. After their arising, the motion was opposed by Argyle, Burnet, prelate of Glasgow, and others; but it was cherished by Tweeddale and his faction (for at this time Argyle and Tweeddale were *duces factionum*). At last they condescended upon the draught of an Act of Indemnity for the west country people, and sent it up to the King. October 8, there was another great Council day; when there is a return from the King anent the Act of Indemnity. Pardon is enacted to all that arose in arms, or that assisted them, excepting the persons mentioned in the former proclamation; so, in effect, all were excepted that had any estate, personal or real, and some that had neither; and those that got the benefit of the act were to find caution that they should never rise in arms against the King, or without his authority, upon any pretence whatsoever, and to give a bond to keep the peace, &c. They that gave oath that they could not find caution, were to give their own bond for the peace; and, last, heritors were to give bond for their tenants and servants, their keeping the peace. After this Council day the Chancellor repairs to Court; Duke Hamilton and Dalziel followed him.

About this time the Prelates had some groundless fears and apprehensions of a change of their state, which made them procure a letter to the Council from the King, desiring them to protect and encourage the Lords of the clergy, which made them carry more arrogantly and proudly towards honest unconform ministers and others. Prelate Burnet suspended Mr William Adam for owning the Covenant in a sermon preached in June; and Prelate Sharp refused the honest and noble Earl of Crawford a reasonable suit in favours of an outed minister.

The Parliament of England sat down October 10. The King, according to his custom, had a short speech to them, expressing

his joy to see them; showing them his need of subsidies for the payment of his debts, &c. The Lord Keeper had a large speech. He spoke anent settling the trade betwixt Scotland and England. Some good was expected from this Parliament. Many of the House of Commons were thought to be Presbyterians, or at least to favour Presbyterians. Meantime Presbyterians in London had great liberty, yea, and in the country. In London, Presbyterian outed ministers preached openly and freely, the King and Court knowing, but winking at it. And as for Scotland, the King gets better information of the state of affairs than formerly, by Sir Robert Murray. Some outed ministers in the west did preach in their own houses and baptize children, many resorting to them. Many of the curates in Galloway after that the troops left that country, fled away, leaving their flocks; so did sundry others in the west, especially in Cunningham; so conscious were they of their sinistrous and base way of living, some of them being taken in adultery, fornication, &c., all of them being most insufficient and scandalous, and few or none of the honest people in the west hearing them.

The Parliament of England appoints several committees. 1. One to regulate abuses in the Church; a second to regulate abuses in the Estate. 3. To settle the trade betwixt the two kingdoms. 4. To repress swearing. Other two were spoken off. 1. To try who did enrich themselves by the war, how the monies exacted were employed, &c. 2. To inquire into the selling of Dunkirk. One Colonel Burgess, in the House of Commons, had a speech for indulgence and favour to the Nonconformists in England and Scotland, as a party very considerable. Three printed papers were given in to some Parliament men; the drift of two of them was for moderate Episcopacy; the third was for extirpating of Episcopacy. Towards the latter end of October, came from London a book emitted, as was thought, by a Parliament man, for moderation both in Church and State.

After the appointment of the committees, the Parliament was adjourned to November 1. When they convened again, the House

of Commons libelled many articles against Hyde, viz., That he advised the King to govern by an arbitrary power, to keep up standing forces; that he said the King was Popishly affected; that he had enriched himself by many illegal courses; that he advised the King to sell Dunkirk, &c. Some of the articles were judged treason by the Commons; but the Peers denied them to be treason. The Commons desired that he might be committed, then tried; the Peers refused to concur; so the great debate anent Hyde was betwixt the two Houses. The party that stood for him was especially the twenty-two Prelates and their complices; which was a strong party, they being many and exceeding rich, able to do much by their riches and moyen. For the settling of the trade the Parliament refers that matter simply to the King, who intended to call a Parliament in Scotland to settle the trade betwixt the two nations, and for other weighty affairs.

Many heritors, (whereof some were prisoners), refuse to take the bond for the peace. * In the latter end of November two orders came from Court. The first 'was' to send Sir James Stewart and Sir John Chiesly prisoners to Dundee, because it was thought that these two had great influence on the heritors that refused to take the bond. So, November 29, they were carried to Dundee. The second 'was' to try Turner and Ballantine for their oppression of the honest people in Galloway and the west. Turner was soon absolved, having an ample but secret commission for all that he did from the two Archprelates, besides his commission from the Council. As for the two arch-persecuting Prelates, they contraverted about their commission. Sharp would fain have denied it.

While the two Houses of Parliament are debating and contra-

* This is "the bond of peace," which the Privy Council enacted on the 9th of October 1667, to be signed by noblemen, gentlemen, heritors, and feuars, for themselves, tenants and servants. By this bond, the subscriber bound and obliged himself to keep the public peace, and if he failed, that he should pay a year's rent of all and whatever lands and heritages belonged to him; likewise that his tenants and servants should keep the public peace, and, in case they failed, that he should pay for every tenant his year's rent, and for every servant his year's fee.—*Wodrow's History*, ii. 94.

verting anent the trial of Chancellor Hyde, he makes an escape to France, leaving behind him a declaration or vindication, wherein he labours to clear himself of all laid to his charge, and blames the King's insufficiency and misgovernment for all. The Parliament is adjourned to February 1668.

At this time there were many outed ministers living in Edinburgh, who were very busy preaching in houses to multitudes. The curates in Edinburgh still complain of the Conventicles, and inform the magistrates, (Sir Andrew Ramsay, provost, &c.), of them, stirring them up to apprehend these conventiclers; but, notwithstanding, none of them was found nor apprehended.

In the latter end of December, news came that three bishops in England, viz., Canterbury, Rochester and Worcester, are found accessory to Hyde's treasonable practices. They are put off the King's Council, and discharged the King's chapel and closet, &c.

In January 1668, Tweeddale returns from Court. Some were expecting some good by him, at least some kind of indulgence to outed ministers; but their hopes were soon blasted. There was a great Council day immediately after his coming to Edinburgh. Lauderdale writes to Sharp 'to' keep that Council day, (he being now preses of the Council by the King's appointment in the Chancellor's absence). Tweeddale delivers a letter from the King to the Council, giving them thanks for establishing the peace of the country by the bond. He desires them to secure the government as it was established by law, and to restrain conventicles, especially in Edinburgh. The provost, Sir Andrew Ramsay, was rebuked by the Council for not using diligence to restrain conventicles. He is ordained to give in a list of all the outed ministers living in Edinburgh; which he did.

February 8, the Parliament of England sat down again. The King in his speech to them told them his great necessity of monies; what need there was that his navy should be in good order; desires them to take pains to unite the hearts of his Protestant subjects, &c. There was no good expected from this session of Parliament,

there being no good agreement betwixt the King and them. The Parliament urges the Act of Uniformity; the King opposes and pleads for ease to tender consciences, Presbyterians, Papists, Quakers, &c. If any spoke in Parliament for indulgence to Presbyterians they were bitterly opposed, especially by the Prelates.

This winter there came from Holland a book called "Naphtali, or The Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland for the Kingdom of Christ," &c.,* wherein, beside the last speeches and testimonies of the Marquis of Argyle and Mr James Guthrie, executed 1661; of the Lord Warriston, executed 1663; and of those who were executed together, 1666; there are many things well said and worthy of remark. There are some other things had need to be read *cum grano salis.*†

March 7, the Chancellor comes to Edinburgh from Court. The large bond for the peace is taken by some of the prisoners, but refused by others, viz., Cunningham-head,‡ Maxwell,§ &c. These are detained in prison.

About this time Prelate Burnet, by order from the King, is put off the Session. There is an order for visiting of his diocese by some noblemen, gentlemen, ministers, and some Prelates, for purging that diocese. Both these orders gall the Prelates, that any of them, especially an Archbishop, should be degraded, and that any of their power and jurisdiction should be wrung out of their hands, and that by the King.

The Parliament of England 'is' adjourned till September. All the forces in Scotland being disbanded, except two troops, and some foot companies, there comes an order from the King for putting the kingdom in a posture of defence, by settling a militia as

* This book was the joint production of Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees and Mr James Stirling, minister of Paisley. The reasoning part was written by the former, and the historical part by the latter. Honeyman, Bishop of Orkney, published a feeble answer to it, to which Sir James Stewart ably replied in his *Jus Populi Vindicatum.*

† In Dr Lee's copy there is here written on the margin, apparently in the handwriting of the transcriber, "Here the spirit of one indulged speaketh."

‡ Sir William Cunningham of Cunningham-head.

§ Sir George Maxwell of Nether-Pollock.

in England. Many debates were about the way of getting the militia settled; but it must be, for the Prelates must not want a guard.

In June Sir Robert Murray returns to Court. There was great dealing with him. Tweeddale, and the leading men 'were' for liberty to some of the most peaceable of the outed ministers, to preach publicly and get charges, being called thereto; and after Sir Robert returned to Court there was great dealing with him and Lauderdale to move the King to this. The King, willing to gratify the Presbyterian party in Scotland, and to strengthen himself against Hyde's faction, writes to the Council that some of the most peaceable and moderate outed ministers may have liberty to preach, &c. But when Sharp heard of it he said it would undo all, and that it was impossible that it was the King's will. But after the King's letter was exhibited to him, he cried out, "O dreadful!" but when he perceived that it was the King's purpose, he was so crafty that he gave it out that he had procured it. Leighton pleaded that all might have the like liberty; which some thought he did of purpose to oppose and crush it. Messrs Douglas and Hutchison are sent for to come to Edinburgh, to confer with Tweeddale and others about this business.

While there were several debates betwixt the statesmen and the ministers about the business, and great hopes of agreement, and the Prelates dissemblingly said they were for it, there fell out something that did retard the business. For July 11, being Saturday, Sharp and Honeyman going in to coach upon the High Street of Edinburgh, one comes and discharges a pistol, designing to kill Sharp; but the ball lighted upon Prelate Honeyman's arm. He cries, "I am wounded." Sharp runs up stairs crying, "Hold the villain." But he walked safely over the street and went down Blackfriars Wynd; and though the street was full of people, and some pretended friends to bishops were by, yet none offered to pursue him; so he escaped. But this rash, unchristian, and desperate attempt proved very unlucky to Edinburgh, being the cause of meikle trouble to honest people there. The Council con-

vened the next week. There was first a superficial search in the town for the person. Next, July 14, there was a proclamation, condemning that horrid attempt upon two bishops; commanding all diligence to search out the villain, the assassinate; offering money largely to any that would bring him dead or living; and 2000 lbs., and indemnity, to any that were in the plot that would discover him. A servant woman of Robert Gray's, (there being a discord between her and her mistress), told some of the magistrates that there were suspected persons in Robert Gray's house that night at supper; that she heard them speak of the pistol shot, &c. Robert Gray being apprehended, declared that Major Learmont was in his house with some other persons, excepted in the proclamation against Pentland fight, but that he knew nothing of the person that discharged the pistol. He delated one Mrs Duncan, a widow, for harbouring in her house Learmont, Barscob, &c.; and one Widow Kello, in whose house there used to be many conventicles, Mr Michael Bruce * often preaching there, (who was apprehended in May and brought to Edinburgh Tolbooth). Many other persons were delated as suspected persons and incarcerated, there being many accurate searches. Yea, in the night-time persons suspected were taken out of their beds, &c. Mrs Duncan being most suspected, was accurately examined; but being posed who discharged that pistol, &c., or who was upon the plot, though she very ingenuously confessed several things relating to herself, yet she refused to delate any person, or reveal any thing of others. Whereupon she was threatened with the boots, and were not [for] some of the Council, she had been tortured. There was a sentence of banishment pronounced against her, and Widow Kello, who being rich, was fined. They were threatened to be sent to Virginia. Many most strict and severe acts were made by the Council against conventicles, especially in Edinburgh. This occasioned

* Michael Bruce, by his mother, was great-grandson of the celebrated Robert Bruce, one of the ministers of Edinburgh. Going to Ireland he was ordained minister of Killinchie, in the Presbytery of Down, in October 1657. In 1661 he was deposed by the Bishop of the diocese, and ejected from his benefice for nonconformity.

all the outed ministers, and many professors, that lurked in Edinburgh, to leave the town. So it proved a troublesome and sad time to the town of Edinburgh. But the Council could not learn who was the person that discharged the pistol. About this time Sir James Stewart and Sir John Chiesly being together in Dundee Tolbooth, they are separated, it being suspected that while they abode together they would still be plotting against the Prelates and their courses. Sir John Chiesly is sent to Perth. In July and August the country is taken up with settling the militia. It was a troublesome and expensive business to the poor country; and again after harvest the militia is settled. As it was expensive, so it drew on much guiltiness, even a land-consuming and overthrowing guiltiness and sin; for all the officers are required to take the Declaration, and so were involved in that national perjury, Deut. xxiv. 22-25. So the course taken to defend the land and uphold the Prelates was the shortest cut to consume, ruin, and overthrow all.

About the middle of August Prelate Sharp goes to Court, being permitted by the Council, he pretending that he was to settle his son in Cambridge. After he came there he wrote of his good acceptance. But others wrote otherwise. The King was on his progress almost all the time he was at London. After the attempt upon Sharp the troops and companies are sent to the west to persecute honest people, yea to ruin and destroy them, there being a surmise that they intended to rise again in arms, but this quickly evanished. But still the honest poor people in the west are oppressed and exhausted. Some of them are taken, viz., 'Robert' Cannon of Mandrogate,* and others), and brought to and imprisoned in Edinburgh. Some of them formerly imprisoned are sent to Virginia. Mr Michael Bruce is banished the King's dominions;

* This person was forfeited in 1667 for having been in the rising at Pentland. But the government finding him when apprehended and brought to Edinburgh willing to serve their purposes, he got a remission from the King. He afterwards became an informer and bitter persecutor. He especially signalised himself in discovering to the soldiers the haunts and hiding places of the wandering Covenanters.— *Wodrow's History*, ii. 73, 119, 141, and iii. 224.

but at that time the King wrote to the Council that he may be sent up to him. So Mr Michael Bruce repairs to Court.

In this spring and summer time there were several meetings in houses in Fife; but they were neither frequent nor numerous, there being yet unconform ministers permitted to continue in their charges, to whom almost all the Presbyterians resorted in the Presbyteries of St Andrews, Cupar, and Kirkcaldy; and in the west end of Fife, they resorted to some outed ministers living there and in Culross. There was a meeting in Largo parish. The curate, Mr John Affleck, complained of it to the Prelate Sharp; which occasioned five of Largo parish, viz., John Lundie, Walter Gourlay, &c., to be summoned to compear before the Council. The Prelate, complaining that the Chancellor being Sheriff, did not refrain these seditious conventicles in Fife. These five lay long in the Canongate Tolbooth, refusing to take the bond the Council tendered to them.

The Parliament of England is adjourned to the spring 1669.

Mr Michael Bruce is kept a time at London in free prison, and kindly entertained. In the latter end of October he supplicates the King that he may be sent to Ireland (being cleared that he had no accession to any plots there *), where he was a minister all this time by-past.

The Presbyterians in England, especially in the city of London, had as great liberty to meet, preach, and celebrate the sacraments, as they desired. Mr Nicholas Blackie,† an outed Scottish minister is a lecturer at London. He celebrated the communion in our form, which was much commended by the English outed ministers that assisted with some Scots. An old outed English minister, as was reported, is pressed in spirit to go and speak to the King (who all this while by-past was wholly given to sinful pleasures,

* Allusion is here made to Blood's plot, in which Bruce was in no respect implicated. —*Reid's History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, ii. 385.

† Nicholas Blackie had been settled at Roberton in the presbytery of Lanark, previous to the establishment of Prelacy on the Restoration of Charles II., but was ejected by the Glasgow Act, 1662. He survived the Revolution. He was the author of a book entitled *Lazarus Redivivus*, published at London in 8vo, in 1671.

his whores and bastards multiplying, Lauderdale, especially, encouraging him in this wickedness, and none of the Bishops daring to speak to him) much to this purpose: "Sir, I am not ignorant what the wrath of a King is, yet I have taken my life in my hand —there's a black cloud of wrath hanging over your person, family, court, city, and the whole kingdom, because of the great sins of all these, and if speedy repentance do not prevent, it cannot but break and fall on all these." He much pressed his Majesty to repentance and reformation of his person, family, court, church and state. The King heard him patiently, and said he minded to do as he had advised him. The King dismissed him with many thanks for his good advice. After this the Presbyterians had greater liberty, and used greater freedom in preaching in their meeting-houses; Manchester, and others of the courtiers befriending them, telling the King that they were his best friends in his low condition, and would yet prove so. It was thought that any indulgence to Presbyterians would begin in England, at the loyal Presbyterians there.

In the beginning of November the Prelate Sharp returns from Court to Edinburgh. Shortly thereafter the Council convened. Sharp told the Council of his good acceptance at court, of his Majesty's graciousness and bounty to him, and that he had granted him all his desires, especially his earnest desire of a letter of ease, that he might be liberated of attending the Council except when he pleased, which he looked on as a distinction; so, that hereafter, he was not to trouble himself with civil affairs, that he might the better attend his diocese and ecclesiastic affairs. Wise men did laugh at this, perceiving how the crafty fox dissembled, and that he did supplicate for a letter of ease, fearing lest as he was put off the Exchequer, so he might also be put off the Council. At this Council day, four west countrymen, whereof a brother * of the Laird of Gathgirth was one, were banished to Tangier, for resetting some of the excepted persons, &c. Prelate Sharp, in his dis-

* Viz., Robert Chalmers. He afterwards obtained a remission from theKing, dated June 21, 1669.—*Wodrow's History*, ii. 77.

course in the Council, speaking of the indulgence to Presbyterians, said that the King said to him, "These men do not desire it of me, and they do not deserve it." Belike, [*i. e.* very likely] he said so to the King, and then said that the King said so to him. A little before the Prelate Sharp returned from Court, Tweeddale had conference with Messrs Douglas and Hutchison about the indulgence, but 'they' did not accord. About Martinmas four of the parishioners of Largo are set at liberty, &c.

The Presbyterians in England enjoy great liberty, whereof the true cause is the Parliament discharged the ministers the exercise of their calling only for three years; these three years being expired they were *in tuto et bona fide* to fall to the exercise of their calling again, but not in the parishes where they served, though some ministers in England did so. 2dly, The Presbyterians in England at this time scarcely deserved the name, being of very lax principles, willing to sit in judicatories with the Bishops, and in many things to comply and act with them. The Parliament of England is adjourned to October 1669, the King being unwilling that it should meet again.

About the middle of January 1669, Sharp went to Edinburgh, and upon the 29th of January (which day was kept as a day of fasting and humiliation, being the day whereon the late King was murdered) he had a most bitter invective (sermon or preaching I cannot call it) and railing discourse. The like also he had at St Andrews at his last Diocesan Court, inveighing against the unconform honest people, especially against women, whom he called "she-zealots," "Satanesses." At this time he carried very high in the Council, and every way, especially against any that kept conventicles. He caused the Council make an act against these meetings in towns, especially in Edinburgh—that if any of these conventicles were found, the town wherein they were apprehended should pay £50, and should seek their relief of the persons that met; and now it was apparent, that while he was at Court he used all endeavours and wicked ways to hinder any indulgence to Presbyterians.

In the spring time the Duke of Ormond, deputy in Ireland, was put from his place, (which was looked on as a good cast of providence to Ireland,) and the Lord Roberts made deputy there,* who was a good man and a Presbyterian, who procured great liberty to the Presbyterians in Ireland, so that many ministers returned to their congregations, and preached in private houses, and some in their own kirks; so that now there is great liberty in England and Ireland, and persecution here; for this summer several meetings were seized on in Edinburgh and Glasgow, and several persons are deeply fined, and several ministers are brought in to the Council for preaching and baptizing in the fields, especially in the west, some whereof were dismissed, nothing being proven against them. Others were retained in prison.

In June there were reports of a Parliament to be convened in October, especially for the union of the two nations, &c., and Lauderdale to be commissioner. About this time the business of the indulgence was motioned and set afoot again. There went a supplication from Messrs Douglas, Hutchison, &c., to the King, showing their loyalty; that they were not for private persons taking upon them to redress wrongs, &c. Some of the Protesters condemned it. Some had great hopes of liberty to Presbyterians, and of some good at the ensuing Parliament. About this time the ministers that preached in the fields in the west had more frequent and numerous meetings. Some thought that their bestirring themselves so was to hinder the indulgence, as they had done the last summer; for they were always against it. That which was looked on as the saddest ingredient in our case was our divisions still continuing; yea some made it their work to heighten them. Mr James Fraser of Brea was a fomenter of our divisions. He

* Lord Roberts did not hold this situation long; for he came to Ireland in September 1669, and returned to England in April 1670. He was a public discountenancer of all vice; and this procured him many enemies in Ireland, and particularly "the soldiery and persons of quality in this time could not bear severity against vice." Many complaints were accordingly sent over to the King against him; upon which he wrote to the King desiring to demit his office, which desire was granted.—*Reid's Ireland*, ii. 395.

wrote against hearing conformists, and was answered by Mr Alexander Pitcairn, minister of Dron. All this, as oil cast into the flame, heightened our divisions.

In the beginning of July Tweeddale returned from Court. He brought some letters from the King to the Council. One of them, (which, by the King's command, was not to be opened until the two Archbishops were present), July 15, was opened and read in Council, wherein the King declares that it is his will that ministers laid aside by the Act of Glasgow should be reponed again by the Council to their own charges, if vacant, or to other churches that are vacant, yea all that have lived peaceably to be planted in kirks, and those that are not presently provided to churches to get 400 merks Scots yearly out of the vacant stipends that were uplifted by the Council; and those that do not keep Presbyteries, as in the year 1638, to enjoy their manses and glebes, and the stipends to be lifted by the Council, and so much of it as they pleased to be given to the ministers. Scandalous ministers (because their scandalous carriage had occasioned so meikle trouble) are to be taken notice of and censured accordingly; and last, conventicles are forbidden, the occasion and cause of them being forbidden and removed by reponing of outed ministers. Prelate Burnet was so offended at this letter of Indulgence that he refused to come to the Council the first day; but when it was read in Council, the fox, Sharp, showed no signs of discontentment, though as evil pleased with it as Burnet. The Council appointed a committee for considering the King's letter, and making it practicable. The next Council day, June 22, there was great heat among them about the sense of the King's letter. The Bishops and the most malignant of the Council alleged that ministers deposed by Bishops could have no benefit by it; that though the Council might take off the restraint they had laid on, yet none but Bishops in their Synods could repone those that were deposed by them. Sharp obtained a delay until July 27. It was conjectured that both he and Tweeddale wrote to the King anent the sense of the letter. What answer was returned might

be gathered by the Council's actings in the affair; for, August 3, thirteen ministers were assigned to kirks, the patrons, heritors, and whole parishioners giving them calls. One of them was deposed by Sharp, who being commanded by the Council to declare the sentence taken off, he alleged that they that were under ecclesiastic censure could not be licentiate, it not being in the power of the King or his Council to take off the censure which ecclesiastic courts had imposed. The Council pleaded it was in the King's power, by virtue of his supremacy. The Council first invited him; thereafter Tweeddale, in the King's name, commanded him to take off the censure. Sharp refusing, when the Council was about to put the question to a vote, the fox, perceiving it would be carried over his belly, did declare the person free of any ecclesiastic censure. Observe how the Lord takes and ensnares the wicked in the work of their own hands. They would needs have the King supreme in all causes, &c., to set them up; but now when the Prelates fear that his supremacy may tumble them down again, they deny to give it to him, Psalm ix. 15, 16.

Those that were first indulged were Messrs George Hutchison to Irvine, Ralph Rogers to Kilwinning, William Violant to Cambusnethan, 'William' Maitland to Beith, Alexander Blair to Newmills. The rest got their own kirks, viz., Messrs John Scot of Oxnam, John Cant of Kells, John * Park of Stranraer, John M'Michan of Dalry, John Oliphant of Stonehouse, &c. The next Council day the Earl of Argyle got six ministers named to his bounds. But while it was expected that the Council would go on in obedience to the King's letter, Sharp labours most industriously that none outed by him should get kirks in his diocese, and the Chancellor concurs with him that none should be indulged in Fife, though there were many outed there, and four of these outed ministers' kirks were vacant, viz., Leslie, Scoonie, Ely, and Cults. The next Council day Mr Robert Douglas, and four or five more, are licentiate; Mr Douglas for Pencaitland. Thereafter, at an-

* Wodrow calls him Robert.

other Council day in September, Mr John Stirling and four more are licentiate, &c.

About the middle of October, Lauderdale, the King's commissioner for the ensuing Parliament, came from Court to Edinburgh. The Parliament rode, October 19. Few did ride, either noblemen or commissioners, and only eight bishops. The Commissioner, in his speech at the down-sitting of the Parliament said, that he would disappoint both the groundless and vain hopes of some, (he meant of honest Presbyterians who expected good at this Parliament and of him), and the groundless and needless fears of others, (he meant of the Bishops, who at this time had fears of the change of court and their state). This speech blasted the hopes of the one, and banished the fears of the other; grieved and pained the hearts of honest people, and lifted up and much encouraged the Prelates and their complices. This Parliament began unluckily and ominously. They had no preaching nor praying at their down-sitting; and the first 'thing' they did, all the members of Parliament took the Declaration, so that all honest men that feared the oath, and curse of God, (Deut. xxix. 14, with 19; Neh. x. 29), absented themselves, and were not in this black Parliament.

In the beginning of this unhappy Parliament, the Commissioner* sent to Hamilton for Lady Margaret Kennedy,† eldest daughter of the honest Earl of Cassillis, who, until this time, had lived a virgin unmarried, (though suited by severals), without any stain or blot. She, with her waiting maid and servant women, comes to the Abbey and lives and abides there all the time of the Parliament, the Commissioner often, especially at night, resorting to her chamber; which, thereafter, opened the mouths of many who for the present were silent, to speak very broadly of them both, considering their future carriage, especially in their marriages, &c.

The first Sabbath, Prelate Sharp preached before the Commis-

* The Duke of Lauderdale.

† Lady Margaret Kennedy was afterwards married to Dr Gilbert Burnet, the author of the History of his own Times. She was the first of three wives whom Burnet married.—*Law's Memorials, note by Editor*, 76.

sioner and members of Parliament. His sermon was disrelished by the Commissioner and the grandees. In that sermon he spoke more against the Indulgence and the way of licentiating ministers, than the Prelate of Glasgow did in his Remonstrance emitted by him at his last Synod, for the which the Council confined him to Glasgow, declaring him incapable of sitting in Parliament or Council; but Sharp (who can sail with all winds, stand with all, and fall with none) cried *Peccavi* for his sermon, and contradicted it in his speeches and actings among the Lords of the Articles and in the Parliament; for in his sermon he spoke against the King's supremacy *in ecclesiasticis*, saying that there were three pretenders to supremacy—the Pope, the King, and the Presbyterian, &c.

This occasioned the Lords of the Articles to take to their consideration the King's supremacy, and what he might do by virtue thereof. They desired the Prelates to declare what they meant by the King's supremacy, &c. The Prelates were sorely puzzled how to answer the question, and explain the King's supremacy; and now they begin to fear that they had woven a net wherein their own foot may be taken, and they snared in the work of their own hands. But the Parliament explained and declared what was meant by the King's supremacy over all persons, and in all causes ecclesiastical, and what he might do by virtue thereof, in reference to Kirk affairs, the government, all Kirk-officers, acts, and matters ecclesiastical,—by their act asserting his Majesty's supremacy, &c.; whereby it is enacted, asserted, and declared, that his Majesty hath the supreme authority and supremacy over all persons, and in all causes ecclesiastical, and that by virtue thereof the ordering and disposal of the external government of the Church doth properly belong to his Majesty, as an inherent right of the Crown, and that he may settle, enact, and emit such constitutions, acts, and orders concerning the administration of the government of the Church, and the persons employed in the same, and concerning all ecclesiastical meetings and matters to be proposed and determined therein, as he, in his royal wisdom, shall think fit; which acts, orders, and constitutions being recorded in the books of Council, and duly

published, are to be observed and obeyed, any law, act, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding; likeas his Majesty doth rescind and annul all laws, acts, and clauses thereof, and all customs and constitutions, civil or ecclesiastic, which are contrary to, or inconsistent with, his Majesty's supremacy, as it is hereby asserted, and declares the same void and null in all time coming. *O tempora! O Lauderdale! quantum mutatus ab illo, anno* 1639, 42, *et* 43, at Dunse-law, and at Westminster, in the Assembly of Divines, being commissionated as elder, with Messrs Henderson and Rutherford, &c., from the Kirk of Scotland, to that Assembly! This abominable act not only contains grossest Erastianism and Popery, but makes that an inherent right of King Charles's crown, which is one of the privileges and prerogatives of Christ's crown, who is King of Zion, the only head of His Kirk, the government whereof shall be upon His shoulders, in despite of this blasphemous act, so opposite and contradictory to clear Scripture, and the Lord's will, revealed therein anent the government of His Kirk, the officers [offices?] and office-bearers of His house, their acts and constitutions founded upon His word, their assemblies and meetings, and all matters ecclesiastical, regulated according to the rule of His word, and not according to the King's wisdom and pleasure, as he thinks fit.

To this act Sharp consents, though sore against his will. Some of the Prelates, in giving their vote, were so ignoramus [ignorant], that they declared their consent, pretending that the King's supremacy did not wrong their estate; but to let the Prelates see what the King might do by virtue of his supremacy, even against them and their estate, the Archprelate of Glasgow, because of his opposition to the Indulgence and this Act of Supremacy, is deposed by the Commissioner. He refusing to demit his place, no reason was given of this censure, but the King's will and pleasure—the Commissioner speaking to him in these words, "It's the King's will and pleasure that ye be no more Archbishop of Glasgow." He submitted to the sentence, and, unrequired, received it upon his knees; but Sharp, the

greatest knave of the two, was not censured, because he cried *Peccavi. Novit uti foro.* *

Towards the middle of December some ministers were licentiate by the Council. Mr John Primrose, and four more, got their own kirks; Mr John Baird was licentiate, and appointed for Paisley, with Mr Mathew Ramsay; † but Sharp and the Chancellor hold all outed ministers in Fife at the door, at least they permit none of them to be indulged in Fife. Notwithstanding, Mr Alexander Wedderburn was nominated by the Committee of the Council for Kilmarnock, and, thereafter, Mr William Tullidaff is ordained by the Council for the kirk of Kilbirnie. Sharp at first pretended Fife's peaceableness, and their being well pleased with their ministers, (which he wrote up to the King), as the reason why none should be indulged in Fife. Thereafter, there being several conventicles in Fife, especially about Falkland, Strathmiglo, &c., (which was done, as for other ends, so also, that it might appear that Sharp was a liar), he alleged that Fife was unworthy of the favour, because of their unpeaceableness and keeping of conventicles, yea, even in the fields and in the city of St Andrews.

About the middle of January 1670, four honest men in the town of St Andrews were put in the tolbooth, for keeping a meeting

* "He knew how to manage the Court."

† In the MS. it is by mistake "Mr *Hugh* Ramsay." "When the first Indulgence was granted, Mr John Baird and Mr Eccles were appointed for Paisley; and then all his [John Spreul the apothecary's] father's family joined with them. After Mr Baird's death Mr Mathew Ramsay was appointed to supply his charge, who had been a great person among the Resolutioners; yet he lectured upon Jeremiah's prophecy all his time (till death came) with such faithfulness and freedom; and his last sermon was the freest against the sins of the time, past and present; and when in sickbed, my father told me he regretted his former neutrality, and would have said, 'O that I had another day in the pulpit, that I might ease and exoner my conscience.' He seemed to see the prejudice the Church met with by the unhappy divisions betwixt the Resolutioners and Protesters. One Sabbath-day, Earl of Linlithgow being in the Halket came, with my Lord Ross, to the church at Paisley, and heard Mr Ramsay lecture and preach all day. Earl of Linlithgow, when they went home, said 'This man's text was treason, and all alongst both his lecture and sermons have struck us, and yet we cannot challenge him speaking against the breach of Covenant, and the curses denounced against the breakers.' They said, 'He tells us what is written in the Word of God.'"—*Papers concerning John Spreul, Apothecary, Glasgow, Wodrow MSS.*, vol. xl., folio, no. 69, p. 24.

upon a Sabbath night, after supper,—the Prelate's wife stirring up the provost to incarcerate them; but they were shortly thereafter set at liberty, though they refused to tell who preached, or to promise never to keep the like meetings.

As for the great business of the Union, for the which especially the Parliament was called, the English Parliament dismissed it, and pretended that they were so taken up with great affairs of their own nation, that they could not take that affair to their consideration; so, after they had sitten some weeks, they were adjourned to the 7th of February, the Scottish Parliament having made some acts of lower concernment, viz., about naturalizing of strangers, the bullion, the crying up and down coin, &c. In January they arose, and were adjourned to June. The Commissioner, upon the 20th of January, took journey for Court. Never did a Commissioner, from whom some expected some good, do so meikle evil; and as for the Indulgence, he not only did not extend it according unto the King's letter, but, with the Chancellor and Sharp, he hindered it, and at last crushed it, though, when he returned to Court, he strove to feed good men, especially Mr Douglas, with vain hopes and big promises of a general indulgence of all outed ministers to preach where and when they got a call, until they were provided of kirks.

Shortly after the rising of the Parliament the prisoners in Stirling Castle, viz., Rowallan, Cunningham-head, &c., with Sir James Stewart and Sir John Chiesly, sent their supplications unto the Council, which, by the Council, were sent up to the King, who ordered them to be set at liberty; so they were released without any engagements or conditions.

In the beginning of the year, the deputy of Ireland, Lord Roberts, is recalled, and one Mr * Berkeley sent over in his room; which was looked upon as *malum omen*, he being highly Episcopal. But Sir Arthur Forbes † is a great friend to Presbyterians there.

* In Dr Reid's Presbyterian Church in Ireland, it is "*Lord* Berkeley," ii. 395.

† "Sir Arthur Forbes became the principal patron of the Presbyterians after the decease of their great friend, the Lord Massarene, who died at Antrim, in Septem-

Shortly before the Commissioner took journey for Court, the Council made an act discharging all ministers, and those that were licentiate, to lecture on the Lord's day, under pain of being put from the exercise of their ministry. This act was sent to the most part of the indulged ministers, some whereof did not lecture by reason of their age or infirmity. Others, though they began to lecture, yet foreseeing that they would be discharged, did, before the making of the act leave their lecturing, setting up a week lecture to compense their neglect on the Lord's day. This act gave great offence to honest ministers and to the godly in the land, who grieved to see the Council take upon them to give orders to ministers in reference to their doctrine and preaching. Honest ministers were puzzled what to do; for though some were clear rather to forego lecturing on the Lord's day than to be thrust from the exercise of their ministry, yet they thought it hard to give obedience to the act of the Council, as also to offend good, well-meaning people that would refuse to hear them if they obeyed the Council in this unreasonable and sinful act, or did any thing to harden the Council in their wickedness and Erastian course.

About the beginning of February there was an act made by the Council and proclaimed against conventicles, commanding all magistrates, sheriffs, their deputies, justices of peace, and officers of the militia, to apprehend ministers or others, that had kept conventicles since the 19th of October last, or any persons going to or coming from conventicles, and to put them in prison, or bring them over to the Council upon their own expenses, that they may be punished, &c. But all this did not restrain conventicles in Edinburgh or other places.

February 7, the English Parliament sits down. The King in his speech to them laid out his great necessity, and pressed them to supply him, that his debts might be paid, &c. The Parliament

ber 1665. He was afterwards created Earl of Granard."—(*Reid's Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, ii. 402.) He was brother to the famous Mr John Forbes, who was banished for holding an Assembly at Aberdeen in July 1605. He had embraced the military profession, and distinguished himself in the Swedish service, and on his return, settled in Ireland.

grants him a large supply of monies, laying on an impost upon the wines imported to London for seven years. They also accord with our Parliament in the matter of the Union betwixt the two countries, referring to the King the nomination of the commissioners that were to treat about it. Also they make severe acts against Nonconformists and their conventicles. The 10th of May is set to them, after which day they were to have no conventicles in the city.

March 10, there were six ministers indulged, some whereof got their own kirks. Mr Thomas Black, minister of Leslie, was ordered for Newtyle in Angus; Mr Alexander Wedderburn for Kilmarnock. Mr Wedderburn at first had some scruple to accept of or obey the Council's order; but thereafter some of the principal heritors coming to him with a most earnest invitation and unanimous call from the patron, all the heritors and parishioners requiring him as he would answer to his master Jesus Christ, that he would not slight so hearty and unanimous a call, but come and preach the gospel among them. * He accepted and followed the call of all the elders, heritors, and whole parishioners, not regarding the Council's order. Thus the rest of the honest licentiate ministers did enter either to their own charges or other parishes.

About this time comes out a new book, called "The Fulfilling of the Scriptures," &c.; and many turn Quakers in and about Aberdeen, in Clydesdale and other parts. The Laird of Swinton was a ringleader of them in the south, and one Barclay and Keith in the north. Most of their heresies were Popish heresies. Many wrote against them. See the Postscript to Mr Rutherford's Letters, printed 1675, and Mr Brown's book "Quakerism the Pathway to Paganism, or a View of the Quakers' Religion," &c., printed 1678.

Private sermons in the meeting houses being discharged at London, the Council resolved to do the like in Edinburgh. They called the provost and did chide him for his remissness in restrain-

* "Alexander Wedderburn was much followed for his gift of preaching. There are some of his sermons published, 12mo, 1682. *Item*, David's Last Testament, or Sermons on the Covenant of Grace, 8vo."—*Charteris' Catalogue of Scottish Writers*, 52.

ing of conventicles, and commanded him to prosecute before them five or six of the outed ministers that kept conventicles in the town. He only found Mr George Johnston, whom the Council confined to Borthwick parish, and commanded the provost to put all ministers that kept conventicles out of the town, them, and their families; which made several ministers to remove out of the town. A committee of the Council is ordered to sit at Glasgow or elsewhere in the west, to try what obedience the indulged ministers had given to their act discharging lecturing and baptising of children by outed and not indulged ministers, and conventicles; as also to try anent three curates, who alleged that they were injured and wounded by some men falling upon them, &c. The committee made a favourable report. They told that the licensed ministers were peaceable and loyal, &c.; that they found ministers put in by the Bishops negligent and dissolute, especially the three that complained, whereof one was Jaffray, who had invented a story, it being found that he was a liar. This report 'was' made to the Council in May, at which time the Council fined some for keeping of conventicles and baptizing their bairns by outed ministers; and a letter comes from the King, adjourning the Parliament to the 20th of July. The English Parliament was adjourned to October.

In the latter end of April there is a Pope created, called Clement X. At this time Papists abound in Scotland, and become very insolent and proud, avowedly going to public masses, especially in Aberdeen, where they had a burial, with a procession in the public street, after the Papistical, superstitious and idolatrous rites and customs. Thereafter there was a great conventicle of Papists at Roslin, where they had the mass. There were many men in arms to guard them, whereas they needed none, the Council neither discharging nor hindering these conventicles, which made true Protestants fear a Popish design driving on, which fears were augmented by the coming of our King's only sister, the Duchess of Orleans, from France, to meet with the King, Queen and Duke of York at Dover; which made some jealous of the King, fearing

what that meeting would produce. Shortly, thereafter, the Duke of York declared himself Popish,—so did some in Scotland, and some Quakers; so that, Protestants at London fear a massacre. Reports fly that the King, when he was over seas, engaged before five Popish Princes to advance Popery if ever he were restored. Immediately after the Duchess of Orleans returned to France she died suddenly. It was reported that she was poisoned even by the Papists, lest she should have revealed their plots, they knowing that her husband would be glad of it.

Notwithstanding of their severe acts against the private sermons at London, yet they continued to keep these meetings even after the 10th of May. Multitudes convening upon the streets of London, they throng in through the guards, that were doubled, to their meeting houses, it being impossible for the guards to hinder them. Nothing was heard in the streets on the Sabbath days but drums, marching of soldiers, &c., and in the meeting-houses singing of psalms, drowning the noise of drums, &c. The King obstinately resolved to suppress these meetings; the people as firmly and fixedly continued keeping their liberties. Trading and commerce is much impeded at London. Whereto all this would turn is wondered: for several weeks, no news was written from London.

In this meantime our grandees are very violent against conventicles at Edinburgh. Search was made for several ministers, but none was found. Conventicles are kept at Edinburgh, but not so frequent nor numerous as before. There was a great field conventicle in the west of Fife upon Beath Hill, whereat the Council was highly incensed. They sent an order to Mr Harrie Murray, bailie of the Regality of Dunfermline, to apprehend and send over several persons. One Robert Wellwood is sent over to the Council, who named several persons that were at Beath Hill conventicle, but refused to tell the ministers' names that preached.

The Council at this time made more severe acts against field conventicles, and condemned three ministers and some gentlemen to be hanged immediately after they were apprehended, viz., Messrs John Welsh, Gabriel Semple, and Samuel Arnot; Majors

Barclay and Learmont, &c. Narrow search was made in Edinburgh for these. So at this time honest people in Scotland and England are hotly pursued; Papists in the meanwhile waxing more and more proud and numerous.

Lauderdale wrote to the Bishop of St Andrews, that he was coming down, (the Parliament being adjourned to the 28th of July), and that he would bury Presbyterial government and all their conventicles. Leighton having refused the bishoprick of Glasgow, comes from Court prelate of Glasgow in a new mode, only having the spiritual power of the bishop, nothing of his temporalities, and only a part of the rent, viz., £300 sterling. As much was given to Burnet; the rest to come into the Exchequer. He was called commendator of Glasgow. Sharp was offended at this, fearing a design by time to deal so with them all, to clip their wings to augment the King's rents. It was given out that Leighton had some overtures to propose to the indulged ministers and others for an accommodation.

Several persons that had been at Beath Hill were summoned, and appeared before the Council July 14. They that refused to give their oath to tell who preached, who were there, &c., were fined in great sums, and ordered to lie in prison and continue there during the Council's pleasure, viz., Adam Stobie, William Adam, Mr Alexander Hastie, John Rankin, &c. July 26, Compeared before the Council others that had been at Beath Hill, not only men but women, married and unmarried, yea servants, whereof two servant women were imprisoned that were servants to the Lady Colville.

The Commissioner returned to Edinburgh July 25. Upon the morrow there was a Council day, when some were added to the Council, viz. the Earl of Hume, Lord Yester, Sir Andrew Ramsay, provost of Edinburgh. July 28, the Parliament sat down. Their first work was to make severe and cruel acts, especially against field conventicles; and that they might have some pretext of law for their cruel dealing with these prisoners that were lying in irons, they made an act, that what persons were found to be at

these conventicles should give their oath of verity to answer such questions as should be proposed to them; and if they refused to give their oath, to be imprisoned, fined, banished, &c. They made other most unreasonable and unchristian acts against all meetings of the people of God, by the which they did what they could to hinder God's worship in families; for if but one person who was not a member of the family were present, or if a stranger came in time of family worship, by the Council's acts it was judged to be a conventicle; yea they discharged, under all highest pains, all outed ministers to preach, yea to pray, or crave a blessing, or give thanks in families that were not their own, and all women to perform duties in their own families. O strange! They made also severe acts against all that kept not their own parish kirks. In one word, as the Prelates had done much to banish God out of kirks, so the Parliament did more to banish God and his worship out of families. At this time Lauderdale was loathed and abhorred by all the godly in the land as a profane irreligious man, yea as a vile apostate.

As for the Union, commissioners were named by the King, some noblemen, some gentlemen, some bishops, and some burgesses, with some lawyers, twenty-five in all, to meet at Westminster, London, September 14, with the commissioners for England, to treat about the union betwixt the two kingdoms. For defraying of the commissioners' charges, and levying more forces to uphold the tottering mitres, the King desired the Parliament to impose on the country £18,000 sterling; but the commissioner, who carried all things with a high hand, would needs supererogate and overburden the ruined country by imposing £30,000 sterling. This and the like made him hateful to the country, good and bad.

In the time of this blackest Parliament the Council is still persecuting all ministers that they judged to keep conventicles. They summoned about twenty-seven ministers to appear before them. None compeared save two; the rest were declared fugitive, and denounced to the horn. The prisoners that were at Beath Hill, still refusing to obey the Council's act, are banished to Virginia; four

whereof, that were imprisoned in the Canongate, escaped betwixt the Council house and that prison. The rest above-named remain in free prison, and were left so at the commissioners' departure, with the two serving women.

In May 1674, there were frequent and most numerous meetings in the three Lothians, especially in Fife, in the fields and some kirks (honest outed ministers, supposing that their preaching in kirks would not so much irritate the Council as their preaching in the fields). The Council day in the beginning of June approaching made them the more busy, fearing that their liberty would be abridged by the Council. When that Council day came the first thing done was, some counsellors that were most wily and active against Lauderdale were put off the Council, viz., Tweeddale, Roxburgh, Dumfries, Lieutenant-General Drummond, &c. Others were put in their room, viz., Mar, Kinghorn, Wigton, Ross, Collington, &c. Two of the Lords of the Session being dead, Mr Thomas Murray, Lord Glendoick, and Mr David Balfour, Lord Forret were put in their room. There are four assessors joined to the Chancellor, viz., Athole, Argyle, Stairs, &c., so that nothing is valid unless one of the assessors subscribe it with the Chancellor. All this 'was' to strengthen Lauderdale's faction, who at this time is made an English earl of Guildford. All in England and Scotland is now carried by Lauderdale at his pleasure. He and the Duke of York guide and misguide all.

June 3, there was a proclamation dissolving the Parliament. June 4, the Council convened. The great fears that possessed many of abridging the liberty of meetings for preaching, made a multitude of honest women in Edinburgh, especially outed ministers' wives and widows, with some ladies, adventure to present a humble supplication to the Council for continuance of the liberty they had enjoyed, of ministers to preach and people to hear the gospel, &c. That which increased their fears was the King's letter to the Council, charging them to suppress field conventicles, and to punish invaders of pulpits and ministers, &c. The honest women convened in the Parliament close and Old Kirk, about a

hundred and nine. When the counsellors came out of their coaches Sharp (who was as flyed as a fox) clave close to the Chancellor's back, to whom a grave matron* presented their supplication, entreating that he would present it to the Council, but the Chancellor slighting her, and refusing the supplication, was forced to take it from some others, who thrust themselves in betwixt him and the trembling Prelate, promising it should be read and considered. When the Council had read the King's letter and the women's supplication, the provost and two bailies were sent out to the women that were waiting for an answer to their supplication. The provost spoke to them very discreetly, promising, if they would peaceably go to their houses he would befriend them and their cause, and that their supplication should receive an answer to-morrow. So all of them repaired to their houses peaceably. All the counsellors were posed to delate whom they knew among that great confluence of women. Some few were named who were summoned to compear the next Council day, June 11. Meanwhile there is a committee appointed to dignosce† upon the supplication, and how field conventicles shall be suppressed, especially in Fife, where they were most frequent and numerous; for suppressing of which a party of the King's guard is sent over to Fife, commanded by Powmill, who disturbed some meetings about Falkland, wounding some but apprehending none. June 11, the women summoned compeared before the Council. They were desired to depone upon oath; which all of them refused. Also they were required to subscribe their depositions, which the most part of them refused. They were dismissed, and desired to compear in the afternoon; which they did, and with them a very great multitude, not only of women but of men, resolving to stand by them and to hinder them to be imprisoned; which being perceived, the Council entreated them to go to their houses peaceably. Thus they were dismissed fraudulently by the Council, in-

* This was the widow of Mr John Livingstone, minister of Ancrum. She was the eldest daughter of Mr Bartholomew Fleming, merchant in Edinburgh,—*Wodrow's History*, ii. 268; *Select Biographies*, i. 150.

† *Dignosce, i. e.* discern.

tending that night to surprise them and carry them from their beds to prison; which being whispered by some counsellors, the honest women left their own houses. So none were found save one poor woman that apprehended no hazard.

Some were imprisoned for hearing of outed ministers; the Laird of Cramond for hearing outed ministers in the kirk of Cramond; James Hamilton for hearing in the Magdalene chapel in Edinburgh. One Mr Drummond, a preacher, was taken by a party of the guard in the kirk of Moniebroch. There were about twenty ministers, viz., Messrs John Welsh, Gabriel Semple, Gabriel Cunningham,* &c., ordained by the Council to be apprehended whereever they could be found. Those of them that dwelt in Edinburgh their houses were ryped,† but none was found.

About the middle of June the Earl of Kincardine came from Court to Edinburgh. He brought to the Council from the King a very severe letter against those advocates that, the winter preceding, in the time of the sitting of the Parliament, had appealed from the unjust sentence (as they conceived) of the Session to the Parliament and the King's majesty. The King commanded the Council to depose and disgrace these advocates unless they would acknowledge a fault. The advocates (who were the ablest and honestest in the house) resolved to adhere to their appeal. June 23, this business anent the appeal was agitated before the Council. Not only those that appealed, but sundry other advocates adhering to them quit their charges, resolving to maintain the appeal. Not daring to call duty sins, they left the house and went out of the town. Some few young advocates that had owned the appeal did recant and acknowledge a fault, and so continued in their charge.

About this time the Council emitted a proclamation against conventicles, which was a new towit‡ in an old horn; wherein heri-

* Mr Gabriel Cunningham was at the Restoration minister of Dunlop, in the Presbytery of Irvine, from which he was ejected for nonconformity. He was alive at the Revolution.— *Wodrow's History*, i. 327.

† *Ryped*, *i. e.* searched, examined.

‡ *Towit*, or *tout*, *i. e.* the sound of a horn.

tors, masters of families, &c., are ordained to be answerable for those under them, &c. Some things were added to the old proclamation to make it more severe and unreasonable. Also there is affixed and subjoined to the proclamation a bond, that heritors, masters of families, &c., must take besides the oath of supremacy. Also, in the proclamation, there is a reward promised to any that apprehends any persons going to, at, or coming from field conventicles, and sums of money named to the apprehenders of ministers preaching at field conventicles, or invading of pulpits, especially of Messrs Welsh, Semple, and Arnot, &c. The Laird of Cramond, compearing before the Council, is fined according to his estate, but refused the oath and bond which others did take. So he and others, refusers of the bond and oath, continued in prison.

After the first Council day in June, the party that was sent over to suppress the field conventicles in Fife was very active and stirring, especially about Strathmiglo, Falkland, &c.; which occasioned some gentlemen to be summoned to compear before the Council, viz., the Laird of Pitlour,* and his brother,† Pitlochie,‡ Reddie, &c. Some of them compeared June 25. All that compeared, save one, whose case was singular, were imprisoned and fined.

All this while by-past there is great heat, animosities, and divisions among the Prelates and Curates, especially in Lothian and be-south Forth. At their Diocesan Court in Lothian, some who were the evil best of them motioned that there should be a convocation of the clergy for reforming of many abuses among them. This is opposed by the Prelates, and the most corrupt and vicious of the Curates. This motion anent the convocation is again wakened in the precinct meeting of Edinburgh, especially by Mr Archibald Turner, but opposed by Paterson. There passed some bitter reflections betwixt them two, Paterson challenging Turner

* William Pitcairn of Pitlour.

† Henry Pitcairn of Lacestoun. Wodrow has it spelt *Lareston* and *Lateston*, ii. 238, 244.

‡ George Scot of Pitlochie.

for drunkenness, Turner again, after he had made some pretty excuses for his drunkenness, challenging Paterson for his lying and adulterous carriage, undertaking to produce a letter of his, subscribed with his hand, to a gentlewoman, whom he tempted to baseness. This Paterson was one of the most notorious liars in his time, and a vicious, base, loose liver. There were some few of the Conformists that preached against the persecution carried on against honest people, and the vicious lives of corrupt kirkmen, viz., Mr Wilkie in Leith, and Mr Cant in Edinburgh, &c. These and the like were very desirous of the convocation. Also some of the Prelates joined with them, viz., the Prelate of Dunblane, Ramsay, of Glasgow, Burnet, &c. Burnet, as the report went, was going to Court to receive his place again, &c.

In the latter end of June there was a great meeting of unconform outed ministers at Edinburgh. To this meeting came severals from sundry parts of the kingdom, from the north, south, and maniest from the west. At least there came two from every province to consult what was to be done in this most difficult time. Their great business was to consult how Presbyterial government may be continued and perpetuated, brethren constituting themselves in classical meetings for trial and ordination of young men, and doing other things, as the times should require. They met several times. At last they condescended upon these overtures: "1. The brethren did agree that there be a serious endeavour for a succession of Presbyterian ministers, and recommend to the several societies to think upon the most effectual way of making this practicable. 2. Some brethren present were desired to write to brethren in several places to associate themselves in their several bounds, and that brethren meet by correspondence, who live in the bounds of one synod, for the greater harmony in acting. 3. That there be a care had in several meetings, as they have access to send preachers where the necessity of the people require them, and as they travel among them, to warn them faithfully of the evils and dangers of the time, and exhort them to seek for the things that make for peace, and whereby they may edify one an-

other. 4. That it be carefully provided, that no offer from the State, in order to Kirk affairs, be either rejected or accepted by any particular brethren, till advertisement be given to the several societies of such an offer, that their thoughts thereof may be returned by their delegates or letters, as they shall think expedient, and that ministers therein, as in other things, subject themselves *communi presbyterorum consilio*. 5. That we endeavour to keep correspondence with gentlemen and judicious elders as they can be had. 6. That neither actual ministers nor licentiate young men settle with a people without consent of the meeting in the bounds."

These preceding articles the brethren thought fit to recommend to the consideration of the several societies, without imposing upon their judgments, that they may send their thoughts of these overtures with their delegates to the next meeting in October. At this meeting, also, they condescended upon a draught of a humble supplication to be presented to the Council, as follows:— "After too long silence, being much pressed with the present sad condition of the Church of God through the land, we cannot but adventure, with all humility and submission, to offer to your Lordships' consideration some few of the many pressures under which both they and we groan, beseeching your Lordships to have compassion upon us, and by your authority to relieve and help us from under them; and, 1. It cannot but be grievous to us, that though we are not conscious to ourselves of any disloyalty, either in principles or practice, yet we and all of our persuasion have been these years past kept under a cloud of disfavour, whereby we have been exposed to many sad inconveniencies and sufferings. 2. We regret that by the lamentable alterations that have been made on this Church, in the change of the government thereof, and introducing of Prelacy, contrary to the word of God and to our solemn covenants and vows with and to the most high God, atheism, profanity, and looseness have much abounded, and religion, in the doctrine and practice thereof, have been exceedingly shaken, and the tender and conscientious people of the land, that could not submit thereto,

have undergone, and to this day are lying under many sad things. 3. We humbly crave leave to represent to your Lordships how affecting it hath been to us that our readiness to acknowledge the civil supremacy of the magistrate, not only in things civil, but also as to things ecclesiastical, according to the Scriptures and the confessions of the Protestant Churches, is not taken off our hands as a sufficient testimony of our loyalty, unless we give unto him that which we cannot grant, as we would not be found guilty of encroaching on the sovereign authority of Jesus Christ, the alone King and Head of his Church, which we humbly conceive is grievously encroached upon. 4. We do, with much sorrow, bewail the great obstructions that have been laid in the way of preaching the gospel by ministers called to that work by the Church of Scotland, who find themselves under the necessity to preach the gospel under all hazards, from which it is that ignorance and looseness have abounded with many, and others, who, from single respect to the gospel, and not from any the least disrespect to authority, have adventured upon preaching and hearing, not without an encouraging blessing, have been exposed to many and great mistakes and sore troubles. 5. That a great number of young men, whom God hath fitted for the work of the ministry, are kept useless now when the harvest is so great, and by whose labours many souls might be gained to Christ. 6. That though there be an observable and prodigious growth of Popery and Quakerism, (which is upon the matter a renouncing of Christianity), yet there are few or no endeavours or effectual means used to restrain the seducers or to reclaim their deluded followers. 7. That as the greatest part of us, the unconform ministers of this Church, that desire to be found faithful, are by law-restraints debarred from all allowed public exercise of our ministry, so such of us who have been suffered to preach the gospel to particular congregations have been burdened with diverse impositions, which we neither do nor can in conscience practise. We, therefore, humbly beseech your Lordships, by the love you bear to Jesus Christ, before whose tribunal we must all quickly stand, to provide

a remedy for these and other sad evils under which the Lord's servants and people heavily groan, and which we are willing when your Lordships please more particularly to represent, that so the gospel may have a free course, and the starving souls of the poor people may be relieved with the bread of life, and may bless your Lordships, when they have access with peace and freedom, after the wonted manner, to enjoy their soul's food. This, we doubt not, will contribute much to the establishment of his Majesty's throne, and will bring many blessings upon your Lordships and your families, and will encourage us more and more to deport ourselves with all affection and loyalty to his Majesty, and will not a little make way for your Lordships' peace in the day when the Lord Christ will come to call every one of us to an account."*

About this time there came a letter from the King to the Council, giving them thanks for what was done against the conventicles, mentioning how his forces were assaulted by the rebels in Fife, and promising to send for their assistance some forces from England and Ireland. This letter occasioned most bitter persecution, not only against the honest women that intended to present their supplication, by searching their houses night and day, and putting the magistrates of Edinburgh to use all means to find out all that were in the Parliament Close, &c., and by denouncing some of them that refused to depone upon oath; but against all in Fife that went to conventicles, not only men but women, especially some ladies; so that there is a second roll sent over to Fife of many persons, gentlemen, ladies, and some commons, to be summoned over for keeping of conventicles in the fields, kirks, and houses, and for harbouring and assisting the rebel, Mr John Welsh, riding with him with arms. June 27, five of the Fife gentlemen incarcerated were summoned to compear and answer before the Council, for harbouring and assisting the rebel, &c. They compeared June last, who, refusing to depone upon oath, the matters whereof they were accused being judged capital crimes, yea treasonable, they were delayed to another Council day.

* Both these documents are inserted in Wodrow's History, ii. 273, 274.

July 2, the Prelate of Edinburgh, by his sole authority and prelatic power did suspend three of the preachers in Edinburgh that were greatest sticklers for the convocation, viz., Messrs Cant, Turner, and Robinson. They appealed to the Council, and being summoned before the Great Committee of the Council, for some expressions they had in their Synod anent that affair, witnesses were summoned against them. But while the Committee was consulting about the business, there comes from the diocese of Brechin a declaration witnessing their adherence to the supplication for the convocation; which made the Committee to demur, and thereafter to delay that business to another day. The suspended seemed to be resolute to adhere to it upon all perils, as appeared by their sermons the Sabbath preceding.

July 3, all the advocates, viz., forty-six, that still adhered to the appeal, were by the Council deposed, and declared for ever incapable of that office. There were about twenty that acknowledged a fault, and entered the house again, who were called curate-advocates.

July 4, The suspended conformists again compeared before the committee of the Council, where Sharp was present. The committee sustain the sentence of the Bishop of Edinburgh against them. Sharp was offended that they did not inflict some civil censure on them, because of their contempt of authority. The Sabbath following they abstained from preaching, though they had alleged that they were illegally suspended, without any citation or summons, and some other usual formalities. At this time there were only some few private meetings in private families in Edinburgh and Fife, by reason of the Sharp* persecution. Besides the list of twenty that were to be apprehended, there is another list of forty-three ministers, who were called to compear before the Council July 16.†

About this time an English Popish nobleman, Lord Lumbie, came very secretly to Edinburgh and staid only one night, and spoke only with Sharp and the Earl of Athole. Sharp now car-

* A pun, apparently, on Sharp's name. † See Wodrow's History, ii. 243.

ries very high in the Council, as if he had been Preses or Chancellor, and in the town, taking on him to send parties of the guard, not acquainting the Magistrates, to break up doors and search houses, &c. So Sharp persecution grows hotter in Edinburgh, Fife, and about Stirling, where there was a rendezvous of the militia companies, who being convened in the court of the Castle of Stirling are commanded to lay down their arms, which being done, they are dismissed and the arms put up in the Castle. Report was that the Council intended also to disarm the militia companies in Fife and the south, not daring to trust them.

July 8, To stop the mouths of those that pressed for a convocation, the Prelates convene at St Andrews. All come to this mock convocation, except the Prelates of Glasgow, Dunkeld, Orkney, and some other old infirm men. Also, the moderators of the precinct meetings convene. At their down-sitting the base sycophantic fools magnify and extol Sharp as the father of their kirk, who, by his wisdom and prudence, had guided all well. But the Prelates that were for the convocation, and reformation of abuses among the clergy, spoke in another dialect, especially the Prelate of Dunblane, Ramsay, showing the necessity of a full convocation for these ends, who was sharply checked by Sharp, and commanded to be silent, and thereafter to be gone. Ramsay not removing as he was often commanded, the rest of the Prelates did round and whisper among themselves what was spoken or done; which being perceived, Ramsay, discontented, removed, and presently left the town. There removed with him the three suspended conformists, who came thither expecting a redress of their grievances, and reposition to their charges; which being refused, they likewise left the town. What was done at this meeting was kept secret, as being a work of darkness. Only, there was a report of an act discharging ministers to go to taverns or ale-houses, &c., their drunkenness, especially of those in Angus, being so notour. Also they concluded that Sharp should repair to Court.

July 14, All the heritors in Fife were summoned in to the Sheriff Court at Cupar, to take the bond, (which obliged them to

be answerable for all in their families, their tenants, cottars, &c., that they should keep their own parish kirks, not go to conventicles in houses or fields, nor baptise their children with outed ministers, &c.) Of the few heritors that compeared very few did take the bond. They that refused got till that day eight days to advise upon the matter; which day some few of them that refused did take the bond.

In this meantime our Secret Counsellors did still, Jehu-like, drive on, heightening their persecution, (notwithstanding of the ticklish condition of affairs in England), as if of purpose they designed by their persecution to render wise men desperate and mad, and even to provoke them to an insurrection. They are daily summoning more, both men and women, and denouncing them that compeared not. The forty-three ministers cited to compear July 16, non-compearing, they were denounced July 24, and ordained to be summoned at the six most public market crosses. July 16, There is a letter from the King, giving the Council thanks for their zeal against conventicles, and against the advocates that appealed, and pressing them that they should proceed suppressing conventicles, &c. Several letters of this nature come from the King to them, approving what they had done against the advocates, and approving the suspension of the conformists, &c. But all these letters were procured by the corrupt counsellors and Lauderdale. Some letters to the Prelate Sharp to be communicated to the Council were kept up by him.

The disarming of the militia of Stirling occasioned much outcrying and great jealousies, which occasioned the King to write to the Council that their arms should be re-delivered, and that the Fife gentlemen that were summoned to answer for resetting of Mr Welsh as for treason, should only be fined for that fault, which made some expect that the Council would relent if once Sharp were gone for Court. But, in the meantime, there comes a letter to him from the King, giving him thanks for his care of the Church, and devolving on him the ordering of all Church affairs. Also, another letter comes to the Prelate of Edinburgh, giving him

thanks for censuring the three suspended, &c. By these letters to the Bishops, the Prelate of Dunblane is transported to be Prelate of the Isles, and confined to the Isles, and Mr Robinson relegated to Auchterless, a private place in the north, to abide there and not to preach elsewhere; Turner to Glasgow, to preach only there; Cant to Liberton, but not to preach there. The letter to the Prelate of Edinburgh contained a censure of Mr John Hamilton at Leith, ordaining him to be confined to Cramond parish. Thus they are made to taste a little of the fruit of their own ways.

July 22, The Fife gentlemen compeared. The Council, in obedience to the King's letter, passed from the criminal part of their libel, and insisted only for an arbitrary punishment for resetting of Mr Welsh, and going to conventicles. They were fined in two thousand merks for each night's lodging of Mr Welsh, and in the half of their year's rent for each conventicle; which fines being paid they were liberated. All their fines, cess, excise, &c., are divided amongst the persecuting grandees; the country being exhausted, the honest nobility and gentry oppressed and redacted to great straits, the yeomanry impoverished, and all this to uphold the worldly pomp, and sinful grandeur of fourteen antichristian prelates.

In the latter end of July, Prelate Ramsay gave in a supplication to the Council, desiring to know the ground of his sentence, that being convinced he might confess a fault, but if it should be found that the King was misinformed anent him, that he might yet be better informed by the Council. The answering of this supplication occasioned much heat and many contests amongst them. Lauderdale's party would have the answering of the supplication referred to Sharp, and that he should write to the King thereanent. Hamilton's party would have it referred to the Council, and that they should write to the King thereanent. The votes being equal, the Chancellor's casting vote was, that it should be referred to the Council, and that they should send the Bishops' supplication to the King.

About the beginning of August, Powmill, (a profligate and debauched person), having gotten a commission from the Council, and connived at by them, exercised all cruelty, oppressing all the honest people about Kinross, Strathmiglo, &c. At the last Council day in Edinburgh they appointed several committees to sit in several shires, viz., in Edinburgh, Cupar of Fife, Stirling, &c. What their instructions were it was not divulged. Before their sitting, the Chancellor (who all this time bypast carried pretty soberly and moderately, so that the furious persecutors designed to get him outed of his place) and Earl of Crawford, in their respective courts, did impose fines for conventicles, refusing the bond, &c., of purpose to ward off a greater blow, &c. The Committee that convened at Cupar, (viz. the Chancellor, the Earls of Kellie, Wemyss, Airly, Kinghorn, Halton, Ardross, &c.) sat some few hours, and did little more than allow the diligence of the Sheriff's and Crawford's deputies in their respective courts, in censuring delinquents.

September 1, the Council convened. The King's letter to them ordered 1000 foot to be levied, whereof 200 was to be added to Linlithgow's regiment, twenty to the garrison of the Castle of Edinburgh, the rest to be commanded by Sir George Monro, now made a Counsellor and General-Major to all the standing forces, horse and foot; and three troops of horse to be levied and rendezvoused at Leith, 15th September. When the reports of the several Committees of the Council were read, they were appointed to meet at Stirling, September 8; at Cupar and Edinburgh, September 15. Sir George Kinnaird, a profligate and very vicious man, was added to the Committee that was to meet at Cupar. At this time the Council passed a very strange and unreasonable act, warranting the officers of the standing forces to seize upon any persons in arms who cannot give a good account of themselves, and upon such as are declared fugitives, or have been at field conventicles, or in the late rebellion, or upon outed ministers, or any suspected persons, and in case of resistance or slaughter following, they are indemnified. The foot are also warranted upon occasion to take

horses in the country, the officers being liable to return the horses after performance of the service. The Council adjourned to the 29th of September.

Immediately after this Council day the officers of the troops and companies most diligently go about these levies, especially in Edinburgh; so that nothing is to be heard in the streets, betwixt the 1st and 15th of September, but drums beating and trumpets sounding for levying of volunteers, horse and foot, and this with as great joy and alacrity, as great diligence and activity, as the Trojans did drive within their town the Trojan horse; so that all their companies and troops were for the most part complete, when they rendezvoused at Leith, September 15; and as many men, women and children did run down to Leith to see the rendezvous, as did run out of Troy to see the brave Trojan horse; not considering what gravel was in his belly, or that he was builded for their ruin.

The Committees of the Council sat September 8, and 15, in their respective places. They at Edinburgh were very strict. Halton, who was a furious persecutor, being there, they ordained letters of caption against all the ministers that were denounced, and against all the honest women that were denounced, &c.

There met at Cupar, September 15, very few of the Committee, viz., the Chancellor, Sheriff of the shire, the Earls of Kellie and Airly. Some few that compeared were fined, who presently paid their fines. Some ladies that were summoned, viz., the Lady Colville, Lady Collerny, not compearing, their fines are ordained to be paid before November 1. The magistrates of towns compeared for their burghs. Their diligence in fining delinquents was allowed. The fines of delinquents are ordained to be paid November 1. Immediately after this, letters come from the clerk of the Secret Council to sheriffs, their deputies, and magistrates of towns, for exacting and collecting of the fines strictly, and sending them over to Sir William Sharp, and ordaining the Acts of Parliament to be punctually obeyed.

In the latter end of August, Prelate Sharp, and Paterson, Dean

of Edinburgh, go to Court; Leighton and Burnet being there before.

September 29, the Council convene. There was not much done. Only they were very hot upon the chase against the women that offered their petition, and against the conventicles in Edinburgh and elsewhere.

In the beginning of October the Council again convene. Still they drive on in the persecution. They banished some of the women that offered their petition out of Edinburgh and its liberties; and some men and women that were in prison for conventicles were likewise banished.

About this time Prelate Burnet comes from Court, restored again Archbishop of Glasgow. It was feared that he would persecute all the indulged ministers, unless they obeyed all the Council's orders. And Paterson comes down from Court made Bishop of Galloway, Hamilton being dead. The Council, especially the Prelates, (who had evil consciences, and feared where no fear was), fearing an insurrection, did what they could to prevent it. The King commanded several troops and companies, commanded by Sir Arthur Forbes in Ireland, to repair to the coast, to be in a readiness to come over to Scotland when called. Also some troops were commanded to repair to the borders betwixt Berwick and Carlisle, &c. General Major Drummond, by the Council is commanded to enter prisoner in the Castle of Dumbarton, being a suspected person.

In this meanwhile the King is still severe against the advocates that appealed. Several letters come to the Council against them, ordaining none of them to be admitted but upon repentance, discharging them to come to Edinburgh, or within twelve miles of it.

The burghs in their last convention returned an answer to a letter which the King wrote unto them, wherein they earnestly desired a free Parliament to be called, whereof they said there was great need. Also they wrote a letter to Lauderdale, entreating him to present their letter to the King, &c. Their letter to the

King gets a sharp answer, wherein the town of Edinburgh is discharged to elect their magistrates; which occasioned the good town to write to the King, and to send Broomhall to Court, and with him their letters, showing their privileges, especially in electing their magistrates, &c. Broomhall returns with a severe letter from Lauderdale to the town of Edinburgh, showing that they had lost all their privileges, and endangered their persons, &c.; and yet they were so silly that they obeyed all the Council's orders to oppress and persecute all honest people in the town, and to suppress the conventicles, some whereof were scattered and some taken.

Prelate Sharp all this while stays at Court, having gotten greater power than ever before. The reason given out for his stay at Court was, because he was waiting to see what would be the result of a convocation in England, which was said to be convocated by the King for an accommodation betwixt the Conformists and Unconformists; but the truth was, there were only thirteen bishops and some Nonconformists convocated by the King's letters to them, especially to consult with them about his divorce from his Queen, whereof she was desirous, but all of them were against it.

In this campaign, in the harvest and summer by-past, there were several skirmishes and engagements betwixt the Imperialists their united forces, and the King of France his armies; but in end the French were put to the worse, beaten in the fields, and some towns taken from them. This occasioned our King to send over ambassadors to Holland, especially to congratulate the Prince of Orange his good success against the French, and to propone marriage betwixt him and the Duke of York's daughter. In the latter end of the year news comes that Chancellor Hyde was coming home to be received again into the King's favour, and to solemnise the marriage of the Prince of Orange with his grandchild, the Duke of York's daughter. Thereafter news comes that Chancellor Hyde died by the way in his return to England.

In the beginning of the year 1675, some ministers came from Edinburgh and kept conventicles in Fife, about Cupar, Falkland,

Strathmiglo, &c. This was the occasion of much trouble to Fife; for it was written to Prelate Sharp, (some said by his wife), that Mr John Welsh and others were keeping field conventicles in Fife near to Cupar, &c. This occasioned letters to come from Court (where Sharp then was) to the Council to repress these conventicles in Fife; and those that were unfriends to the Chancellor laid the blame of all these conventicles and disorders upon the Chancellor, because (as they said) he would permit no troop to come to Fife but his own troop. This made the Chancellor to write strict orders to the quarter-master of his troop, to bring some of the troop from Kirkcaldy to Cupar, to lie there and to search for these ministers that came over from Lothian, and the persons in whose houses they kept conventicles, (for at this time no meetings were in the fields, neither was it Mr Welsh that preached in houses), and to search for the outed ministers that dwelt and preached in Cupar, and the ringleaders that frequented these conventicles in Cupar. After search made, none was found except Mr Alexander Greig, a probationer. He being apprehended gave bond to appear when called for; John Whyte, merchant in Cupar, being apprehended, likewise gave bond. At this time these troopers that were quartered in Cupar did, on the Sabbath days, ride up and down to search for field conventicles, and finding none, they did search suspected houses, &c. At this same time several meetings in Edinburgh were dispersed and scattered by Robert Johnston, town-major, so that thereafter their meetings were in the morning early, or late at night. Towards the end of February a meeting was taken at Leith Mills. Mr John Greig, an outed minister, was preaching in his sister's house; he, his brother, Mr James Greig, his brother-in-law, with some indwellers in Edinburgh and Leith being apprehended, were imprisoned; but shortly thereafter they were all dismissed, (giving bond for their appearance when called for), except the preacher and his brother. Shortly thereafter, the Lord Ross's troop fell upon a conventicle in the west, and killed one of them. Fourteen of them that were taken were brought to Edinburgh and imprisoned there,

so that at this time there was great persecution in several parts of the land, especially in Edinburgh. The persecution waxed hotter, for the honest women (who for the Parliament Close petition were banished out of the town) were again searched for, some of them having, after some short time, privately returned to their own houses. Also the town-major did narrowly search the houses where outed ministers that lived in Edinburgh dwelt, even in the night-time, breaking up doors, &c.

All this time by-past, severe letters come from Court to the Secret Council against the advocates that adhered to the appeal, notwithstanding of their humble addresses and petitions to the Lords of the Session; which occasioned Sir John Cunningham and some others to repair to Court to inform the King's Majesty aright anent the business, and to speak for themselves and the rest.

In January foreign news came that the King of France had beaten the Imperialists, wholly routed them, and had relieved Brissac, besieged by the Imperialists. Some of Douglas's regiment came to Edinburgh to levy men to recruit their regiment. Also news came that the Polonians had beaten the Turks and killed many of them, the Polonians being assisted by their confederates and allies.

In February there was a proclamation in England in words very severe against the Papists, but in the end of it the indulgence or liberty that formerly they enjoyed, and their meetings in their meeting houses in few words were condemned, and the laws were ordained to be executed against them.

After some weeks' imprisonment Mr James Greig and his brother-in-law were liberated, having paid their fines. Mr John Greig, by the plurality of votes in the Council, was ordained to be sent to the Bass, (where for a long time Mr Peden, an outed minister, was detained, especially by the malice of Halton and the evil will of the Lord Stairs, his parishioner), but upon a humble supplication given in to the Council he was ordained to stay in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh until the 5th of May, ordained to be the next Council day.

About this time Mr William Carstairs, son to Mr William Car-

stairs, was brought to Edinburgh, who, immediately after he came over from Holland, was by Lauderdale apprehended and put in prison in London, upon some presumptions that he knew who was the author of the book called "The Grievances," &c.,* (whereat Lauderdale was highly offended), it being reported that the printer had confessed that he gave him the copy and waited upon the press. But Mr William Carstairs refusing to confess any of these things, and there being no law in England to put any to torture upon presumptions, he was sent down by Lauderdale to Edinburgh and imprisoned in the Castle. Great search was made for James Stewart,† son to Sir James Stewart, provost of Edinburgh, there being presumptions that either he was the author of that book, wherein were many and sad grievances against Lauderdale, or, at least, he knew who was the author thereof, but he was not found. Jer. xxxvi. 26.

In this spring time some ministers came from Edinburgh to Fife and kept some meetings, but privately in houses, in the morning early, or late at night. Little din was of them, they being cautious and the troopers discreet. The greatest persecution was in the stewartry of Falkland by one Mr Patrick Murray, Athole's depute.

Sir John Cunningham and the rest of the advocates that went to Court gave in a supplication to the King, as they had formerly done to the Council, submitting themselves to the King's clemency and mercy, notwithstanding of their law defences, &c. This occasioned the King to write down to the Chancellor to call a Council, and to take off the restraints off the Advocates, and to continue their process to the first Council day in June; which was done, and nothing else done at that occasional Council day in April, which was convocate in obedience to the King's letter to the Chancellor in favour of the advocates adhering to the appeal. Pre-

* The title of this paper is "An Account of Scotland's Grievances by reason of the Duke of Lauderdale's ministry, humbly tendered to his Sacred Majesty."

† Who after the Revolution became Lord Advocate of Scotland, an office which he held for about twenty years. For some account of him see *Wodrow's Correspondence*, i. 19, 448, 449.

late Sharp continues still at Court, waiting (as some said) until the Parliament of England should sit down.

In the latter end of March the Earl of Kincardine went to Court. All this while by-past (he being moderate and calm) did in some things oppose Halton in his severe and furious courses and illegal proceedings; whereat Lauderdale was offended. But after Kincardine's coming to Court, still the difference betwixt Lauderdale and him is widened, especially by occasion of a supplication from General Major Drummond, which Kincardine put into the King's hand, not acquainting Lauderdale therewith. This incensed Lauderdale so, that albeit the King had given an order to liberate Drummond, yet Lauderdale stopped it. This and other things made Lauderdale in end to turn Kincardine's bitter enemy, alleging that he complied with those that opposed him and sought his ruin. But still the King retained a good opinion of Kincardine, and promised to continue his kindness to him. He had also the good will and favour of the Duke of York and Monmouth; but still Lauderdale sought to decourt him.

In April the Parliament of England sat down. The King in his speech to them urged union, the necessity of repairing the fleet, desired them to beware of severe courses, &c. It was reported that there was an old statute, declaring that after the King had thrice adjourned the Parliament he could not again adjourn them, and that they did intimate this statute to the King, declaring that if he would permit them to sit and to ease the kingdom of all grievances, especially to purge the Court of evil counsellors, they would give him large subsidies for paying of his debts, repairing the fleet, &c., otherwise they would give none. There was great heat in the House of Commons anent Lauderdale. In the House of Peers the plurality were for him, all the bishops being so; and in the House of Commons many were for him, for by his great bribes he had corrupted many of them. Those that were for him urged that he might be arraigned and judged according to law, knowing that he was to be judged by his peers and so would escape. Those that were against him and continued unbiassed, urged that

there should be an address made to the King, requiring that he might be put from the King's person, Court and Counsels, and declared incapable of public trust for ever. This was carried by twenty votes. The King returned answer to the address, that he saw no reason to grant what was required, and that their reasons against Lauderdale were not valid. The next thing that they supplicated for was that the King would recal all his English forces that were in the King of France his service. To this the King condescended, to blunt their edge against Lauderdale.

May 5, the Council convened. Mr John Greig supplicates them, offering to go to his confinement, viz., the parish of Carstairs, (where his father-in-law, Mr Alexander Livingstone, and he were confined, they being ordered for that kirk by the second indulgence, Mr Livingstone accepted, but Mr Greig refused, yet he sometimes preached there), according to the act of the Council, and under the penalty expressed in the act. The Council offered to let him go to his confinement, providing he would engage to keep it, and not to preach in any other place, which he refusing, he was remitted to prison. Duke Hamilton spoke for him, alleging that his offer should be accepted, as being obedience to the act of Council; but Halton opposed; so he continued in prison.

About the beginning of June there was a conventicle kept near Cardross by Mr John King, who had formerly been before the Council. Some of the troopers coming upon them to disperse them, but especially to apprehend Mr King, one man is killed, defending the preacher, who escaped, but sundry of the people were wounded.

The Parliament of England still sitting, all were kept in suspense what would become of Lauderdale, the Commons having ordered a second address against him. But in end that which opened a door to him to escape at, was the many and great dissensions that fell out betwixt the two Houses, and in the House of Commons amongst themselves, which the King, though he came to them in his robes, could not appease. It was thought that Lauderdale cast oil in the flames, and busily blew the bellows. The King took

occasion by their dissensions, about the middle of June, to prorogue the Parliament to the 13th of October. This being a prorogation, and not an adjournment, all that they had done anent Lauderdale was null; so he escaped for this time. Immediately after the prorogation of the Parliament, (while honest men here were waiting how Lauderdale would carry after his weathering this rock, more moderately or more arrogantly), there comes from Lauderdale to the Council a most rigid and severe letter against all conventicles, seditious and tumultuous communions, &c. In this letter all former letters were mentioned, and the Council sharply challenged for not obeying them. The conventicle kept by Mr King was mentioned, and the Lord Cardross challenged. Also a fast kept by the indulged ministers in the west was challenged, and all Counsellors within eighty miles of Edinburgh were ordered to abide at Edinburgh until Lammas, and to use their utmost diligence in suppressing conventicles. And lastly, several garrisons are ordained and commanded to be placed in several houses in several parts of the land; and they were ordered to give notice, from time to time, of their diligence in obeying all these particulars, or of the remissness of others. In this letter there were more peremptory and severe expressions than in any of the King's letters formerly; so that now it was evident that Lauderdale would carry more arrogantly, and persecute more cruelly than ever.

All this time by-past conventicles in Edinburgh were not so frequent nor numerous as formerly. Sundry meetings were dispersed by the town-major, but no ministers taken. Many of the ministers that preached in the town were in the west and south. In Fife meetings that were numerous were in the night, the troopers continuing at Cupar, Falkland, &c. There was a garrison of foot soldiers before this time put into the house of Kinkell; which continuing there, the Laird and his family removed and dwelt in Lathones. This summer there were two bishops consecrated at Edinburgh, viz., Mr John Paterson, bishop of Galloway, and one Ross, bishop of the Isles.

About this time Sir George M'Kenzie, one of the chief of the outed advocates, (on whom the rest did much rely, employing him to appear for them before the Lords), did acknowledge a fault in having hand in that appeal, and so did take on the gown again. The rest thought he had not dealt honestly and ingenuously. Immediately thereafter comes from Lauderdale the King's letter, which was most severe against the outed advocates, putting them in a worse condition than formerly; debarring them for ever that did not betwixt and Lammas come in upon the terms that Sir George M'Kenzie had come in upon; and *simpliciter* debarring those that had been sticklers in that business at Edinburgh or London, and only admitting such a number to be received. After the receipt of that severest letter, mentioned before, the Council did bestir themselves very carefully that they might obey it in all the points thereof. And first they convened before them the Lord Cardross and his Lady. But that which busied them several weeks, was the placing of garrisons in several houses in the Merse, Teviotdale, Clydesdale, the west, and Fife. They were all named in the King's letter, viz., Blainyarne, Riddell, Cavers, Ker, Airdrie, Evandale, Cardross, &c. There were many debates in Council anent these garrisons, where they should be placed, and how maintained. It was ordained that the country should furnish them with meal, pots, pans, and candle. Duke Hamilton, the King's Advocate, and Dumfries, dissented from this. In Fife, besides the garrison already in Kinkell, there was one ordered by the letter to be in the New House at Lochleven, now belonging to Sir William Bruce. But the Council ordained it to be in Dowhill; Sir William Bruce pleading that he was conform, and lived orderly; which the Laird of Dowhill did not.

Also the Council did take notice of several persons formerly denounced, whose estates were given away, and against whom there was declaratours, &c.

There was a great number of ministers in the year 1674 summoned to compear before the Council, to answer and underly the law, for keeping of house and field conventicles, who, not compear-

ing, were then denounced and declared fugitives. Against many of these ministers letters of intercommuning passed at this Council day, whereby all the King's subjects were discharged to reset, supply or intercommune with any of these persons, or to furnish them with meat, drink, house, harbour, victual, or any other thing useful or comfortable to them, or to have intelligence with them by word, write or message, or any other way, under the pain to be repute or esteemed art and part with them in their crimes, and pursued therefor with all rigour; and all were commanded to apprehend and imprison them, wherever they could be found, in town or landward. Besides the ministers intercommuned, viz., Messrs George Johnston, Alexander Moncrieff, William Wishart, Thomas Hog, James Donaldson, &c., there were some godly persons also intercommuned. So by all means they resolved to persecute them, yea, to starve them, and, if they could, to root them out.

About the midst of July there were three ministers taken in the west, who were assisting at the celebration of the communion, viz., Messrs Hugh Peebles, John Campbell, and John Blair from Glasgow. They were brought to Edinburgh and imprisoned in the Tolbooth with Mr John Greig, who continued prisoner, and was constantly preaching to the other prisoners, as Mr Peden did in the Bass. In the latter end of July some ministers were summoned to appear before the Council for their tumultuous and disorderly communions, employing outed ministers to assist, &c., viz., Messrs John Sinclair, John Veitch, John Scot, &c. Not being called, they were referred to a committee; neither did the committee call for them.

After the Council had convened before them the Lord and Lady Cardross, and examined witnesses against them, all that was proven was that there was a preaching in their house, and a child baptized, the Lord Cardross not being present. Notwithstanding, Cardross is imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh, and a garrison ordered to lie in his house of Cardross, which was lately repaired, being spoiled by an English garrison in the time of the usurpers. Thereafter his lady and family came and lived in the Castle.

In August, news came that Montecuculi, general to the Imperialists, had routed the French army, and that M. de Turenne (who, in his old age, turned Papist) was killed, and some other great commanders, and that the French were several times thereafter routed, and that the Lord Douglas and Crequi were forced to flee in to Trevers, [Treves]. In this meantime, the insurrection in France grows, and the number of them [the insurgents] increases; and the Swedes, (who formerly were mediators), having declared for France, were twice routed by the Duke of Brandenburgh; so that, the French King being hard put to it, desires a treaty for peace with the Imperialists and their allies.

Some shires refusing to obey the act of Council, by contributing for the maintenance of the garrisons above mentioned, Polwart * was commissionated from the Merse to the Council, who, for his protesting against the Council's refusing of a suspension, &c., was first put in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh; thereafter sent prisoner to the Castle of Dumbarton, nowithstanding he had supplicated the King. About this time Lauderdale sent a letter to the Town Council of Edinburgh, commanding them to put off their council twelve of their number. At this time Lauderdale and his brother, and the cabal, imprisoned whom they would *indicta causa*, put off and into judicatories whom they would.

In the beginning of August, these most unreasonable and wicked letters of intercommuning were printed and thereafter proclaimed. Some ministers' names who once were in them were taken out; there was none in Fife in them, save Messrs Alexander Moncrieff and Thomas Arnot. Besides the ministers, sundry other persons were in them, not only men, viz., John White, William Page, Richard Clydesdale, &c., but some ladies, viz., the Lady Colville, Balcanquall, the ladies of Unthanks, elder and younger, and of Collerny, &c. They were proclaimed in Cupar in the beginning of October.

About this time Mr John Greig is liberated, and goes to his con-

* Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart, a distinguished patriot and statesman. He was created Earl of Marchmont after the Revolution.

finement in obedience to the act of Council. Also Mr Hugh Peebles and John Campbell are liberated. Mr John Blair is detained still in the Tolbooth.

The Archprelate Sharp came from Court by sea in one of the King's pleasure boats, being made Vicar-general of Scotland and Commendator of Arbroath, two Popish titles of honour very suitable to the man. It was rumoured that he brought with him a new modelled liturgy, to be imposed, if Lauderdale and he could get a Parliament to their mind, and for that they bestirred themselves to get commissioners in shires, and magistrates in towns, elected to their mind. But in some shires and towns their elections not pleasing their cabal, it was thought that they would not desire a Parliament. But many Conformists began to dispute for a liturgy and some to preach for it; but the fox Sharp was not much for it, only because he had no will to ride the ford where his predecessor drowned.

At this time there were great debates in Council anent the war betwixt Argyle and the Laird of Maclean and his clan, Argyle requiring the Isle of Mull for great sums of money which he alleged Maclean was resting to him, &c. These debates, especially betwixt Duke Hamilton and Halton, and other heartburnings, occasioned many of our nobles to go to Court (every one seeking their own things; but none seeking the things of Christ, or the good either of Estate or Kirk), viz., Argyle, Athole, Aboyne, Kinghorn, Northesk with his lady, and the Bishop of Glasgow.

The Parliament of England sat down at the time appointed, viz., the 13th of October. The King's speech and the Lord Keeper's were of the same strain that the former were of at the former sessions of their Parliaments. At their very first downsitting their old debates were revived, and not a little increased. The grand debate was about a test, which the bishops undertook to get passed; but many of the Lords, especially the Earl of Shaftesbury, opposed it, and gave in their dissents, with their reasons subscribed. They were so much taken up with their own debates that they had not begun to renew their charge against

Lauderdale, when the King again prorogues the Parliament to February 1677. Three months before the prorogation of the English Parliament Kincardine dealt with the King to cause remove the garrison that was in his sister's house of Blainnairn, she being a widow, with many children living in that house, &c. But notwithstanding of the King's letter to the Council to remove that garrison, yet Halton and others of that cabal, with Lauderdale, enemies to Kincardine, still hindered the removing of that garrison from Blainnairn, till at last Kincardine and others did represent to the King how illegal, injurious and oppressive, these garrisons were, earnestly entreating him to cause remove them all from the houses where they lay. Whereupon the King was pleased to give order to the Council to remove all these garrisons, and to disband some of the new levied troops. At this time many of the officers of Douglas's regiment came to Scotland to levy men to recruit their regiment, many of them being killed; so many of the disbanded men took on with them. About this time the outed advocates were taken in upon honourable terms, so that those that came in before upon dishonourable terms were little thought of.

In the latter end of November Duke Hamilton, his Duchess, and eldest daughter went to Court. There were many thoughts of heart and discourses what would be the event of the Duke of Hamilton's repairing to Court at this nick of time; whether the two Dukes would reconcile and agree, or their animosities and debates be heightened and increased. But after Duke Hamilton had been at Court a good space there was no word of his agreement with the Duke of Lauderdale, but contra, that their debates waxed hotter, and that their differences still increased. One day the King asking the Duke of Hamilton what would prove most conducible to quiet all the Nonconformists in Scotland that were so dissatisfied with the goverment; he answered, he thought that a more large indulgence than was yet granted would prove most effectual and satisfying to quiet and give contentment to the Nonconformists. This the King took evil, and said that he was in-

formed that the Duke had vented such discourses to the Bishop of Glasgow, and that others had told him of his too great kindness to and compliance with the Nonconformists in Scotland. This made the Duke to write down to the Bishop of Glasgow, (who a little before this went home from Court), challenging him for speaking so of him. The Bishop answered, that he never spoke so of him to the King or any other person. The Duke, for his own vindication, showed the King the Bishop of Glasgow's letter, &c.

But still the Duke Hamilton, Kincardine, and some others earnestly dealt with the King for an ample indulgence. But such was Lauderdale's insolence, oppression, and tyranny, and the King's being altogether addicted to follow his wicked counsels, though he devised mischief against all the honest unconformists, that nothing that looked like ease, liberty, or indulgence to Nonconformists could be obtained; but the more the Duke or any other moved of any indulgence or any other favour for honest unconform ministers and people, Lauderdale and his cabal were the more busy to devise mischief against them, by misinforming and giving wicked counsel to the King. For about this time, Polwart and General Major Drummond, though a little before this time they were relieved out of their respective prisons, yet they were debarred from and declared incapable of public employment or trust; and Cardross with his family are commanded to continue prisoners until he not only pay his exorbitant fine, but engage that not only he but none of his family shall go to conventicles or hear any unconformist preach.

All this winter, till towards the latter end of January 1676, the meetings in Edinburgh and other parts of the land were very frequent, numerous, and public. About Candlemas it was rumoured that the Earl of Athole (after long abode at Court, contriving mischief with Lauderdale and his cabal in Scotland), was to come from Court, having undertaken great things to the King, even to ruin and root out all Presbyterians in Scotland. Thereafter Athole returns from Court, and Kinghorn with him, (*ejusdem furfuris*

*homo**), both of them getting great new titles of honour from the King, to encourage them to pursue their undertakings. Athole is made Marquis of Athole, and Kinghorn called Earl of Strathmore, which is one of the greatest straths in Scotland. After their coming to Edinburgh, great notice is taken of the meetings, and they much repressed in Edinburgh. Some meetings were taken and dispersed by the town major, but no minister was apprehended; so that now the meetings in Edinburgh were early in the morning or late at night. Some persons taken at meetings were deeply fined; some were challenged and fined for old meetings.

At this time there were many rumours and reports that the Chancellor, (who this time by-past had been no unfriend to honest people, especially in Fife), was to be decourted and his place taken from him. In the latter end of February there comes a letter from the King to the Council, for disbanding of the Chancellor's troop, they being always suspected to be too discreet, especially in Fife. The Chancellor being somewhat surprised at the reading of the letter, only said, "Why not that and all that I have received of his Majesty?"

Memorandum of what is fit to be desired in reference to the liberty supplicated for 1677:—To desire a general indemnity to all persons, preachers or professors, nothing less being likely to allay the present discontents, and remove the fears; and upon the same account to desire a general liberty to all Presbyterian ministers, declaring all civil restraints taken off them, that so they may be capable of receiving calls to all kirks in the kingdom, without exception, and to return to their own kirks where they are vacant or when they shall vaik. These favours would be granted from the fairest and most obliging attractive may be, as that his Majesty compassionating the sufferings of his Presbyterian subjects in Scotland, upon the account of their conscience mainly, because they cannot conform to the laws anent Church matters, and being confident not only of their loyalty, but also of their affection to his person and government, therefore, &c.; and the said liberty so to

* "A man of the same kidney."

be granted, would maintain grounds of confidence that it may be a lasting favour, and would be simple and absolute, without qualifications, restrictions or certifications, there being laws strict enough anent transgressions, in so far as the said laws shall not be dispensed with. 3. It would be desired that taking notice any more of meetings for worship in houses, (except meetings of Papists and Quakers), be discharged; whereupon the ministers foresaid are very confident that meetings in the open fields, will, of themselves cease, and that their joint endeavours for that effect will be the more effectual. Also it is desired, that if, for regulating themselves and their people, and keeping them peaceable, they shall meet together, they may incur no hazard thereby, such meetings among themselves being necessary for the foresaid ends. 4. It would be desired that all proceedings against masters of colleges and schools, chaplains and pedagogues may cease,* the aversion of the country therefrom appearing by their court business this year. 5. To desire of them when any of the kirks shall vaik, which are at his Majesty's or the Bishop's presentation, if the people shall desire to have an unconform minister, that way may be given thereto, and that, in the meanwhile, the supplying of kirks now vacant may be delayed.

About the beginning of June, [1680], Mr Donald Cargill, with one Henry Hall, † coming along on the Southern Queensferry, by the Castle of Blackness, were followed close at the heels by the captain of the garrison in Blackness, (which was the year before rebuilded and designed to be a prison as formerly, under the old Bishops), and taken immediately after they had come to the town of Queensferry, but were shortly thereafter rescued by a company of women, who violently set them at liberty. Mr Donald Cargill being rescued, did hide himself that night in a dwelling about a mile above the Ferry; his comrade, Henry Hall, being deadly wounded, died the next day, as the party sent out were carrying him into the town. This occasioned meikle trouble to the town

* Here in Dr Lee's Copy, there is added, "and there, as for usual doth, may be put to students,"—which is evidently a mistake.

† Henry Hall of Haughhead, whose life is given in the Scots Worthies.

of Queensferry, especially to the women that routed the party from Blackness. There were several papers found upon Mr Donald Cargill. * One was most remarkable, which vulgo was called "The Cameron's Covenant," viz.—

"We, underscribers, for ourselves and all that join with us, being put to it by God, our own conscience, and men, to bind ourselves, our souls, with a solemn and sacred bond: We covenant and swear that we take the only true and living God," &c. †

This new covenant was condemned by all sober and judicious Presbyterians. In the first part of it they reckon out and aggrage the King's personal faults; 2. They reject him from being King; 3. They reject all civil government in these nations. In the second part they reckon out the faults of ministers, and reject all those ministers that convened at Edinburgh, and all those that own them.

Mr Donald escaping runs to his cabal, who were by this time somewhat numerous.‡ On the 22d of June twenty horsemen come to the town of Sanquhar, and did proclaim a Declaration,§ leaving it affixed to the cross, viz.:—

A Copy of the Declaration and Testimony of the True Presbyterian, Anti-Prelatic, Anti-Erastian persecuted party in Scotland; battered on the Cross of Sanquhar, &c.

This Declaration was immediately brought in to the Council by a bailie of the town of Sanquhar, who took instruments and protested against it. Both their Covenant and Declaration were sent

* Row is here mistaken. It was upon Henry Hall that the papers referred to were found.—*Wodrow's Hist.* iii. 207.

† See this paper in Wodrow's History, iii. 207.

‡ In Dr Lee's copy there is here written on the margin, "The facts here are grossly misrepresented."

§ Hence called the "Sanquhar Declaration."

to the King, and thereafter printed. June last [*i. e.* last day of June] a proclamation 'is made' declaring Mr Richard Cameron and others rebels and traitors, promising great sums of money to the apprehenders or killers of them. See printed pro[clamation].

In their Declaration they not only reject the King as a tyrant, but denounce war against him as a tyrant and usurper, and against all the men of his practices. They disclaim the Declaration at Hamilton, &c. Still they continue raging against King, all magistrates and rulers under the King, all ministers, except three or four, especially against the indulged ministers, and those that were allowed meeting-houses by the late allowance. They were more bitter against them than against the Papists or Prelates; which made them in a council of war, considering what was the great hinderance and obstruction impeding "the glorious work of reformation," as it was called, conclude that they should first cut off the indulged ministers, and the old professors in the west, especially in and about Glasgow. Their edge was especially against two ministers, Messrs Robert Millar and James Veitch* (Mr Veitch had answered a letter of Mr Brown's to Cameron, this enraged them against him). Mr Robert Millar being advertised by one of their cabal (who hearing their bloody determination to cut off the indulged ministers and the old professors, his heart smote him) that evil was determined against him, sent to Sir John Cochrane and imparted the business to him, who advertised the General Dalziel where the Cameronians were lying securely. Immediately Dalziel commanded out a strong party, led by Earlshall, against them. July 22 they met at Cumnock, in Carrick, and fought, being sixty horses on each side.† The King's forces killed about

* Mr Robert Millar was, at the Restoration, minister of Ochiltree, and by the first indulgence in 1669 was restored to that parish. Mr James Veitch was minister of Mauchline, and in 1669 became indulged minister of that parish. It is painful to think that the slaughter of Cameron and his party by Earlshall should be traceable to Millar, an ejected minister. The alleged bloody determination of the Cameronian party to cut off the indulged ministers and old professors, is one of the many slanders then in circulation against that persecuted people, and which the indulged ministers, though they might not invent them, were too ready to credit, from the strong animosity between the two parties.

† According to Wodrow, the party with Cameron consisted only of twenty-three

fifteen of them, whereof Cameron, their chieftain, was one, his brother,* that read the Declaration at Sanquhar, and others, &c. David Hackston, one of the murderers of Sharp,† was taken alive, but sorely wounded, with other three persons, whereof one was a chapman, John Pouge. There were some footmen with Cameron; but they at the first fled into a moss. Of the King's forces few were killed, two or three at most. July 24, David Hackston was brought to Edinburgh from the Water Gate up the street, upon a horse; his face to the horse's tail,‡ the hangman leading the horse, Mr Cameron's head upon a half-pick in his hand. Beside Cameron were the three prisoners tied together with an iron goad unto Cameron. Beside Cameron's head and hands, there was brought into Edinburgh, and up the street from the Water Gate, the head and hands of one John Fullarton in a pock, carried by one of the prisoners.

While matters are thus ordered and carried in Scotland, in the months of May and June, the Scots Prelates, Burnet and Paterson, with the Chancellor and Lauderdale, are as busy at Court, doing what they can to get the late liberty recalled and rendered useless; but notwithstanding of all their dealing and persuasive arguments, they could never obtain, at the King's hand, the annulling of the late liberty, until the Chancellor came to Court,§ who, with the Scottish, and some English Prelates, went to the King at Windsor Castle. Then they obtained of the King that the late liberty should be so restricted, that it could not be prac-

horse and forty foot, while the number of horse with Earlshall was double.—*History*, iii. 219.

* Michael Cameron.

† On the margin of Dr Lee's copy there is here written, "The only one that would not be concerned in it."

‡ His head was also uncovered, his feet tied under the horse's belly, and his hands tied behind his back.—*Law's Memorials*, 161. Law also observes, that the horse on which he was set was "a lean, bare horse." "Thus mounted," he adds, "the hangman (with his cap on, and carrying Cameron's head on the top of a halbert) led him (while the other three prisoners were carried bare-headed, and tied to a bar of iron) to the Council Chamber, where they were examined."—*Ibid.* 161.

§ The Chancellor acquaints the Council, March 8, 1680, that he is called up to Court by a letter from the King.—*Wodrow's History*, iii. 237.

ticable in any place of Scotland. The new restrictions were,—that none should be allowed a meeting in his own congregation;* that the meeting should be more than a mile from the parish kirk; that it should be so far distant from Edinburgh; more than three miles from a royal burgh; some were 'to be' so many miles from a Prelate's; that they should not marry any persons; that none under censure from England should be allowed a meeting-house. In a word, they so restricted it, that it reached all licentiate to have meeting-houses in Scotland. Prelate Paterson having obtained that which he went to Court for, and so earnestly desired, returns with some others, *ejusdem furfuris*, to Scotland, and produced the King's letter to the Council anent the restricting of the late liberty in the King's letter. Messrs George Johnston and Luke Ogle were named, (for these two were the chief eyesore of the Prelates, the one because so near to Edinburgh, the other because he was an Englishman and minister), and prohibited to have a meeting-house, or to enjoy the late liberty in their respective parishes; whereupon the Council presently made an act, discharging them two to preach in their respective meeting-houses, and sent a macer to Mr Johnston, living in Edinburgh, with the act that same night that the Council sat in the afternoon, and sent out a guard to the parish of Newbottle, to hinder preaching in that meeting-house the next Lord's day, ordaining the meeting-house to be slighted and reduced. Also they did the like in reference to Mr Luke Ogle† and his

* That is, the parish of which any was formerly a minister.

† Luke Ogle was minister of Berwick at the Restoration. He was ejected from his church even before the Act of Uniformity was passed, by William, Lord Widdrington, one of the Council of State and Governor of Berwick, who took offence at a sermon which Ogle had preached. This nobleman afterwards repeatedly imprisoned him, and would not allow him to live in Berwick, even after the English indulgence was granted, unless he would conform. When expelled from Berwick he retired to Bousden, where he had a small estate. During the third Indulgence of Charles in Scotland, 1679, he was called to the parish of Langton, in the Merse; but after his meeting house was destroyed, as narrated in the text, he returned to Bousden. Upon the toleration of James VII. he was invited again to Berwick, and returning to it collected a numerous congregation. After the Revolution he received calls both from Kelso and Edinburgh; but nothing could induce him to leave Berwick, "where God had signally supported, owned, and blessed him." He died there in April 1696, aged sixty-six. "He was a man of great learning," says Dr Calamy,

meeting-house, in the parish of Langton.* The like course was taken with others indulged about Glasgow and the west, &c.

In the latter end of June, the Council summoned four in Fife to appear before the Council, July 1 :—Mr William Row, who was challenged for employing unlicensed ministers to preach for him in his meeting-house, &c.; Mr John Gray,† who was challenged for preaching, bond not being accepted, nor caution found for him, and for not appearing before the Council, according to the act of Council in November, &c.; Mr George Hamilton, who was challenged for the same things that Mr Gray was; and Mr James Rymer, who was challenged for public preaching in the north side of Fife, and other parts, being not licensed, and only a probationer. In the beginning of July, at St Andrews, two Prelates were consecrated, and three translated.

Mr William Row compeared before the Council, July 8, who, that he might not vex the Duke his Grace, (for the Chancellor, before he came from Court, was made Duke of Rothes, Marquis of Ballinbreich, Earl of Leslie, Viscount of Lugtoun, Lord of Caskieberry, Baron of Auchmoutie, &c.), and the haill Lords of his Majesty's Secret Council with any prolix discourse, gave in his answers to the charge contained in his summons in write, in a short paper, viz., Answers for Mr William Row, Minister at Ceres.

"The said Mr William is convened before the Right Honourable the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, as having, since the late allowance and liberty granted him to preach in the parish of Ceres, employed unlicensed ministers to preach for him there, and also in regard that the place of his meeting is within a mile of the parish kirk.

"And as to the first, it is answered, That the said allowance and

"and particularly well skilled in ecclesiastical history."—*Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial*, ii. 244-246, 253.

* See *Wodrow*, iii. 188.

† Mr John Gray was at the Restoration minister of Orwell, in the Presbytery of Dunfermline. At the time referred to in the text the Council had been informed, that he had preached in that parish upon the invitation of the people, in the prospect of his being indulged.—*Wodrow's History*, i. 328 ; iii. 196.

liberty being granted to the said Mr William, out of his Majesty's gracious indulgence to dissenters, and upon no other condition than that caution was found for the said Mr William his living peaceably; he humbly conceives that his employing of a minister now and then to preach for him, which was, in effect, very seldom, and always of peaceable men, under no law censure whatsoever, and without any prohibition notified to him thereanent, cannot be constructed unpeaceableness, or any breach of the foresaid caution; especially seeing he can and does protest to their Lords in all sincerity that he hath endeavoured always to live peaceably, as much as lieth in him, and to have a conscience void of offence towards God and towards all men, and therefore doth in this matter submit himself to their Lordships in all humility. And as to the second point, about the place of his meeting, he humbly represents that, upon trial, it will be found that the said place of his meeting is more than a large mile and a quarter from the parish kirk, and therefore conceives that he cannot, on this ground, be liable to any question. However on this also he submits himself to their Lordships' determination."

This paper being read, the Duke, who was preses, did not propose any interrogators to him; but he being removed and within a little being called in again, the Duke said unto him, "If it had not been his Majesty's command to us that none should be allowed a meeting-house in his own parish, you might have continued preaching in your parish, but seeing the King's command to his Council ' is' that no minister shall be allowed a meeting place in his own parish, the Secret Council hereafter discharge you to preach in that place."

Unto this sentence he silently submitted, being moved thereunto by these considerations: 1st, Though he was by the Council discharged not to preach in that place, yet no promise or obligation was either required or given, insinuating his purpose of obeying the Council's command; 2dly, He willingly chose rather to be thought by the Council to resolve to obey the Council's command, discharging him to preach in that place of meeting, than to be

discharged preaching in that parish, (wherein he still continued to dwell since he was outed, Jan. 25, 1665, and to preach in his dwelling-house, or other houses in the parish), if he should have declared his purpose of not obeying the Council's command, for in that case, without all peradventure, the Council would not only have discharged him to preach in that parish, but would have incapacitated him to preach either in that parish or elsewhere by the severity of a prison house; 3dly, He silently submitted to the Council's command, because in his paper given in to the Council, containing his answer to the charge libelled in the summons against him for employing unlicensed ministers, &c., he does in that matter submit himself to their Lordships. But whereas it may be objected that honest antiprelatic ministers, viz., Mr Black, Mr Guthrie, &c., would never submit to the Council that they were judges of ministers' doctrine *prima instantia*, it's answered, The thing that he submitted was not whether the Council was competent judges of ministers' doctrine *prima instantia*, which is not at all mentioned in that paper, but whether the employing of peaceable ministers that were under no law censure was or could be constructed unpeaceableness, or living unpeaceably.

The same day, viz., July 8, Mr John Gray appeared before the Council, who very modestly and wisely answered to the charge contained in his summons. The Council's sentence against him was the same that was given to Mr William Row, save that he was discharged to preach in that parish where he served in the ministry, viz., the parish of Orwell; he for the present dwelling in Dunfermline for the education of his children, which is ten or twelve miles distant from Orwell.

Mr George Hamilton compeared before the Council towards the latter end of July, who, in answer to what was libelled against him, ingenuously confessed that he had preached in the parish of Newburn (which was his own parish) and other places thereabout, but not out of any contempt of authority. Being interrogated if he preached in the fields? Answered negative. If there were any persons without doors, and if he stood in the door purposely that

they that were without might hear? Answered negative. Being removed and called in again, the Council's sentence against him was, That he was discharged to preach in that parish, even in houses.

Shortly thereafter Mr James Rymer, probationer, appeared before the Council. The Chancellor, as seemed, favouring him, only interrogated if he had preached in the fields. He answering negative was removed; but being removed, Prelate Paterson and some others, especially Halton, were very violent, and bitterly incensed against him, alleging that he deserved a most sharp censure for several faults which they alleged against him (the thing that sharpened their edge against him was because he was accused before the criminal court for several things at sundry times in reference to the murder of Prelate Sharp, and not long before this for resetting of John Balfour and David Hackston, two of the murderers); and though the diet was deserted, yet he was not fully absolved. In end, there was such heat in the Council betwixt those that favoured Mr Rymer and those whose edge was sharp against him, that the Chancellor waiving the calling him in, desired the Council to fall upon another business, and, in the close of their meeting desired the clerk to tell Mr Rymer that he was free to return home, and that he was dismissed.

July 24, David Hackston, before he was imprisoned, was brought before the Council. Being interrogated if he was one of the murderers of the Bishop; *A.* He was not obliged to answer or to accuse himself. *Q.* If he owned the King or his authority? *A.* Seeing the King's authority disowns the interest of God, and states itself in opposition to the interest of Christ Jesus, it is no more to be owned. *Q.* Whether the killing of the Bishop was a sin and murder? *A.* It was neither sin nor murder to despatch such a perjured bloody monster. *Q.* If he owned Cameron's Covenant and Declaration. *A.* That he owned them in all the particulars thereof. *Q.* If he were at liberty, and if it were in his power, whether or not he would kill any of the King's Council and murder them? &c? *A.* He was not obliged to answer such frivolous and childish questions. The Chancellor said to him, if he would not be more

ingenuous, that he would be presently put to torture. *A.* That is but a little addition to their former cruelty; that he expected no better; that they had only power over his body, &c.; excusing himself that he could not answer to some questions by reason of the weakness of his body. At last he said, "Ye know youth-head of itself is a distraction, and I in my young years was led aside therewith, but the goodness of God being great and free, I was reclaimed, and now I am a prisoner of Jesus Christ for adhering to his cause and interest, which has been sealed by the blood of many worthies, who have suffered in these lands, and I own all the testimonies given by them." Prelate Paterson questioned 'him' anent that article of the Confession of Faith,—That difference in religion doth not take away * the magistrate's just and lawful authority. *A.* That he would make no answer to any perjured prelate. Reply, "Thou wrongest me, for I never took the Covenant." But shortly thereafter, he answered to another, That that article of the Confession of Faith was cleared by the Solemn League and Covenant, which obliges us only to maintain the King in defence of religion, which, (said he), we were ever willing to do, but having now stated himself an open enemy to religion and all religious persons it is time for us to shake off his bonds.

These things being read to him, and he desired to subscribe them, refusing, the Chancellor did it. Thereafter he was put in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. Some of the Council motioned that he should be put in the boots; but physicians and chirurgeons said that he would die in the torture by reason of his wounds. So it was forborne; yea, they had a singular care of him, causing panse† his wounds and ordering his diet, &c., lest he should die before he was brought to the scaffold.

July 30, being brought to the scaffold, the sentence given out against him was executed thus: 1st, His two hands were cut off by the hangman; 2dly, He was pulled up by the rope about his neck by a pulley, and after he had hung a little space, was let

* Written above the line, in the same hand, "make void."

† *Panse*, Sc. dress; Fr. *panser*, to dress wounds.

down and laid along the scaffold, and all his clothes taken off save his shirt; thereafter pulled up again, and after a short space let down, so that his feet touched the scaffold, he hanging in that posture, the executioner ripped up his breast and took out his heart, (he yet being living), which he showed to the people in all the corners of the scaffold, saying, "There's the heart of a traitor," the heart stirring upon the point of the knife; thereafter all his entrails were taken out and put in a vessel; thereafter the heart and all the entrails were burnt in a fire brought to the scaffold. Last, his arms and legs were cut off, and, with the head, carried away to the hangman's house to be prepared to be put up. His head and two hands were put up on the Nether Bow, and beside it the head and hands of John Fullarton. His arms and legs were ordained to be put up in St Andrews, Leith, Burntisland and Glasgow.

As for the chapman, John Pouge, though they tortured him with the boots in a most severe way, yet they could learn no more of him than he freely confessed; but they could not reach his life, he being taken without arms, carrying his pack, &c. He was detained long in close prison.

As for the other two prisoners brought in with David Hackston, they were hanged in the Grassmarket, August 13. While David Hackston was in the Tolbooth, being questioned if he desired any Presbyterian minister to come to him, and be with him on the scaffold? *A.* That he would have none that were indulged, or that owned the indulged ministers, or heard them preach: if he could get any that was clean he would be content of them. He was carried from the Criminal Court to Haddock's Hole, and within a little carried to the scaffold upon a hurdle, where he carried very unconcernedly and gallantly notwithstanding of the great torture. He spoke but little, for he was interrupted. They of his persuasion highly commended his carriage on the scaffold, and way of dying. Others that were not of his persuasion were offended, and discommended his carriage as too

Roman like, rather than Christian. It was reported that he would not forgive the executioner.

About this time some leading men of the Court party died, the Marquis of Ormond's eldest son, and some prelates; so that their party was much weakened thereby. Notwithstanding, the sitting of the Parliament was still from time to time, though promised upon the word of a King, denied, and the Parliament often adjourned from one month to another, &c. When there was a likelihood of the Parliament's sitting, then the current news was the Duke of York and Lauderdale were coming down to live in Scotland, and in October, (in which month the King had solemnly promised that the Parliament should sit, upon the royal word of a King,) it was constantly reported, and private letters carried it, that Lauderdale was to come from the baths and land at Greenock.

After the meeting-houses were discharged there was great peace and liberty in Fife to preach in houses. So all the Fife ministers that lived in Fife were busy preaching in private houses; some in the houses where they sojourned, others in other houses of well affected gentlemen, according as they were invited. This did so pique the Prelates, especially Burnet and Paterson, that Prelate Burnet did in open Council complain, that now since the meeting-houses were discharged, there were more conventicles in gentlemen's houses then there had been when ministers were allowed meeting-houses; and besides Fife ministers, there were several ministers of different persuasions that came over from Lothian to Fife that were very busy preaching in Fife, viz., Messrs William Kemp, John Rae, 'Robert' Langlands, &c., who were brought over upon design to break the ministry and reputation of Fife ministers, and to bring their persons and preaching into contempt among the people, among whom they did much evil. Some people being of itching ears, unsound minds, and having much blind zeal, were perverted, refusing to hear any ministers that were not as wild and wrong as themselves; others that came over, after better information from judicious and sober Christians, did what they could by conference and preaching strive to reclaim those

that were indeed fanatics in a proper sense, viz. Messrs Samuel Arnot, William Reid, William Lamb,* &c.

But while there was much peace and quietness in Fife, there being no soldiers in it, there was set persecution and meikle trouble in other parts, viz., Tiviotdale, and the west, &c. In harvest, some ministers were taken, viz. Mr John Dickson, (who all along was vehement against the indulgence and late liberty, and sometimes came to Fife to pervert and lead away disciples, &c.,) was taken, and shortly thereafter was sent to the Bass. Mr Alexander Hastie was taken in the night, and detained in Glasgow Tolbooth. Mr Archibald Riddell was taken in Tiviotdale by the Sheriff, 'and' brought to Edinburgh Tolbooth. When he was examined by the Committee of the Council, he refused to answer Prelate Paterson's questions, but answered Linlithgow. *Q.* If he had preached since the Indemnity, not being allowed by the Council? *A.* He did not receive his commission from the Council, but from Jesus Christ; therefore did not cease to preach, though he had not allowance from the Council, &c. He was detained in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh.

The peace and quietness and frequent preachings in Fife were the great eye-sore of Prelate Burnet (who now began to show his teeth) and Paterson. When Burnet complained of the conventicles in Fife, the Chancellor alleged that now Fife was orderly and peaceable, and that there were no conventicles in it, &c.; which occasioned the two prelates to write to the King that now there were many conventicles in Fife. It was reported that they sent up all the Fife ministers' names, with the places they used to preach in, &c. And because the Chancellor took it evil that the prelate should have publicly complained of Fife, not having first spoken to him thereof, they wrote to the King that it was not true, which the Chancellor had said in face of Council, viz., that there were not now any conventicles in Fife. *Crescant lites.*

All this while by-past, Mr Donald Cargill, since his escape at the

* Here there is written on the margin of Dr Lee's MS.,—"Spoke by the spirit of an indulged complier, they being worthy, good men, godly, eminent gospel ministers."

Queensferry, is roving up and down West Lothian and farther west, and in Stirlingshire, keeping field conventicles and venting strange doctrines. In September, on a Lord's day, preaching at the Torwood, he did very summarily, yet formally, excommunicate the King, Duke of York, Monmouth, Lauderdale, the Chancellor, King's Advocate, General Dalziel, giving reasons of their excommunications. This by sober men or ministers was judged a very wild prank, *ne durius dicam*. Shortly after preaching in the fields at Craigwood, he was hotly pursued by some troopers, and his horse shot under him, which died at Linlithgow Bridge, but Donald escaped; only some four or five persons that had been hearing him, coming to Linlithgow, were apprehended and incarcerated in Edinburgh.

On the *penult* Sabbath of October 24, he came over to Fife to keep a field conventicle, bringing with him several persons, both men and women of his persuasion or rather distraction, from Glasgow, Borrowstounness, Edinburgh, &c. He was directed to Hill Toarse,* in the parish of Ceres, supposing, as seems, that James Ness, one of the tenants there, had been seduced by John Henderson, (an ignorant, proud, presumptuous, crack-brained sectary), who now was Mr Cargill's servant and armour-bearer, after Kinkell had rejected him because of his wildness and folly. This man made it his work, compassing sea and land, to make proselytes, and had seduced some few ignorant and simple well-meaning persons in the east end of Fife, especially in the moors, mostly women, as he had seduced such persons about Borrowstounness, Linlithgow, &c. Mr Donald kept his field conventicle near to the town of Hill Toarse,* with the company he brought with him, and some few seduced persons in the moors. Their number was not a little augmented through a mistake of several persons that were going to hear a sermon in Letham barn, who seeing Mr Cargill and his company, supposed that they had been going to hear sermons in James Ness's barn. Not knowing who they were, they followed them; but when they perceived their mistake, and offered to withdraw,

* This may be meant for *Halteis*, a farm town in the neighbourhood of Ceres.

Mr Cargill's armed men, whom he brought with him, compelled them to go with them, and forced them to stay and hear him; yea, they roving about in the fields, forced all they could apprehend, even some that were going to kirks, to go and hear Mr Cargill, holding loaded pistols to their breasts. Mr Cargill, in his confused rhapsody of ———— *, uttered and denounced many woes and judgments against all the ministers and professors in Fife, which made some of those that were constrained to come and hear them withdraw from him in the afternoon. † That Sabbath, in the night, he came to Kirkcaldy, (where the Chancellor was waiting for the Duke of York's landing), and lurked all Monday in a private house till Tuesday's night, when he crossed at Burntisland, and the Sabbath following, October 31, he preached in the fields besouth Linlithgow.

After several prorogations of the Parliament of England, it sat down, Thursday, October 21. 1680. The King had a long speech to them. See the printed paper. *Veneris*, The Parliament chose W. Williams ‡ speaker; which they represented to the King, being convened in the House of Peers, and adjourned till Monday. *Lunæ*, The Lords sent a message to the Commons showing that they had made an address to the King, that they minded to attend the King, and desire that he would issue out a proclamation, that if any person within two months would give evidence of the horrid plot, § that the King would pardon such of treason, &c. The King returned a gracious answer to the address. One Mr Dangerfield gave evidence of the plot, and made mention of one Sir Robert Pyton. Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that it is the opinion of the House to proceed effectually to suppress Popery and prevent a Popish successor. ‖ *Mercurii*, 27th October, another address to

* Blank in MS.

† "A rhapsody of the language of Ashdod, from one indulged. Not true." On margin of Dr Lee's copy.

‡ William Williams, Esq. of Gray's Inn.

§ This refers to the Popish plot to murder Charles II., and establish Popery in Britain, which excited great alarm in England, and engaged a large share of the attention of Parliament.

‖ The motion to this effect was made by Lord Russel, who was afterwards executed.

the King, to the same purpose that the Lords' address was, against the p[lot], and for pardon of the discoverers of it. Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, showing the legality and necessity of petitioning the King for calling and sitting of Parliaments. Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, against the traducers and hinderers of such petitions, as turbulous and seditious, as betrayers of the liberty of the subjects, and introducing arbitrary power. A committee appointed to search out such persons. Resolved, that an address be made to the King, declaring the House's resolution to support the King's person and government, and the Protestant religion at home and abroad; 'that' one Sir Robert Canne of the House of Commons be committed to the Tower for saying that there was no Popish plot, but a Presbyterian one. The King's gracious answer to the address for pardon,—that he did intend to direct a proclamation, and was resolved not only to pursue the plot, but Popery also, and to take care of the Protestant religion; and if the House go on calmly, without heats, he did not doubt but to beat down Popery and all that belongs to it. Resolved, That the House will farther proceed to the full examination of the Popish plot, in order to bring the offenders to justice. The King's answer to the address, &c.:—"Gentlemen, I thank you very heartily for your zeal for the Protestant religion. I assure you there shall be nothing wanting on my part, at home or abroad, to [&c]." A Committee appointed to revise the journals of the two last Parliaments, concerning the Popish plot, and ordered to sit *de die in diem*. Resolved, That the Duke of York being a Papist, and the hopes of his coming such to the crown hath given the greatest countenance and encouragement to the present designs and conspiracies against the King and Protestant religion [&c]. Resolved, That in defence of the King's person and government, and of the Protestant religion, this House declares that they will stand by his Majesty with their lives and fortunes; and that if his Majesty shall be taken away by a violent death, (which God forbid), they will revenge it to the uttermost on the Papists. Resolved, That a bill be brought in to disenable the Duke of York to inherit the imperial crown of England and

Ireland. A committee appointed to prepare the bill. The journals ordained to be printed.

About the time of the down-sitting of the English Parliament, news comes to Scotland that the Duke of York and his Ds. [Duchess] were again coming to Scotland by sea, which made thinking men conclude that the Parliament would sit, and that the Duke apprehended that it was not safe for him to stay at Court, and that he would not be permitted to sit in Parliament. On Saturday, October 23, the Chancellor being attended with some noble and gentlemen, and four trumpeters, crossed at Burntisland, intending, it seemed, to attend the Duke's landing at Leith; but he crossed again, Sabbath, 24th October, and came to Kirkcaldy, and there staid until the Duke landed there, October 26. Presently after the Duke's landing, he and his Ds., [Duchess] with their attendants, took coach, and came to Leslie, attended by several noble and gentlemen who were convened by the Chancellor's order. They staid at Leslie, where they were sumptuously entertained, until October 29. From Leslie they were conveyed by a considerable train. They landed at Leith in the afternoon, and were conveyed to the Abbey by a great train; all the heritors in the three Lothians and Stirlingshire being convened by the Sheriff's orders.

While our nobles, especially the Counsellors, were thus embracing and attending the Duke of York, a declared Papist, the country and honest party in England are as much in courting and attending the Duke of Monmouth, not only in the city of London, but wherever he went in the country: especially at Exon [Exeter] thirteen hundred and fifty, in white, run before him, being attended by a numerous train on horseback and in coaches. All this while by-past, the Lord Melvill, his faithful counsellor, was with him. About this time there came to Scotland a very smart paper, entitled, "A Letter to a Person of Honour concerning the King's disowning his marriage with the Duke of Monmouth's mother." (See the paper.) Shortly thereafter came another larger book, called, "The History of the Damnable Popish Plot, in its various

Branches and Progress, published for the Satisfaction of the Present and Future Ages; by the Authors of the Weekly Packet of Advice from Rome—

Nil erit ulterius quod vestris moribus addat
Posteritas.

" Printed at London, to be Sold on Ludgate Hill; 1680." Dedicated to both Houses of the Parliament of England. The Contents, Caps. 25, with an Appendix.

Those called the authors of the Weekly Packet of Advice from Rome were some very intelligent persons, both divines and lawyers, who weekly wrote against the chief damnable heresies of the Kirk of Rome, first in a solid, serious way of refutation, and then in a drolling, jeering way. One of them was, by the Council, put upon the pillory, and disgracefully used; but, to repair him, the Parliament employed him to cause print their journals. Also there was " A Very Full and Clear Discovery of the P. P., [Popish Plot]" by one Mr Smith, dedicated to the King, wherein was very free language even to the King himself.

There were many excellent speeches and reports of the Commons for secluding the D. Y. [Duke of York] and of some of the peers, viz., " An Answer to the King's Speech in Parliament, desiring Moneys for Tangier;" and another, called " A Letter from a Citizen to a Friend in Scotland."

APPENDIX.

[In the following Appendix, we have considered it proper to give what Wodrow calls a "Continuation of the Life of Mr Robert Blair, by his son, Mr James Blair." This Continuation, it will be observed, takes up the history at the point where the Autobiography closes, (see Life, p. 108.) The first part of it may very likely have been the composition of James Blair, from the writer including himself as Blair's son, among the passengers in the voyage to New England, and we know that this could not apply to any of Blair's surviving sons, who were not then born. But as James Blair died in October 1655, (see Life, p. 320,) it is equally apparent that he could not have written the latter part of this Continuation, which extends beyond that period. This portion may probably be ascribed to David, another of Blair's sons, who became one of the ministers of Edinburgh after the Revolution.—Ed.]

APPENDIX.

CONTINUATION

OF THE

LIFE OF MR ROBERT BLAIR,

BY HIS SON,

MR JAMES BLAIR.*

HEREAFTER little thing considerable can be expected but to proceed in the history of the voyage. After this was nothing but breach upon breach, every day producing a new danger, as first the breaking of the rudder, which was marvellously cured by the courage of a common seaman. Our first morning news was that all night we had been in the jaws of death. Next a great beam that fastened the ship from the one side to the other was by the violence of the storm broken in two; then, by the flowing of the sea, a part of the over-loft of the ship was broken through, and fell near where a new delivered woman lay. Thereafter a dangerous leak broke up in the keel of the ship, which was stopped with taylies of beef, and such other calfine † as was at hand. This was the greatest hazard of all, for the ship was in peril of sinking, which put all to pumping day and night; besides the breaking of the main shrowds and gallion head. All the time of this greatest hazard the ship was lying at hull.

At the time of the breaking the rudder the skipper's mate, despairing of life, was put to his prayers, and coming to the deck wringing his

* Wodrow MSS., vol. xviii., 4to, no. 16.

† *Taylies*—wedges. *Calfine*, or *colfin*—wadding.

hands, said, "God be merciful to us, we are all gone." My father sent him that word that he would prove a liar, and that it was not possible for such a company, venturing upon such an account, they could perish, but that they should rather have wings to flee a-land; but as to the great danger, the seamen unanimously declared they could stay out no longer without being swallowed up, the ship being so sore tossed and torn, and withal desired vehemently a return, having a tempestuous contrary wind. My father requested they would hold out one night longer, which whole night was most solemnly and seriously spent in prayer by every family apart; none sleeped that night but children. In the morning there was a convocation of all the heads of families to determine whether they should go on or return. After my father had most seriously besought the Lord for clearing up in the matter, the English skipper declared till he gave the word there should be no laying about. Perceiving the stress of all lying upon him, he instantly fainted; and lying as dead a little, with great cheerfulness and joy of spirit, reviving, consented to the return, and said that the Lord had accepted their offer of service, and that it should be seen and known why they were brought back to Europe again (being, as was conjectured, now more than mid-way). This sweet frame of spirit continued not only all the time of returning, but a great while after. The whole time of the voyage, from loosing to landing, was nine weeks. The passengers were afraid at their landing to have met with scoffing and mocking from the Prelatic party, but it was so ordered that their public exercise upon the Psalms, which was twice a day, was come the length of the 65th Psalm at their outgoing, "Which stilleth the noise of the seas, the noise of their waves, and the tumults of the people," and so indeed it proved.

It is to be observed that there did creep in a private family upon their own by-ends, without the advice or knowledge of the undertakers, being five in all, 'who all' died except one; whereas, of all the passengers the entire number that went in, came so out also, one child dying, another was born in its stead by one and the same mother. There were many prayers for the return of that ship. There was much joy at the return, and as much amazement to their adversaries.

No sooner did they arrive, which was in that very harbour they did loose from, but after a few days, there did arise a storm at land; for by an order from the Star Chamber, pursuivants were hounded out for ap-

prehending all nonconform ministers in the county of Down. Having private advertisements, every one was put to their shifts. Mr 'Robert' Cunningham, Mr Livingstone and my father, came to Scotland. Shortly after Mr Cunningham ended his life in Irvine, where my father did reside for a time. Shortly after, he [my father] engaged with Waughton to go to France as minister to Colonel Hepburn's regiment. This was in July 1637. The voyage was laid aside for some weeks, till September that same year, at which time he was shipped in the Road of Leith, where he continued two days in the time of a great tempest, in which time there arose a mutiny among the soldiers. Being wearied with that wicked crew, 'he' came ashore with great hazard of 'his' life. About this 'time,' in the end of July, there was a great tumult anent the casting of the stools.* Upon this supplications, declarations and protestations, &c., came in against the bishops and their usurpations thick and threefold. Immediately after landing, he was employed in drawing a petition, which was presented by the wives of Edinburgh unto Traquair † the Commissioner. Shortly after this he returned to Irvine, where he remained the whole winter after, frequently preaching there and elsewhere about. It must not be omitted, that one day walking in the fields with his brother, who said unto him, he could not sleep in the night for anxious thoughts how he and his family should be maintained, living now upon the remainder of what was left after the long sea voyage, his whole stock being employed that way, he replied that he was like a city besieged, and ere the provision was spent the siege would be raised. His brother said, Think you so? He replied, I not only think so, but am confident of it; and so it came to pass, for in the February after, the Covenant being renewed, he shortly thereafter got a call to be minister of Ayr, where he had as much respect and love as a minister was capable of, till by the Assembly of Glasgow 1638, he was transported to St Andrews, but gave not obedience thereunto till it was again renewed by the next Assembly 1639.

The summer before, he went out with my Lord Boyd's regiment to Dunse Law. In September he and his family were transported to St

* Referring to the tumult in St Giles', Edinburgh, which began by the women throwing their stools at the officiating clergyman.

† "This is a mistake. Traquair was not Commissioner till 1639."—*Note of Wodrow on the margin of the MS.* Row says, more correctly, "Treasurer Traquair."—See *Life*, p. 193.

Andrews. In the summer following, an army going in to England he went along with my Lord Lindsay's regiment, where he was mercifully preserved in a hot skirmish at Newburn. Immediately after, there going up Commissioners from the army to London, he was appointed to go along 'with them,' where he resided near a year; in which time Canterbury and Strafford both suffered, he being an eye-witness. He was appointed by the Assembly 1642, to go to Ireland, where he continued four months, receiving the acknowledgments of several thousands of an oath which Strafford had unlawfully imposed upon them of renouncing the Scots Covenant. The summer thereafter, the Solemn League and Covenant was drawn, which occasioned a new ingoing to England, where he went the second time with my Lord Crawford's regiment for six months, where he was at Long Marston Moor preserved in marvellous danger. Shortly after, he returned home, feverish most part of the way, and had a child born to him within four or five hours, the latter end of July 1644. The 1st of September came that fatal day of Typpermoor, where many of the inhabitants of St Andrews were cut off. My father followed them to the port to have prayed, but they were gone ere he came, which he looked on as a *malum omen*. In October thereafter he preached at the opening up of the Synod of Fife, on Job xvii. 8, 9. All that year there was nothing but one disaster upon the back of another till September 13, 1645, which was Philiphaugh, which was a time of rejoicing to all honest people, where, at the thanksgiving in Dundee, Mr Affleck asserted that all this delivery was the effect of our fasting and praying and tears. But my father the next day at St Andrews, said that the Lord had not only taken the land at their weakest, but at their wickedest, and thereby magnified the riches of the free mercy of God. In the January thereafter, 1646, there being some executed by the order of the Parliament sitting there, some wicked malignants did most unjustly calumniate him for vindicating the servants of God.

In May thereafter, the Assembly sitting at Edinburgh, he was chosen Moderator. Thereafter Mr Douglas, Mr Cant, and he, were sent by the General Assembly to the King at Newcastle, where he was detained by account of Mr Henderson's sickness, to wait upon the King. After he had staid many days, and several debates passed, at last he took leave and came away. After he was gone, the King com-

manded to draw up a signature 'for him' to be his minister in Scotland, and said he was the most prudent and moderate among them. Thereafter perceiving that several did offend at that benefice, he intended to have quit it, but advising with Mr David Dickson, he said, "What! Trow you that God hath forgotten that you ventured yourself and all you had for him? He will let you well to wit that he will not be owing you a place neither of principal nor annual rent, though it was ten year before, and that it was honourable to God and encouraging to all sufferers not to be afraid to venture upon sufferings." While he was at Newcastle there was a very public debate with the King, wherein my father said that it did not become subjects to enter in contrary terms before so public an auditory, but thought it fit that there should be some few nominated to hear a private conference with the King. Duke Hamilton asked the King what he thought of the overture. He said, That man uses not to speak without good reason and great weight. When the conference was begun, the King said there was never such pains taken to convert him. My father replied, There were two sorts of conversion, either to the state of grace, or to another religion, and he hoped he was of the same religion with us. He said it was true, but that there were many things in the Romish religion that he could not condemn. Whereupon Mr Cant said, We ever suspected this, but now we have it from his own mouth. Whereat the King, highly offended, said in a passion, He hoped to adhere to his principles, when he [Cant] would flinch from his. My father said, Are there not some things in the Romish religion that ere he embraced them he had rather lose his crown? He took a deep asseveration, with his head in his two hands, that there were some things in Popery to which, ere he condescended, he would not only lose his crown, but his head. But shortly after, the army marched to Scotland and left him with the English.

In August 1647, my father preached at the opening up of the General Assembly. Presently after, he went a visit to the west. In September 1648, the engaging army being defeated, he went over to Edinburgh, and there was employed in the treaty at the Torwood with George Monroe and others. After the close of the treaty, under the conduct of Cromwell came in the English army pursuing the Engagers. Thereafter he was appointed to go to London with other Commissioners to keep a good understanding betwixt the two nations. In November 1648, many

things passed at that transaction, and though Cromwell had several times desired to speak with him, yet he never met with him, nor saw his face. In January 1649, a criminal court did arraign and condemn the King. Before sentence was passed there came from the Commission of the Kirk a Declaration against Toleration, containing something in the close as a protestation against the taking of the King's life. Likewise the Commissioners themselves gave in a particular protestation against taking of the King's life, (which thereafter was made one of the grounds of the English invasion). The day before the King suffered he sent a servant to my father desiring that he might attend him at his death, which he endeavoured with all possible diligence, but could not obtain liberty, though he went to General Fairfax for that effect.

Upon the taking of the King's life, the Commissioners had private instructions from the Estates of Scotland to go to Holland, with an invitation to this present King. After they were shipped and gone the length of Gravesend, they were committed to the Blockhouse, and were sent down with a guard to Berwick till the Estates of Scotland should own or disown the Protestation given by them; but before they came that length the Estates had sent up their approbation of the Protestation, whereupon they were liberated. My father came half of the way, riding with great pain of the gout. In June 1650, he got a solemn and earnest invitation from the university and town of Glasgow, to be Principal of the college and minister of the town; which he refused. A little thereafter, going to the Commission of the Kirk, he fell near the Struthers and disjointed his shoulder. In the setting of it he was wonderfully supported and carried through. Some few days thereafter, the King being come to Scotland, came to St Andrews. My father, though his arm was yet far from being whole, preached before the King. In September thereafter came the sad day of Dunbar. Upon the defeat, the army divided; whereupon followed the Remonstrance. The King wrote to my father to be informed about it. His answer was, that though he entreated the King not to resent it, yet he thought it injudicious, uncharitable and unseasonable. In November 1650, he went to St Johnston, where there was a frequent meeting of the commission anent the query given in by the Estates, "Who should be employed in defence of the country against the invading enemy?" Against the answer given by the commission a number protested, which occasioned a sad rupture and schism in the Church. So long as he had,

health he waited there upon the King, but falling sick, he was forced to retire home, and continued sick a long time; in which time the King was pleased to give him a visit, and offered him his own physician to wait upon him, February 1651.

In July 1651, in the Assembly at St Andrews, my father preached, and lamenting the sad divisions said, "Would to God that the carrying of him from this place to his grave might bury the sad divisions of the Church." This was upon the very day of the Inverkeithing fight, the English prevailing and domineering through the whole land. Cromwell did desire my father's coming to London, and he alleging infirmity and weakness of body for such a journey, they did offer one of the Parliament ships to wait upon him; but flatly in downright terms 'he' refused to give obedience to their desire. Shortly thereafter a malicious neighbour, a gentleman in Fife, did inform the English Council of State against my father, that he had preached against their government in a sermon at the communion at Forgan. Whereupon he was required to appear before them; but when he came, they perceived he had a mind to decline them, both as unlawful and incompetent judges, whereupon he was dismissed and his accuser disgraced. Much insinuation used the English at that time to have gained him, but all in vain. One time being employed by the Presbytery to supply the vacant kirk of Cupar, 'he' did openly (as his manner was) pray solemnly for the King; which he did also both in private and secret with great affection and fervency, with great abundance of tears. He was challenged by them in the face of the congregation, and thereafter being sent for by the Major to his chamber, was menaced, and an information was sent to the Commander-in-chief against him; so loyal and faithful was he in his principles and practices even in the greatest time of hazard. He had frequent and great infirmity of body, and was much exercised with scruby,* gout and gravel, and had many singular outgates and delivery in great pain, especially of the gravel, one whereof by the bigness of a stone, all hope of life was taken away; all use of means was ineffectual, till the Lord, by his immediate hand, without the concurrence of any means, and without any pain, did bring away a stone of incredible bigness.

In the year 1660, the King being called home, and shortly after several ministers being committed to the Castle of Edinburgh, there began

* *Scruby*—scurvy.

an appearance of Episcopacy in this land by rescinding several Acts of Parliament that had cashiered them. Frequent testimony was given against this :—(but it must not be forgot that before the King's coming from Holland my father prevented * his landing by a sermon of thanksgiving for that purpose, besides his joining with the universal thanksgiving which was through the land; so joyful was he to have a return of the prayers he had so oft put up in that particular:)—among the first whereof my father did give a peremptor and free testimony, preaching upon 1 Peter, iii. 14.† This was the rise of all the suffering that afterward fell upon him, while all else were possessing their liberty. This sermon being misrepresented to the Council by a malicious hearer, he was called over to appear before them. Receiving this order on Saturday, he resolved, on the Sabbath after, to take his farewell, being the last Sabbath of September 1661, which he did, preaching upon these words, "Finally, my brethren, farewell," &c. He did so affect the hearers with that sermon, that there was a very great motion and weeping in the kirk, both by men and women. On the morrow he intended to have gone early on his journey, to have prevented the sad parting with the people; but, ere he could be ready, they had so surrounded the gate, that he was forced to break through, and so went to his journey. But, after he had parted with the crowd, his two colleagues, Mr James Wood, and treacherous Honeyman, ran a nearer way, and met him, and, at parting, wept abundantly; the former whereof was so oppressed with grief, that he cried out. So dearly was he beloved of all that knew him, especially of those that most conversed with him.

He set forward on his way very cheerfully, and, coming to Ceres, met with a dear friend who conveyed him to Kennoway. He came again, right wearied, to Kinghorn, accompanied with his wife, good-son, and daughter, with a friend that came from St Andrews. On Tuesday he came over to Edinburgh, where he was kindly welcomed and much visited by friends there, and was kindly entertained by his worthy friend, John Kennedy. He expected to be called before the Council; but, for some days, it was delayed; all which time he was continually taken up with visits; people were newfangled, he being the first that was called

* *Prevented*—anticipated.

† 1 Pet. iii. 14. "But and if ye suffer for righteousness' sake, happy are ye: and be not afraid of their terror, neither be troubled."

upon the stage for giving testimony against Prelacy. At last, being called before a Committee, 'he' was examined upon the heads of the sermon formerly mentioned. After a report was made to the Council, he was confined close prisoner to his chamber in the Castle Hill, where at first he thought himself eased of a burden, being overcharged with visits; till at last his health began to alter for want of the free air, that he was forced to give in a petition to the Council for liberty of the free air. Whereupon he was confined to the parish of Musselburgh, where he continued in pretty good health, and tolerably accommodated, till September 1662, at which time Bishop Sharp, having a mind to plant Honeyman in his charge, awakened a new storm, and procured from the Council, by a macer, to bring him in prisoner to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh; but the Lord so ordered it, that though hitherto he had had tolerable health, yet, at that time, the gravel did so violently seize upon him, that, while the macer was in the house, he voided five stones; this being attested by the minister of the place. But the next Council-day coming very shortly, he was engaged again to come in; but again he was surprised by sickness, which was attested by the doctor and apothecary. The order designing him "late minister of St Andrews," and being informed by the macer, that that Council-day his place had been declared vacant, 'he' did thereupon send in his presentation, as the civil part of his ministry. Upon this their fury was allayed, and he continued in his former condition. He herein observed the goodness of God, who made the infirmities of his body a mean of his preservation in this apparent hazard. A little thereafter liberty was procured 'for him' to reside in Fife, when out of the Presbytery of St Andrews, and he took up his residence at Kirkcaldy three years and a-half, where he lived most abstract from meddling in any thing; and yet his good friend [Sharp] vowed that he should herry * that nest; and when my Lord Crawford did but call for him to the street, this was represented by him [Sharp] at Court as if it had been some great business. But shortly after, by virtue of a proclamation that all ministers should leave burghs, he removed to Couston, in the parish of Aberdour.

* *Herry*—rob, rifle.

END OF CONTINUATION BY MR JAMES BLAIR.

LETTERS OF MR ROBERT BLAIR.

1.—Blair *to* Mr John Livingstone.*

Reverend and Dear Brother,

Length of time, and distance of place, do not a little weaken the fellowship of the sons of men. He that is not straitened in sending his Spirit, knows how, without difficulty, to keep his grip better. It was no small matter of grief to me, with the singular testimony of your love and respect, to read from your hand the acknowledgement of your and yours great grief for me. Extenuations are but soul-destroying tricks. The least miscarriage before our holy Lord is fearful; and I do not liberate myself, but have judged myself, and have uttered to some of our brethren here, that which my weakness is not able to write, being wearied with writing my mind more fully to our dear friend M————. This letter hath been two days work to me. I still laboured to be a reconciler among brethren, and once we were near to it at St Andrews. But our sins stood in the way thereof, and have brought all thir judgments upon us. In our conference here, we spake of some things to hinder matters from growing worse. But our brethren here declined to enter upon the grounds of difference, knowing that in sundry things I differed from them. Your papers I am unsatisfied with in sundry things, as much as with former resolutions. The only wise Lord pity us, and preserve us in this reeling, that our differences be not extended to the things wherein the kingdom of God directly stands! The Spirit of grace be multiplied upon you and yours! My wife with me, heartily salutes you both. Your loving brother,

Robert Blair.

December the 2d, 1651.

These six weeks I have not been out of doors. This day I am put in hopes to get a start of my sweet Lord's work. I bless his holy name for his covenanted mercy, which endureth for ever.

* Wodrow MSS. vol. lix. folio, no. 4. Original. Livingstone's letter to Blair, to which this is an answer, is printed in Select Biographies, vol. i. p. 262.

2.—Blair *to* Mr James Sharp *at London.**

Reverend and Dear Brother,

We have been a long time expecting your return, the delay whereof I am persuaded has been very grievous to you. Many a time hath mine heart pitied you, when I considered what a toil you have been put to, and how many snares have been cunningly laid in your way. I have been always very sparing to act any thing, but now I am put to it. That wrangling and deceitful man, Sir George Seaton, hath of late gotten a signature passed in the Exchequer, bearing a redemption thereof, without reservation, of my liferent, contrary to a contract passed between him and me. If that signature that was in the hands of one of my Lord Broghill's servants, called Gibs, be signed, I desire it may be sent with the first to your brother, that use may be made thereof; but if it be not signed, be pleased to show my noble lord, to whom hereby I present my service, what prejudice I suffer through the delay thereof. So expecting rather yourself than your answer, I am, your very loving friend and brother,

Robert Blair.

St Andrews, *Nov.* 13, 1657.

3.—Blair *to the Presbytery of Kirkcudbright about the Union.*†

My Reverend and Dear Brethren,

I rejoiced at the reading of your letter, and for answer thereto I send to you the overtures for uniting presented to our Synod, and by them transmitted to their correspondents, which are like to satisfy, I hope, generally, all men that have a regard to unity at all. I need not again write my judgment anent Mr John Cant; I adhere to what I have for-

* Wodrow MSS. vol. xlix. folio, no. 10.

† Wodrow MSS. vol. xxix. 4to, no. 89. Original. The union referred to is the attempts made to compose the differences between the Resolutioners and Protesters. The Presbytery of Kirkcudbright was particularly zealous in this good work.

merly expressed. Receive him in the Lord, as a man meet for his master's work. The Spirit of grace be multiplied upon you all! Your loving brother, to serve you in our common Lord,

ROBERT BLAIR.

ST ANDREWS, 21*st October* 1659.

For his Reverend and beloved brethren of the Presbytery of Kirkcudbright.

[Other letters of Blair, addressed chiefly to Mr Robert Douglas and Mr David Dickson, are printed in the Appendix to Baillie's Letters and Journals, Bannatyne Edition, vol. iii., pp. 556-559.—ED.]

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THE END.

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